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THE WORLD'S HISTORY

THE WORLD'S HIST

A SURVEY OF MAN'S RECO

EDITED BY

DR. H. F. HELMOLT

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY BY THE

RIGHT HON. JAMES BRYCE, D.C.L., LL.D.,

312

VOLUME III

WESTERN ASIA—AFRICA

WITH PLATES AND MAPS

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WILLIAM HEIN

PREFACE TO VOLUME III

THIS work," says Goethe in his discussion of Schlosser's "Hist Ancient World," "affords an excellent means for bringing h mind the earliest facts of human history. It impels our ga remotest period of prehistoric times, to a world as yet undifferentiated a foreign to our own, where, nevertheless, as we watch, one after another arise before our eyes." This estimate, we venture, in full confidence, to the present volume of the "History of the World," whose opening and c sections (Babylon—Egypt) render accessible to a wide circle of readers ou increased knowledge (increased through a series of tireless investigations e up to the present day) of those nations the venerable antiquity of whos ments has caused them to be generally regarded as the first members human race to emerge into the light of history. It is indeed a source fication thus "to see the spirit set limits to the limitless, and to form clear and rational a conception as possible of general conditions where o ledge of particulars is little to be depended upon." In the chapter certain dark periods in the earliest history of the country are for the fi treated in connection with the events of succeeding though still ea ("Negada" epoch, Roman supremacy, etc.), and often our account diff cally from what has hitherto been said on the subject. In the treatment during the twelve and one half centuries of Mohammedan rule, conscien has been made of the latest important discoveries in the various fields of in tion. The second part of the volume continues without interruption the t the first. Here, again, we experience great satisfaction in offering the something in which all universal histories up till now have been lack complete and consecutive history of Asia Minor from the earliest time present day.

In this "History of the World" it is our aim to further the knowled process of historical evolution as a whole, to accelerate the discovery of t that condition life on earth. The work starts with no preconceived the

o establish, seeing that historical truth alone is its proper object. Yet existence of such a thing as universal history carries with it the implica- general law of historical development. Certain it is that, from a close the so-called "unhistoric" life of all savage peoples and many semi- ations, a knowledge may be obtained of the forces which have hastened ed the course of progress in all ages, and which in our own day have a powerful and lasting influence on the development of the "historic" a fuller and safer knowledge than can be claimed by the adherents of school who, rejecting the truer teaching, disdainfully pass by the more anches of the human race as of no importance. The intelligent reader of *Ethnologie* will speedily realise what a large amount of historical material contained. True it is that the new science of Ethnology must look for e to its more experienced neighbour, History; but the latter science ope is ever tending to increase cannot in turn dispense with the services logy. By their very nature they are cognate, are sister sciences in fact, difference between them in regard to theory and method is merely one of The time-honoured prejudice, that the field of the ethnologist lies outside omain of history, must once for all be abandoned. Definite indications wanting that our "History of the World," after reuniting two sister s which for so long a time were kept apart, will be among the first to be pon to cement the union by bringing about complete harmony between the s of the two sciences.

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WESTERN ASIA — AFRICA

I

ANCIENT NEARER ASIA

By DR. HUGO WINCKLER

1. BABYLON

A. The Region of the Old Civilization of Nearer Asia

OF the two civilizations developed in the two great river-basins of the Nile and of the Euphrates-Tigris, the Babylonian civilization has unquestionably exercised the greater influence on the moulding of the conditions in Nearer Asia, since Greek civilization, and in consequence thereof our own, depends on it. It is not yet possible to discover all the threads that were woven between Babylon and Greece, and the prehistoric path is still quite unknown on which the ideas and thoughts of the earliest Babylonians reached the civilized nations, European as well as others, dwelling outside the immediate sphere of Babylonian culture. In order to characterise the connection of Greece with Babylonian civilization, it is enough to point to the one Babylonian word borrowed by the Greeks, *μνᾶ, mina.* As to the other aspect of the influence of the civilization along the Euphrates, let us call attention to one of its products, which we still carry with us in our pockets, — the watch with its twelve divisions, corresponding to the Ancient Babylonian division of the day into twelve double hours. The paths on which the Oriental world, lying apparently so far from us, established these connections with Europe are up to the present still shrouded in complete obscurity; but the Germanic mythology in particular resembles the mythology of Babylon among Orientals in some particulars, which cannot be regarded merely as the result of the general thought of mankind, although the ways and means of their wanderings are still mysterious (cf. on the subject Stucken, "Astralmythen der Hebräer, Babylonier und Ägypter").

The deciphering of the cuneiform writing and of the hieroglyphics has practically doubled the space of time which our historical knowledge covers, that is, the period we can survey by means of written documents, in comparison with that which was regarded as history for the districts of Western civilization. The history of Greece could be followed back to the seventh or eighth century B. C.; the oldest records of Babylon and Egypt go back to the fourth millennium B. C. The interval which divides their first founders from the Doric migration and the beginnings of Rome is therefore as great as that which lies between our own days and those of the beginnings of Hellenic history.

The regions influenced by the civilization and history of Babylon stretch far beyond the countries watered by the two rivers. States which had reached so high a stage of civilization as those of Ancient Babylonia could not exist without laying under tribute the neighbouring countries and bestowing on them their own achievements. Thus we see in remote antiquity that Babylonia encroaches on Palestine, Armenia, Elam, even Arabia; trading, conquering, and depositing there her superfluous population and the products of her civilization, but also exposed to the attacks of her barbarian neighbours, under which she often succumbed. The history, therefore, of the other States and nations of Nearer Asia, taken all in all, is grouped round that of Babylonia. It is not mere accident that we possess few or no accounts of these except the Babylonian, in consequence of which their history seems to us influenced by Babylonia; but all the surrounding nations looked and were drawn toward the seat of that civilization, whether they were under its supremacy or whether they imposed their own rule on it. This is most clearly demonstrated by the widespread use of the cuneiform writing, the most conspicuous achievement of Babylonian intellect. It has been the vehicle of intellectual intercourse in all Nearer Asia. Everywhere, so far as our view at present extends, we meet with it in Elam, Armenia, even in the heart of Asia Minor. In Palestine men wrote in cuneiform letters, and must accordingly have been acquainted with the Babylonian language and the Babylonian world of thought. Even in Egypt itself we shall find Babylonian writing and language as the means of intercourse with the countries of Nearer Asia.

If a study of the development of Babylonia implies in itself a history of almost all Nearer Asia, the task will be still more complex when we consider that the history, comprising more than three thousand years, of a civilized world surrounded by barbarians must show the most varied succession of tides of nationalities. It is not *one* people that meets us in Babylonia as the bearer of the "Babylonian" civilization: it is a long series of most heterogeneous nations belonging to various races, which one after the other advanced into the great plain between the rivers, and lived out the rest of their existence under the dominion of that civilization. The same holds good of the adjoining countries which were subject to the civilizing influence, although, from want of information, we cannot trace the fact so clearly here.

Just as the great civilizations have been developed on great rivers, the natural highways of communication, so national migrations take their origin in wide regions of steppes, which supply nomadic man with food for the animals from which he lives, but, owing to the vast districts required by a nomadic life, can contain and support comparatively few inhabitants. Thus the overgrowth of the population, which is periodically felt, compels them to seek more productive lands, where the simple but sturdy son of nature is invited by the alluring splendours of civilization and by the prospects of an easy victory over the effeminate civilized races.

Three such cradles of the human race have to be considered in connection with the region of Babylonian civilization. The European steppes, from which the peoples migrated over the Caucasus or round the Caspian Sea, and on the other side through Asia Minor; the Inner Asiatic steppes on the northeast; and Arabia on the south and southwest. Of these, the first district is excluded almost at once, since the approach on this side is the most difficult; more important is the Inner

Asiatic. With regard to this and the European district, it must be noticed that each of the waves of peoples coming from that quarter first beat against the States that were posted in front of Babylonia and subject to her civilizing influence; namely, those of Syria, Asia Minor, Armenia, and Elam. Babylonia thus presented against them a natural bulwark of buffer States, and could not therefore be so easily overrun by them directly. On the other hand, the third district, Arabia, with its extensive steppes, from earliest times the home of robber nomads, immediately adjoins the territory itself of Babylon. The only natural boundary here is the Euphrates: and the nomads could roam unhindered up to the towns built on the right bank, even when a strong power prevented their crossing into the pasture grounds lying east of the river. It is a long stretch of frontier, running in places through wide steppes, which the Babylonian forces had to guard, and they were seldom able to defend the passage of the river against the nomads who pressed onward from Arabia. It is from this quarter that the land of civilization was exposed to the most frequent and most lasting immigrations, and the nations who came from that side took possession successively of the plain between the Euphrates and the Tigris. But Arabia, so far as our knowledge reaches, was the home of the nations which, according to a linguistic classification, we designate as Semites. The history of Babylonia itself is Semitic; that of the adjoining nations, so far as they are subject to its influence, is also Semitic, or supplied in the manner stated from the two other storehouses of mankind. The Semites attained their highest civilization in Babylonia. They there developed all that their natural gifts could produce under the given conditions, and Semitic history, so far as it deals with civilized nations, was mainly enacted there. (Even Islam had its true home there; but we can no more speak of a Semitic-Islamite civilization than of a Babylonian-Semitic. The Arabians ruled by means of the Persian-Byzantine culture.)

So far, then, as we can survey the history of Babylonia, its actors are Semites. Accordingly the distinct Semitic character of the population comes out in the language, however much other elements of population gradually became mixed with the Semites. It is, however, obvious that our historical knowledge cannot reach the beginning of the Babylonian culture. The growth of the means to hand down history, the introduction of a written language, must indeed presuppose a long course of development in civilization. From the picture-writings of the savages to the written reports of campaigns and of the building of temples, such as the earliest Babylonian inscriptions dating from the fourth millennium give us, and to the official records drawn up according to set forms belonging to the same period is a long cry, and perhaps the nations which reached that stage worked longer at perfecting their inventions than the three thousand or more years during which cuneiform writing and its continuation have been known to us. We shall see that the oldest records with which we are yet acquainted come from Semites, and those the immigrated Semites who, while fighting with each other, had been welded into large political bodies. These records show very clearly the influence of the old civilized people which had settled in the valley of the Euphrates before these Semites. We must therefore see in it the creators of Babylonian civilization, the inventors of cuneiform characters. For us indeed they are *one* people, since we see them only through the veil of prehistoric times. We know nothing of its growth or its destinies, which must have been as multiform and as checquered as those of the "Semites" of Babylonia, whose history fills the next three thousand years.

B. The Sumerians

The first records which we possess are still composed in a non-Semitic language, in that of the "Sumerians," as the later accounts name them. This language is the only thing which, up to the present, we know of the creators of the Babylonian civilization, the inventors of the cuneiform characters, the Sumerians, as we designate them in consequence. That is also the most valuable testimony, which speaks most strongly for their importance. For long after men ceased to speak Sumerian; when the most heterogeneous nationalities had occupied Babylonia, and had gone the same way as the ancient Sumerians themselves; when the various Semitic peoples in the valley of the Euphrates had played their part; when Persians, Macedonians, and Parthians ruled there, down to the age immediately preceding the Christian era, — Sumerian was still used in Babylonia as a sacred religious language. It played, therefore, a similar part to Latin, which has been the language of the learned world and the Church in the Middle Ages and modern times, only its survival in this form extended over a period nearly twice as long.

Although up to the present time no Sumerian speaks to us in any inscription of his own, and thus the past of this remarkable people, from the close of whose era the tradition of civilization descends in an unbroken line to our times and culture, is still prehistoric for us, yet the people has come nearer to us by the preservation of its language than it could have by any other production of its intellect. Inscriptions and religious texts in the Sumerian language, from a period which comprises more than three thousand years, are in our hands. The most ancient are the inscriptions of the kings of Lagash (see the illustration, "Fragment of an Ancient Babylonian Royal Stele," on page 10), their contemporaries and immediate successors, written even then by Semites, but under the still living influence of the Sumerians who had been already dislodged or conquered. We must assume that by the end of the fourth millennium Sumerian had either completely or partially died out, and already played a part in the inscriptions of that time similar to that of Latin in the age of the Merovingians. It can easily be imagined that in the succeeding thousands of years the language which was now only artificially preserved must have gone through stages like those of Latin in the Middle Ages; for a revival by the development of the conception of classicism, like that of Latin by the Renaissance, was quite foreign to the Oriental spirit. Sumerian and its dialect, called Akkadian, became therefore more and more corrupt when used by later ages. They were filled with Semiticisms: the later the period, the more the texts give the impression that they were composed of words merely adapted and declined according to Sumerian; that is to say, the originally quite distinct syntax had been given up. This Sumerian exhibits the same features not merely as the monkish Latin, but even as the Macaronic burlesques, only what was merely jesting in the latter was seriously intended in the former. If we add the fact that the more ancient the inscriptions are, the more ideographic they are (that is, each separate word is written with a special hieroglyph), we shall realise that our information as to the pronunciation of the old Sumerian is very unsatisfactory since we know the meaning of the old inscriptions indeed from the signs which are familiar to us from their significance, but we learn the pronunciation of the words, if at all, only from the statements of later centuries.

We can therefore, notwithstanding numerous texts, arrive at no clear conclusion as to many features of the language, but we may establish enough to show roughly the character of Sumerian, the oldest civilized language of the world. It is an agglutinative language, whose construction is allied to that of the Turkish languages, and therefore completely different from that of the Semitic languages. Let the following construction serve as an example: igal Ur-gur ungal Ur gal í-An-na in-ru-a-ka-ta = palace + Ur-gur + king + Ur + man + i-Anna + he built + genitive particle + in = in the palace of Urgur, the king of Ur, the builder of the (temple) i-Anna. The connecting genitive, which in Semitic as in German stands between palace and Urgur, goes to the end of the whole expression, which therefore composes a connected whole, something like a German compound word. In the same way that which is the most important word, and therefore placed at the beginning of our sentences, the designation of place "in" (= ta) comes at the end. We must notice also the periphrasis of a Semitic participle by gal.... in-ru-a Man.... + he built. All attempts to establish an affinity with any language of the ancient world, even with the various languages of the neighbouring nations or of those still living, must be abandoned (cf. above on p. 4 what has been said as to our knowledge of the pronunciation of the words). Phonetically, Sumerian had already become very corrupt. Most words show only simple syllables of vowel and consonant, or consonant-vowel-consonant, the last of which has usually been lost; and a great number of originally distinct words are again phonetically assimilated. Sumerian has therefore been worn smooth in the same way as Chinese.

We know nothing of the history of the Sumerians; even in the case of Egypt hardly an inscription tells us of the times when the civilization was dawning, which we see fully risen there in the old empire contemporaneously with the appearance of the Semites in Babylonia. One conclusion, however, can be drawn with perfect certainty from the analogy of similar relations and of later times. The development of these civilizations was not possible in an idyllic twilight on the fertile banks of Euphrates and Nile. The same relations of hostility and friendship, which we find later between the populations of the two countries, and which exist between all civilized peoples not separated by inseparable difficulties of communication, must have existed even in the still dark ages of Sumerian history. Even then there must have been trade between the different places, the kings of the countries must have exchanged letters, and one people must have subdued the other.

C. The Earliest Immigrations of Semites

Where the dark veil is lifted by means of historical documents, that is, by inscriptions, the most ancient monuments of mankind which speak to us in words, Semites meet us as rulers of the plain of the Euphrates-Tigris. By the term "Semites" we designate, in correspondence with the table of nations in Genesis, chapter x., the group of races which spoke the same tongue as the Hebrews there included in the posterity of Shem. (Since the introduction of this term the fact has been established that some of the nations there classed among the descendants of Shem did not speak Semitic; however, the designation is now universally accepted.)

We may regard Arabia as the home of the Semites; indeed, on geographical grounds no other land can be taken into consideration. Arabia is, up to the present

day, the land where Semites have kept their purity of race, and where they live under the same conditions and in the same stage of civilization as their kinsmen who, in the fourth millennium before the Christian era, attained the object after which their descendants sigh; they won the rich civilized lands which were certainly richer and better cultivated then than they are now. The only roads on which nomadic nations could migrate from Arabia led to Syria and Palestine. On the other sides the country is surrounded by the sea, and a migration westward or eastward presupposes that the people possessed ships, and had therefore passed from the stage of nomadism on the steppe to that of a settled life, or at least had taken up fishing, although this industry can only support a small people. No emigration on a large scale took place then from the south of Arabia; but when the kingdom of Saba and the nations in alliance with it had produced a sort of civilization, there was emigration to Africa and Abyssinia (of this we shall have to speak later; cf. below, section 13). The real tide, however, of Semitic migration set toward the north.

We are in a position to determine roughly the course and the date of these migrations, since we can fix the beginning and end of the last ones with tolerable accuracy, and those of the first with corresponding probability. They result as a natural consequence of the over-population of the country, and must, if the state of civilization and conditions of life remain similar, be repeated at a similar interval of time. We can distinguish altogether four great Semitic migrations toward the north. The last, to begin with that one which is traceable in the full light of history, is the Arabian. This culminated in the conquests of Islam. It begins somewhere in the seventh or eighth century B. C., when the advance of the Arabs into Syria is demonstrable. This is preceded by the Aramæan, and we can again roughly determine its beginnings. In the fifteenth to the thirteenth centuries we find Mesopotamia already flooded by Aramæan nomads. The advance of these tribes must have therefore begun somewhat earlier. The Canaanite-Hebraic migration precedes this. The result we have just obtained, which gives a duration of about one thousand years to these migrations, is borne out by the fact that about 2400–2100 B. C. a population, to be described as Canaanitic, was in possession of Nearer Asia, Babylonia, and Egypt, and that again one thousand years earlier we find the "Babylonian-Semites" in possession of the Sumerian civilization.

These are the four great groups of Semitic peoples which have in succession produced the greatest effect on the history of the Near East. It must be noticed, however, that a calculation like ours can only give approximate estimates, that it may be inaccurate to a century or two, and that obviously a sharply defined division of the several migrations is impossible. In the migration of nations, one nation pushes another before it, and the last portions of a great group of nations must be still in movement when the vanguard of the next is already drawing near (for example, in the case of the Hebrews and Aramæans about the middle of the second millennium).

We assume that the immigrating Semites found existing in Babylonia a highly developed civilization, which they adopted, like every barbarous people in similar circumstances, and that its institutions were valid for them. Wherever our records speak to us, we find there a number of towns whose divine cult was in high reputation, and whose importance as the centre of high-roads and the focus of intercourse and civilization was maintained throughout all history. We shall have to

see in them (particular exceptions are naturally conceivable) pre-Semitic settlements already existing, although they became completely Semiticised from the new immigration, and are only Semitic towns for us in the sense that Cologne and Augsburg are German towns.

We will mention here the most important, following the Euphrates upward from the south: Eridu (Abu Shahrein), seat of the Ea cult; Ur (Mugair), the town of the Moon-worship in South Babylonia; Lagash (also called Sir-pur-la, with phonetic reading of the ideographic style of writing [ruins of Telloh]), known to us by excavations of the French consul, De Sarzec (*vide* coloured plate on p. 26); finally, a town, in a hitherto unknown situation, the ideogram of which is also illegible, but about the princes of which we have several inscriptions and notices. Since the sign with which its name is written has been erroneously regarded as that of the bow, the town has been termed the "city of the bow," and we wish, in order to avoid confusion, to retain this erroneous designation for the moment. Further, Isin (formerly read as Nisin), also not yet identified, and later the seat of a South Babylonian dynasty; Larsa (Senkereh), where the South Babylonian sun cult has its seat; Nippur (Niffer), the city of Bel, explored by American excavators; Uruk (Warka), the seat of Nanâ-Ishtar, both according to their position pointing toward North Babylonia and playing a corresponding political part. In North Babylonia the most important towns are Babylon, the city of Marduk, which did not assume the chief rôle until later, then Kish (Uhaimir) and Kutha (Tel Ibrahim), the city of Nergal, and more to the north Sippar (Abu-Habba), the sun-town of North Babylonia; Dur-ilu, with the cult Anus, not yet ascertained, commanding the passes toward Elam, and therefore the first town which was exposed to the inroads of the Elamites and others. Further to the north begins the steppe of Mesopotamia, and we now meet on the banks of the Tigris, going up stream, the important towns, Assur (Kala Shergat), Kalchi (Nimrud), and Nineveh, at a much later period of the greatest importance as capitals of the kingdom of Assyria. More easterly, toward Media, lies Arbail (Arbela, now Ervil), which commands the East Assyrian country, the district between the Upper and Lower Zab. Here the roads to Media and the places on Lake Urumiya converge. Returning to the district between the rivers, we find the Singara mountains, certainly once occupied by towns, even if nothing hitherto has been historically settled on the point. The great steppe of Mesopotamia becomes once more suitable for considerable settlements in the two valleys of the Chabur and Balich. Here there are a number of hitherto unexplored "Tels," that is, sites of towns covered by sand (cf. for Arban, pp. 42 and 83). Harran, the moon-city in the upper valley of the Balich, was the most important, and flourished until a late period.

These are by no means all the chief towns of the region of Babylonian civilization. On the contrary, we cannot picture to ourselves the density of the settlements with which all the districts that come under our notice — if we omit the parts of the steppe where water was deficient — were then covered. Babylonia especially, at the time of her prosperity, was, like Egypt, cultivated in a manner which resembles gardening more than our notions of agriculture, and was proportionately covered with settlements. The towns which we have named are only those which have played a particularly prominent rôle through their political and consequent religious importance, and have partly also become valuable for our knowledge of the country from excavations. There are besides countless "Tels" which are still awaiting the spade of the explorer.

The immigrant "Semitic Babylonians" occupied the country in the same way as at a later period their kinsmen who followed them, the Chaldæans and the Hebrews, can be shown historically to have taken possession of Babylonia and Canaan. They pressed into the open country, where they maintained their position, half on tolerance, half by force, and gradually gained possession of the towns, and thus their supremacy over the whole country was secured. Instead of nomads they were then settled townsfolk, who adopted the civilization of the country unconditionally. Politically, an important change was thus effected in them. The free nomads, under the headship of a sheik, became the subjects of a king; for their leader turned the existing institutions to his own advantage more quickly than his "brothers" who followed him.

We must therefore assume first a series of separate town-kingships, corresponding to the old Sumerian centres of civilization, which were occupied by the several invading tribes. They had scarcely taken possession of these when their kings — just as the separate tribes in the nomadic era, so far as they were not connected by "blood relationship" — became natural rivals; and the struggle between them necessarily began and continued until it ended in the subjugation of the one by the other, and in the gradual formation of one or more great empires. In this way the condition of things which must be presupposed in the Sumerian period, and corresponds with the civilization required by the country, was once more reached.

D. The Babylonian Empire

(*a*) *The Earliest Times* (*about 3000 B. C.*). — We must expect to find as the earliest monuments of the Semitic era inscriptions of kings of the various great towns which were at war with each other. This expectation has been fulfilled by the most recent discoveries. Small as they are in comparison with what may still be won from the soil, they are amply sufficient to prove that the picture which we should draw from the natural development of events is correct.

The earliest inscriptions hitherto known are those of kings of Lagash in Southern Babylonia, of Ur, of Urak, more to the north, of Kish, and of the above-mentioned "city of the bow," whom we find at war with each other and alternately gaining the upper hand. We must assign all of them to a date before or about 3000 B. C., that is to say, roughly, about 3500 B. C. At that time these Semitic city-kings were fighting out their battles. There is no object in following them minutely; and the unpronounceable and still phonetically unreadable names of their heroes are up to the present important only for the explorer. The result of these wars is the development of larger kingdoms; for the king of the victorious town is reckoned the lord of the subjugated princes, who call themselves "Patesi." All these kings, especially those settled in the South, still write Sumerian. We find everywhere that Sumerian was used far longer (some thousand years longer) as a written language in South Babylonia than in the North. We have a large number of inscriptions of Patesis, that is, of a suzerain of dependent vassal princes of Lagash, who belong to the period 3000 B. C., and we may assign the last of them to the period of the South Babylonian "kings of Sumer and Akkad," who will be mentioned immediately.

The earlier of these South Babylonian Patesis were subject to the sovereignty of North Babylonian kings, of whom Shargani-shar-machazi (usually called Sargon) and his son Naram-Sin are known to us by a number of particular inscriptions.

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The first of the two still styles himself king of Agade in North Babylonia, and had therefore conquered the South from there; and accounts of his reign and that of his son prove that they extended their victorious career over Nearer Asia, so far as it ever came under the influence of Babylonian culture. They ruled not merely Babylonia and Mesopotamia, but Syria and Palestine. Sargon, indeed, is said to have sailed out into the Mediterranean. In Cyprus, undoubted traces of the influence of Babylonia from the most ancient times can be proved. Wars with the northern barbarians necessarily followed, as well as expeditions to Arabia (Magan and Melucha). In this way a great Semitic-Babylonian empire was founded, embracing the whole of Nearer Asia, which comes under our notice just as at the period of the greatest power of Assyria (*vide* the inserted map, "Babylonia, Assyria, and Adjoining Countries to 1100 B. C.") The names of Sargon and Naram-Sin mark, therefore, the zenith of the Babylonian Semitism. This is shown by purely external evidence, for their inscriptions are, in distinction from the South Babylonian ones, composed in Semitic. We must assign to them roughly the date 3000 B. C.

Their contemporaries are Patesis of Lagash, of whom Gudea may be specially mentioned, owing to the number and length of his inscriptions, since they bear witness that the dominion of Babylonian civilization was as wide as all accounts make out. He fetched the materials for his buildings, of which he gives an account, from distant countries: the timber (cedar) from Amanus, stone for his statues from Arabia (Magan). This is a proof of the extent of peaceable intercourse at that time, the existence of which also supports our assumption of an extension of the Sumerian sphere of civilization in the earlier period, since the conditions for it were then similar. This and the preceding era made their ideas and political achievements felt down to the latest times, even when men were not altogether clearly informed about them. Sargon of Agade became a legendary hero. In Babylonia the *motif* of the legends of Moses, Cyrus, and Romulus was transferred to him. And when the last king of Babylon, Nabunaid, found an inscription of his son Naram-Sin, and asked his learned men for information as to its date, they could give him no correct answer, and finally reckoned an age of three thousand two hundred years before Nabunaid (that is, circa 3800), a figure which they may have overestimated by eight hundred or more years.

The geographical and constitutional designations of this era kept their position for a long time in the learned and political world, and were revived with predilection even in the last periods. The wars of the Semites (whether in continuation of Sumerian conditions must remain an undecided question) brought about the formation of two considerable kingdoms for Babylonia. The one with its territory in Southern Babylonia, the kings of which bear the general style "king of Sumer and Akkad," the other a North Babylonian one, the sovereigns of which call themselves "kings of the four countries of the world." Further to the north, with its capital certainly in Mesopotamia (possibly Harran), another realm is developed, the kings of which designate themselves "kings of the world." These kingdoms were at war with each other; and often one king ruled all the others, so that we have here a further development of the age of the town-kingships. We know only a few details of individuals among these rulers. But the importance of their titles was maintained until the end of the independence of Babylonia and Mesopotamia; and all kings of the later Babylonia and Assyria designate themselves, each according to their possessions, by these titles.

Within the sphere of the Babylonian civilization, at one time fighting with the rulers of Babylonia, at another submitting to them, as can be best realised by the testimony of the Assyrian era, there were then Elam, Anzan, and Suri (which afterward gave its name to Syria and the Leuco-Syrians), a country which, starting westward of Elam, describes a bend northward round the river-plain, that is to say, it extends from Media to Cappadocia. To the northeast of it live the barbarians of the Umman-Manda, the Manda hordes, the Babylonian "Scythians." Northward, corresponding therefore roughly to Armenia, lies Gutium, or the district of the "Kuti." We possess an inscription of one of their kings in the language and style of the Naram-Sin period about a votive offering in Babylonia (probably in Sippar), similar to the dedications of foreigners to the Greek oracles. Toward Asia Minor, beginning in Cappadocia, lies the district of the "Chatti" and "Hittites," who only come into notice later. Northern Palestine soon meets us as "the western land." The story told of Sargon, whether it is historical or not, shows that the Mediterranean was navigated. Arabia is in the western part Melucha, in the eastern Magan, and seems to have been more accessible to the earliest Babylonians than later to the Assyrians or even to us. In the south there must have been navigation on the Persian Gulf; for Dilmun (the island of Bahrein) was situated within the sphere of Babylonian interests, and has left monuments in cuneiform characters. It is also hardly imaginable that Gudea obtained his stone from Magan except by sea. The numerous monuments of this period (see the inserted illustration, "Fragment of an Ancient Babylonian Royal Stele") display a high technical perfection. The first inscriptions and monuments of the kings of Lagash are indeed very rude. One is tempted to attribute this to a deterioration in the older style of workmanship consequent on the Semitic immigration; but a stage is soon reached again, which is comparable to that of the old empire in Egypt. The inscriptions of Sargon and Naram-Sin, written in a peculiar ornamental script, and the statues of Gudea display such skill that they have caused the impression among archæologists of having been produced under Greek influence. Countless documents of the management of temples and estates dating from this period have been discovered which originate from Lagash.

That is Babylonia, its range and its civilization, about 3000 B. C. or earlier. It reached then, perhaps, a higher stage than even later. The times of the dawning of its civilization, the times when the Sumerian stood on the level of the Latin in the eighth century B. C., or the Slav in the eighth to the twelfth centuries A. D., lie already in the remote and historically unattainable distance.

(*b*) *The Kings of Ur.* — The last inscriptions of the Patesis of Lagash known to us, the direct descendants of Gudea, partly contain dedications to new kings, of whom many inscriptions are extant from towns in Southern and Northern Babylonia. These rulers term themselves "king of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad," their inscriptions, at least the South Babylonian, like those of Lagash, are composed in Sumerian. We have therefore to notice a great alteration since the preceding era: North Babylonia has yielded the supremacy to South Babylonia. The kings of Ur rule Babylonia in the place of those of Agade; for even the North belongs to them, as inscriptions found there prove clearly enough.

We have in this kingdom of "Sumer and Akkad" to distinguish generally between three dynasties. The first, of which the kings Ur-gur and his son Dungi

are best known to us (the former approximately contemporary with Gudea), and reigning after 3000, we call the Dynasty of Ur, after the title and seat of government. The numerous inscriptions of the two kings only tell us about the erection of temples in all the important towns of Babylonia, in the south as well as the north. They do not contain information as to their political activity and power. It follows, however, from the dispossession of the sovereigns of North Babylonia, that they must have largely encroached upon their territory. Dungi, in one of his North Babylonian inscriptions, written therefore in Semitic, styles himself "king of the four countries of the world," like Naram-Sin. Little after that can have been altered in the sphere of Babylonian power and civilization with exception of the internal changes. The following kings, like Dungi in North Babylonia, style themselves even on their inscriptions found in the southern towns "kings of Ur, king of the four countries of the world," and omit the "king of Sumer and Akkad." Their home must, therefore, be looked for in Northern Babylonia. The political centre of gravity is shifted more and more to the capitals of Sargon and Naram-Sin; and the South, with its observance of Sumerian customs, continually loses in importance. The names of this dynasty also, like all succeeding ones, show in conformity with this a pure Semitic form. It seems from this as if the successors of Dungi had been North Babylonians, like Naram Sin, who resided in the South. We may place the end of this dynasty somewhere about 2600 or 2500.

The second dynasty is called the "Isin," after its capital; its members style themselves "kings of Isin, kings of Sumer and Akkad." There must, therefore, have been a revolution. This is expressed in the fact that the kings of this dynasty, although they, like their predecessors and successors, wrote their inscriptions in Sumerian, finally discontinued to give their names a Sumerian form, as had been hitherto done in the South, but precisely like the North Babylonians (Naram Sin, etc.) bear names which are even in form recognisable as Semitic. The last of these kings is called Ishme-Dagan ("Dagan heard." His full title ran, Ishme-Dagan, governor of Nippur, prince of Ur, Uddadu of Eridu, lord of Uruk, king of Isin, king of Sumer and Akkad, the beloved husband of Nana). Out of this combination of words the divine name Dagan is certainly "Canaanitish." It would be conceivable, therefore, that we have already to do here with Canaanites; and the importance of this consideration will be seen when we speak of the first dynasty of Babylon. There are at least five kings now known of this dynasty (Ishbigirra, Gamil-Ninib, Libit-Anunit, Bur-Sin I, Ishme-Dagan). We can place its end about 2500 or 2400.

We thus come to the third and last independent South Babylonian dynasty. It had its seat in the town of the Sun-god Shamash, and is called from that the dynasty of Larsa. From the times of these kings (up to the present are known Nur-Ramman, Sin-iddin, Rim-Sin, who probably followed each other), as of their predecessors, we have a great number of records of the business life, the dates of which are mostly fixed by great events, and thus supply us with much information as to wars and other important undertakings. There are absolutely no royal inscriptions with historical announcements; only the usual inscriptions as to buildings and dedications. The last king of the dynasty, Rim-Sin, was not a Babylonian, but an Elamite. He expressly styles himself in his inscriptions son of the Elamite Kudur-Mabuk, who seems to have conquered the whole sphere of Baby-

lonian civilization as far as Phœnicia, and established his son on the throne in Southern Babylonia as the last "king of Sumer and Akkad."

We learn from the accounts of the earlier times that Elam was the mightiest opponent of Babylonia. A vigorous blow must then have been struck which made all Babylonia and its dependent countries vassal States of Elam for a time. If we connect that fact with what we just now conjectured as to a certain Canaanitic affinity of the last dynasties, and with what we shall soon have to state of the first dynasty of Babylon, it follows that the rôle of the "Babylonian Semites" was played out. The first post-Sumerian section of Babylonian history is ended. We have already reached the period of the growth of a new order of things. New nationalities are immigrating, or have already taken up their new home. The old fights are repeated; once more there is no united Babylonian empire. Thus the powerful neighbour can, for a time, lay his hand on the whole civilized country, — a state of things which is often repeated in the sequel.

(c) *The Rise of Babylon — The Beginnings of Babylonian History, properly so called.* — Even if we had not been informed as to the time and the circumstances of the different dynastic changes hitherto mentioned, we could quite clearly state the nature of the ensuing revolution, and thus recognise that we have in it the confirmation of the new conditions which had been already formed in the previous struggles.

Coincidently with the South Babylonian kings of Larsa, and partly with their predecessors, the dynasty of Isin, there reigned in North Babylonia, in Babylon, and, as it seems, with special preference for Sippar (perhaps an after-effect of the Sargon era, since Sippar combined with Agade), a succession of princes which, with reference to the lists of Babylonian kings, we designate the first dynasty of Babylon. We have seen that after the days of Sargon and Naram-Sin, when the North had the supreme power, kings were again ruling in the South, in the second line of the dynasty of Ur, who styled themselves kings of North Babylonia. But now in the numerous business documents of the time and the place the rulers of Northern Babylonia, up to the subjection of the South, which we shall soon mention, are not called "kings," although in point of fact they conducted the government. The conclusion is easily drawn that we have to deal with the vassal kings of those South Babylonians. The South Babylonian kings of Isin accordingly, in connection with the dynasty of Ur and in contrast to a Naram-Sin, inhabited once more the old capital of the kingdom of Sumer and Akkad, and had vassal kings in Babylon who exercised independent government. The same conditions continued under the several kings of the house of Larsa. The last king of this dynasty, Rim-Sin, the Elamite, was driven from Babylon by the fifth of these kings, after the relation of vassal had long been merely formal. Thus the independence of the South was ended for ever. From that date the kings of Babylon are masters also of the South Babylonian realm, and bear the title "king of Sumer and Akkad," which (apart from later isolated and unimportant cases of division of inheritance) no sovereign has again borne independently. The South lost its political significance. It now remains, what it had been under Sargon and Naram-Sin, a province of the kingdom of Babylon, which henceforth alone plays the principal part. It had already at an earlier epoch incorporated (clearly at the overthrow of the dynasty of Isin) the kingdom of Northern Babylon, the rulers of which styled themselves

"king of the four countries of the world." "Babylonian" history thus became really a history of Babylon.

But the dynasty under which the sovereignty was for ever transferred to the city, and which, in consequence of this development of events, gave the name to the country, and thus to the whole civilization, was, as the names of its members show, not "Babylo-Semitic," but Canaanitic. The names and the periods of reigns are preserved for us in a Babylonian list of kings: Sumu-abi, ca. 2400–2375; Sumula-il, 2374–2353; Zabu, 2352–2328; Abil-Sin, 2327–2303; Sin-muballit, 2302–2268; Hammu-rabi, 2267–2213 (he conquered the South, and became king of all Babylonia); Samsu-iluna, 2212–2183; Abeshua, 2182–2165; Ammi-satana, 2164–2151; Ammi-ssadok, 2150–2116; Samsu-satana, 2115–2101. Meanwhile the second of the great Semitic migrations mentioned had been completed. We designate its representatives as Canaanites, because they preserved in Canaan their character and their language in the greatest purity and for the longest time. This migration flooded Babylonia also with a part of its tide of nations. In the meantime the same scenes had been repeated which occurred at the time of the migration of the first Semites (in this light we should be inclined to regard many incidents under the last South Babylonian dynasties). The advancing nomads forced their way from the open country into the towns, and Babylonia received another ruling population in place of the first, which had lived its day. This in the same way assimilated the Babylonian civilization, and met with the same destiny as the former. This is the second period of Babylonian history, and also the last of the political suzerainty of Babylonia over Nearer Asia.

The same wave of migration had reached Syria and Palestine. Perhaps the assumption that it flooded Egypt also explains the existence of the Hyksos and the strong Semitic influences that were introduced into Egypt from that source. Babylonia kept at this period also the supremacy over the West. The tribes and chieftains of Palestine were vassals of the kings of Babylon, the old extent of their power (*vide* the map, p. 9) was therefore still preserved, and guarded from the troubles of this migration. The Nearer East is still Babylonian, and the conception that we have to form of the importance of Babylonia for the rest of Western Asia at that time corresponds in all main points with the picture we could draw for the era one thousand years earlier. The East, which was in the possession of the "Canaanites," resembled on the whole that of the "Semitic Babylonians." It was completely under the influence of the Sumerian civilization, which now had been spread further by a second relay of Semites.

The first Babylonian dynasty is followed by a second, consisting also of eleven kings. Their Sumerian names, many of which are ingeniously corrected, and the dates of their reigns are preserved for us by the lists. We know nothing more, since other information about this period is strangely deficient. Its total duration was three hundred and sixty-eight years. We can only say of the events of this period that toward its close the conditions must have been forming which are of acknowledged importance at the beginning of the next dynasty. It must be a still undecided point whether we are to include in this era the "Hittite" migration, which brought Mesopotamia under the rule of the Mitani, and traces of which made themselves visible in Babylonia about this time (cf. below, p. 111). Some signs of it can be indicated.

The third dynasty is once more foreign, but traces its origin to immigrants from

the other side, from Elam and Media. The people which invaded Babylonia from this side and gave Babylonia its kings for two centuries calls itself Kashshu (Kassites). Even in later times under Sennacherib traces of them are to be found in the Zagros. We shall be compelled to account for their appearance by a great stream of nations which poured itself from the East and Northeast over the civilized countries, just as the Turks and Mongols did many thousand years later. We know very little about the part of that tide of nations which flowed on to Babylonia. Later discoveries will perhaps some day explain the form of its connection with Elam and the other countries under consideration. The migration of these barbarians assumed in any case great dimensions. After that time we meet Kassite names, and frequently in Babylonia among notable families. The mixture of races in Babylonia thus received a new component, and in the Babel-like confusion of tongues we hear the sound of Kassite, which is only known to us by a list of words and proper names. The scheme of the dynasties of Babylon reckons as Kassite its third house of thirty-six kings, a period of five hundred and seventy-six years, extending from about 1700 to the eleventh century. We know most of these kings by name, and have information of all kinds as to the events of that time from inscriptions, royal and otherwise, although there are here also considerable gaps in the tradition.

An insight into the order of things at the beginning of this period is afforded us by the inscription of one of the first princes in this dynasty, perhaps the sixth, by name Agum Kakrime. He styles himself "king of the Kashshu and Akkadians (= Babylonians), king of the wide dominion of Babylon, who settled with numerous inhabitants the land of Umliash (border land to Elam), king of Padan and Alvan (frontier territories to Media), king of Gutium (the northern lands!), the king who rules the four countries of the world." The whole enumeration of titles, different from that of the Babylonian monarchs, and the precedence given to the Kassites, show that we have here to do with one of the first kings of the new conquerors; a later king, Karaindash, already bears the usual Babylonian titles, and only adds at the end "king of the Kashshu," which his successors actually omit. These barbarians also had thus soon adapted themselves to civilization, — they had become Babylonians.

It is obvious that the whole conquest could only be due to the feebleness of Babylonia. The kingdom of Hammu-rabi (d. 2213) must have gone the way of its predecessors, its power must have been broken, confusion and weakness must have crept in, before it was easy for the barbarians to occupy the warm nest. We find evidence of this equally well in the above-mentioned inscription of Agum Kakrime, for this was set up to commemorate the recovery of the statue of Marduk, the chief divinity of Babylon. The loss of the god signifies for the town complete defencelessness, and disruption of its municipal constitution; in fact, a plunge into annihilation, since it is the god who by his presence grants it protection and the claim to exist. The seizure of the god on a conquest signifies the destruction of independence and the impossibility of recovering it again. Marduk had been carried away to Chani, which lies in Western Media. Who the conqueror was and what were the circumstances which we must assume in these countries as a result of the great migration, to which the Kassites belonged, can only be suggested by the analogy of the "kingdom of the Medes." Thence Agum Kakrime brought it back to Babylon, and thus proclaimed himself at once the protector and the real king of Babylon.

This feebleness of Babylonia and the exhaustion of the "Canaanite" population are still more clearly visible in two further occurrences of this time. The third Semitic migration, the Aramæan, makes its mark in the age of the Kassites (1700–1100), and the dominion of Babylonia over the West is disputed and finally destroyed by a new power, which now develops itself from a "town kingship" and seeks aggrandisement, namely, Assyria. The future belongs to these two. The Kassites, the temporary lords of Babylonia, shared the fate of their kingdom, which was forced to resign its suzerainty. As the sovereignty had moved up stream from the South to Babylon, so it moved further to Assyria. The history of Nearer Asia after the encroachment of Assyria, which begins at this period (somewhere about the sixteenth century), turns on the explanation and maintenance of this fact.

2. THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN BABYLON AND ASSYRIA

A. Babylon under the Kassites

The struggle between Assyria and Babylonia for the supremacy in the sphere of civilization which occupies our attention began under the Kassite dynasty, and, owing to the abundant sources of information now open to us, we can follow its vicissitudes more accurately than the events of the earlier age. This struggle and its result constitute the most important subject for the subsequent political history. The history of Babylon and that of Assyria concern us, therefore, in the first place so far as they touch each other and are interconnected. Thus we are confronted by two streams of development flowing side by side, the cause of which we can best indicate in a combined account. On the other hand Babylon almost always asserted her independence as a State, and after she had been for a long time subdued, quite at the end she remained once more the conqueror. At the beginning of this war Babylon was the predominant power, and never ceased, even when under the influence of Assyria, to have a separate history and development. If we therefore wish to do more than merely chronicle the wars between Assur and Babylon, if we wish to do justice to the importance of Babylon as a seat of the ancient civilization, which even Assyria acknowledged, we must follow up separately the history of this independent State.

We have seen, in the first place, what district was claimed by Agum Kakrime, the ruler of Babylonia; his power no longer extended to Mesopotamia and the West (for the reasons of this see lower down the account of the development of these regions). The next known inscription, the one already mentioned of King Karaindash, claimed only the sovereignty over Babylonia. We shall see that attempts to recover Mesopotamia were not made until the power of Assyria, which had its seat there, was expelled. The dominion of Babylonia in Palestine had been replaced by that of Egypt. It seems as if Karaindash had been the head of a new family within the Kassite dynasty; his successors, at least, speak of him in their letters in a way which suggests this idea. We must place him in about 1500. All that we know of him, besides the above-mentioned inscription, is that he concluded a treaty with Assyria and engaged in a correspondence with the king of Egypt.

This last fact is proved to us in a document which one of his successors, Burnaburiash, sent some fifty to seventy years later to Amenophis IV, and for the knowledge of which we are indebted to certainly one of the most surprising of all the

wonderful discoveries in the soil of the ancient East. In the winter 1887–1888 at Tel-Amarna in Middle Egypt, the place of residence of Amenophis IV, over three hundred clay tablets with cuneiform writing were discovered; these represent a small part of the State archives, and contain the letters which kings of Nearer Asia and vassal kings from Syria and Palestine addressed to Amenophis III and IV. There are in the first group letters of the kings of Babylon, Assur, Mitani in (Mesopotamia), the king of the Chatti, and of others. It is obvious that these letters give the most valuable information as to the history of the Nearer East, and we shall therefore have frequently to refer to them in what follows. The Babylonian letters, which concern us first, do not tell us anything of Babylon's greatness and power; but the existence of the complete collection speaks all the more for the importance of Babylonia in a time already past. They are written in cuneiform characters, and, with three exceptions, in Babylonian Semitic. And what is still more significant, there are two letters among them of the Pharaoh, the one to the king of Babylon, the other to a vassal of North Palestine, which are also composed in that language. Cuneiform writing and Babylonian language were therefore the means of intercommunication throughout the whole of the Nearer East. A knowledge of Babylonian literature was the necessary preliminary to mastering them. This is abundantly shown by several tablets found there containing a Babylonian myth, written in Babylon and apparently used in Egypt for teaching purposes.

The two kings, from whom eleven letters in all to the two Pharaohs are extant, were called Kadashman-Bel and Burnaburiash; the first wrote in the last years of Amenophis III, the second to his successor. The two may have been brothers, and the younger had deposed the elder. The letters generally mention no great State events. They deal principally with marriages between the two royal houses. The Pharaohs received Babylonian princesses into their harem, but were not so liberal with their own flesh and blood to their Babylonian friends: these did not at least receive princesses. What Pharaoh sends in gifts is always found to be too little; the money is carefully confided to the purifying agency of the furnace and found unduly alloyed, and better metal and more of it is always demanded.

More important for history seem the relations of the two regions of civilization, which are exhibited in the fact that Babylonia (and actually Mitani) sends as presents (but, it would also appear, as commissioned work) productions of its industries, among them the much-admired lapis lazuli skilfully worked in Babylon; Egypt, on the contrary, sends primarily gold. It almost appears as if diplomatic negotiations had been left to verbal intercourse and the cleverness of corrupt court officials, for political questions are seldom discussed. One letter vividly pictures the manners of the age. Some Babylonian merchants, travelling for the king (the kings engaged in business and enjoyed, it would appear, immunity from taxation), were arrested in Akko, where they apparently wished to take ship for Egypt, by a prince of Palestine, and in some way badly used (no reasons are assigned for this). The Babylonian now demands from Pharaoh the release of the prisoners and compensation, since Akko was subject to his suzerainty. A political controversy is only once discussed. The Assyrian king, Assur-uballit, had found recognition, and clearly also promises, at the Egyptian court for his schemes of aggrandisement at the cost of Babylonia. Burnaburiash pointed out the inadmissibility of such action, since Assyria was his vassal State, and no direct negotiations could therefore be carried on with it. He referred also to the correct attitude of his father, Kurigalzu,

who, when once asked to join cause with the Canaanites, the subjects of Egypt, had refused every such act of treachery toward Egypt. That this loyalty was not so superior to any suspicion as these assurances of friendship would make it seem, and that in Egypt no very implicit confidence was placed in the warm friend of Egyptian gold, is proved by the fact that when one of the Phœnician princes wishes to blacken the character of another at court, he suspects him of being a secret adherent of the king of Mitani, of the Chatti, or of Kash, that is, of the Kassites of Babylon.

We can, indeed, assign to a somewhat later date an attempt of Babylonia to win back the West, when the disorders broke out in Egypt after the death of Amenophis IV. Burnaburiash (and such a contingency is not excluded), notwithstanding the anxiety displayed in his letter to Amenophis IV about the encroachments of Assyria, and although wars between him and the Assyrians are proved, had given his son Karachardash a daughter of the energetic Assur-uballit as his chief wife; and her son Kadashman-charbe became the successor to the throne, a sign of the Assyrian influence. We are acquainted with the attempt, just mentioned, made by this Babylonian king to regain a firm footing in the West. Assyria, indeed, was at this time encroaching on Mesopotamia, and Babylonia had nothing left but the road diagonally through the Syrian desert. Kadashman-charbe tried to secure this by punishing the nomads, the Suti, who roamed those parts, and by digging wells and building fortresses and towns, which he settled with Babylonians, to transform it into a commercial highway, which facilitated the communication with the coast and made the détour by Mesopotamia unnecessary. This scion of Assyria was evidently a more serious rival of Assur than it ever found later. It is possible that his plan was connected with previously existing conditions; but in any case he had recognised that it was better policy to satisfy the threatening rival with districts (which had first to be conquered), and meanwhile to deprive those districts of their greatest value by diverting from them the traffic so important for Babylonia. That would, indeed, have been a solution of the then urgent dispute as to the possessions of Mesopotamia. Perhaps Kadashman had arrived at a peaceful arrangement with Assyria about his plan. If he had carried it out he would, at any rate, have shown himself to be a man who could support his power by more effective means than arms, especially when Babylon, an industrial State, was confronted by the military State, Assyria.

Kadashman-charbe cannot have reigned long. He was murdered, and in fact fell the victim of an insurrection stirred up by the Kassites. We are not told what the immediate incentive to the deed was. We may perhaps see the deeper reason in the fact that the kings and the ruling classes of the Kassites had meanwhile (after 1400) become "babylonised;" that is, that they felt, and affected to feel themselves, Babylonians. Those of the Kassites who had gone away empty-handed at the division of the spoil, or had lost their share, just as often happens in the commercial life of communities engaged in industries and trade, formed a party of malcontents, who longed for the good old times when the Kassite was lord and the Babylonian the spoiled. The insurgents therefore raised to the throne a man of low birth, whom the two chronicles which record the fact call Shuzigash and Nazibugash, a "son of nobody." This was a welcome inducement for the grandfather, Assur-uballit, who was still living and had been restlessly active in extending his kingdom, to secure the supremacy for Assyria. He appeared in Babylon

as the avenger of his grandson and restorer of order, suppressed the revolt, and had Kurigalzu, the infant son of his murdered grandson, crowned as king.

But the force of circumstances is stronger than blood relationships and gratitude for benefits of doubtful intention. So long as Assur-uballit lived and under his son, Assyria was still occupied with the conquest of Mesopotamia. But when Ramman-nirari I drove the Mitani thence, Babylon, now that the institutions of Kadashman-charbe must long since have disappeared, had no other course but to secure Mesopotamia for herself, and with it the communications with the West. Since, however, Assyria possessed this country, war ensued between it and Babylon. Under Kurigalzu and Ramman-nirari I the contest for Mesopotamia began between the two States.

We have an interesting account of a war of the Babylonian king Kurigalzu against Churbatila, king of Elam, in which he defeated him on Babylonian soil, that is, in one of the attacks of Elam on Babylon, and took him prisoner. He must have followed up his victory; for on the back of an inscription, which a dependent of the king Dungi of the old dynasty of Ur (cf. above) had consecrated to Nana of Uruk, stand the words "Kurigalzu, king of Karduniash (designation of the Kassite kings of Babylonia), hath captured the palace of the town Shasha (= Susa, ? formerly Shushan) in Elam, and hath presented (this tablet) to Belit (of Nippur) for his life." The tablet was, therefore, carried off from Uruk in a raid of the Elamites sometime or other, then discovered on a victorious campaign of Kurigalzu's against Elam in a temple (if in Susa, then probably in the temple of the goddess Shushinak, mentioned in the case of Assurbanipal), and deposited by the king in the temple at Nippur, more than one thousand two hundred years after its composition. Finally, rediscovered during the American excavations, it has been brought to Constantinople. Not merely books have their destinies! ("habent sua fata libelli"). These wars prove to us that the conditions were then present which the succeeding period continually presents to us. Babylonia lies as a coveted prey between Assyria and Elam. For a time it was able to face the two on equal terms, and even if occasionally vanquished it regained the superiority. This struggle fills up the succeeding centuries until the end of Assyria. In the last period we shall then find Babylonia as a vassal State of one of the two.

Even now the same ebb and flow of events is noticeable. Soon after Kurigalzu, as we shall see in Assyrian history (cf. below, p. 49), Babylonia and Babylon came into the power of Tukulti-Ninib of Assyria. Shortly before, under Bel-nadin-shum I, who reigned only one year and a half, Kitin-chutrutash, king of Elam, invaded Babylonia, pillaged Dur-ilu, the Babylonian town, where the road from Elam debouches, and conquered Nippur, the favourite resort of the Kassite kings, where they often held their court. A second expedition, with much the same incidents, was made by the Elamites under the second successor of the Babylonian king, Ramman-shum-iddin, who was appointed by Tukulti-Ninib; in this, Isin especially suffered. Several psalms of lamentation bewail, in the tone of penitential hymns, the devastation of the country and especially of the cities named. In the many centuries of Babylonian history similar circumstances often recurred, but these psalms suit this period admirably, and, even if they did not originate in it, they were certainly adapted from similar songs of an earlier time, and were sung then in the temples of Babylonia. We shall see under "Elam" that Babylonia, for the rest of this dynasty, was usually subject to Elamitic supremacy.

It will be seen that we are once more at the end of a period. The Kassites had long succumbed to Babylonian influence and played out their part, and the Kassite dynasty is drawing to a close. It can reckon but four kings more: among them only Marduk-aplu-iddin (Merodach-baladan I) seems to have offered successful resistance to Assyria and to have retained Mesopotamia. The change of dynasties presents, as always, a period of disturbances and weakness, and brings a line of kings to the throne whose task is to resist Assyria and to renew the struggle for Mesopotamia.

The thirty-six Kassite kings, so far as they can be determined at present, and the chief events of their time are as follows:

Gandish reigns sixteen years. Agumshi (abbreviated title), twenty-two years. Gujashi, twenty-two years. Ushki, eight (?) years. Adudash-metash. Tashshi-gurumash. Agum Kakrime, successor of the former (? cf. p. 14 and p. 15, below). A gap. Karaindash (new family?); relations with Egypt; alliance with Assyria. A gap of one or more kings.? Kadash-man-Bel; correspondence with Amenophis III. Burnaburiash I, contemporary of Amenophis III; treaty with Pussur-Assur of Assyria. Kurigalzu I, relations with Amenophis III in Assyria with Assur-nadin-achi. Burnaburiash II, son of Kurigalzu I (king by forcible deposition of the former?); correspondence with Amenophis IV; Assur-uballit increases his power. Karachardash, son of the former; his wife Muballitat-sherua, daughter of Assur-uballit; in Assyria, probably Bel-nirari and Pudu-il. Kadashman-charbe, son of both (cf. p. 17); attempt to effect communication with the West through the desert, since Mesopotamia is in the hands of the Mitani; murdered. Shuzigash (or Nazibugash, cf. above, p. 17). Kurigalzu II, son of Kadashman-charbe; instated as a child by his great-grandfather Assur-uballit, reigned many years; war with Churbatila of Elam (cf. p. 18); in Assyria: Belnirari, Pudu-il, Ramman-nirari I, Nazimaruttash, son of the former, twenty-six years; war with Ramman-nirari I. Kadashman-turgu, seventeen years; in Assyria: Ramman-nirari I, who now, after expulsion of the Mitani and repudiation of Babylonia, possesses Mesopotamia, and Salmanassar I. Kadashman-buriash, two years; war with Salmanassar I, chiefly about Mesopotamia. Kudur-bel, six years. Shagarakti-suriash, thirteen years; contemporary of Salmanassar I. Bibejashu, son of the former, eight years; Tukulti-Ninib, victorious against Babylonia. Bel-nadin-shum I, one year and a half; invasion of Elam (cf. pp. 11 and 12). Kadashman-charbe II, under him (?) the Assyrian Tukulti-Ninib conquers Babylon (cf. p. 18); under his suzerainty Ramman-shum-iddin rules in Babylon six years; renewed Elamitic invasion; by a revolt (p. 18 above) the Assyrians are expelled, and Ramman-shum-ussur ascends the throne. Melishichu, fifteen years; in Assyria, unrest and weakness, then renewed advances. Marduk-aplu-iddin I possesses Mesopotamia; in Assyria, Ninib-apal-ekur and Assurdan. Zamama-shum-iddin, one year; war with Assurdan (p. 50, below). Bel-nadin-achi, three years; a contemporary of Assurdan (cf. under Elam, p. 50, below).

To sum up, this dynasty reckons thirty-six kings, who reigned five hundred and seventy-six years and nine months, from about 1700 to 1130.

B. The Dynasty of Pashe

The new dynasty is called by the list of kings the *dynasty of Pashe*, a district of the city of Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar, the most successful king of this house, styles himself expressly "a child of Babylon." This line of monarchs, which comprises eleven kings, or a period of one hundred and thirty-two years (about 1130–1000), wished, therefore, to be regarded as national. So far as our present investigations go, this epoch presents the picture which was to be expected

from the conditions which brought the new house to the throne. The main question, as at the end of the list of Kassite kings, was resistance against Elam and Assyria, and recovery or defence of Mesopotamia. We know nothing of the first two (or three) kings of this dynasty.

The third (or fourth) king, Nebuchadnezzar I, comes before us as conqueror in wars with Elam, and lord of Mesopotamia and also of the "western land;" he therefore, for the last time indeed, extended the suzerainty of Babylon right down to the Mediterranean. His wars with Elam prove that, under his predecessors, perhaps still the last Kassites, the misery which the invasions of Kitin-chutrutash had already caused had become still more acute. Babylon itself had been captured (this may have caused the change of dynasty) and the statue of Marduk carried away to Elam. Such a rape of the god signified (cf. above, p. 14) the loss of national independence and a degradation to a state of vassaldom. Just as Marduk served in the temple of the stranger god, so the ruler of Babylon was no king, but a servant of the Elamite. So long as the image of the god was not in Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar did not style himself king, but governor, of Babylon. He did not assume the title of "King of Babylon" until he had brought back the statue of Marduk, which he could only do after a decisive victory over Elam. Songs have been preserved to us which bewail the absence of Marduk from Babylon and commemorate his return. In this way some limit appears to have been set to the advance of the Elamite, for a time at least.

Any other knowledge of this dynasty comes only from the accounts of the struggles with Assyria. We shall see in Assyrian history that the victories of Nebuchadnezzar had great subsequent effects, and that a successful attack of Assyria, which led to the capture of Babylon under Tiglath-Pileser I, produced no permanent results.

The list of kings of the Pashe dynasty can be made out approximately as follows by aid of the Babylonian list of kings and other information:

? (Name obliterated = Marduk-achi-irba ?), seventeen (?) years; in Assyria, Assur-dan; (vassal of Elam ?) ? (obliterated) six years; in Assyria, Mutakkil-Nushku; (vassal of Elam ?). Nebuchadnezzar I (or another king previously) possesses Mesopotamia; in Assyria, Assur-rish-ishi. Bel-nadin-apli; Mesopotamia lost to Assyria. Marduk-nadin-achi, fights with Tiglath-Pileser I, from whom he wins back Mesopotamia. Marduk-shapik-zir (-mati), contemporary of Assur-bel-kala, during whose reign he dies. After him succeeds Ramman-aplu-iddin, a "son of nobody," whose daughter Assur-bel-kala marries. ? reigns twenty-two years (or if at the beginning three kings reigned before Nebuchadnezzar I = Ramman-aplu-iddin). Marduk . . . , one year and a half. Marduk-zir . . . , thirteen years. Nabu-shum . . . , nine years. The facts as to the last four dates of the reigns are only known to us from the list of kings; otherwise we have no sort of information as to the last period of the Pashe dynasty.

C. The Elamites and other Foreigners as Rulers of Babylonia

The next years are characterised by repeated changes of dynasties and want of information; even Assyria reveals no secrets. The list of kings and a very briefly expressed chronicle give the following facts:

Sibar-shichu, seventeen years, "son of Irba-Sin, of the dynasty of Damiq-Marduk, murdered, buried in the palace of Sargon." Ea-mukin-shum, five (or three) months. Kashshu-nadin-achi, three (or six) years.

These three are termed "the dynasty of the sea country," that is, of the land on the Persian Gulf at the mouth of the rivers. We learn from a building record belonging to the later period that they rebuilt part of the Temple of the Sun at Sippar, and that the reason of this was the havoc worked by the Suti in the preceding years. We have already noticed these Suti under Kadashman-charbe I as the nomads of the Syrian desert (cf. above, p. 17). They are once more roaming into Babylonia unhindered, and threaten even the towns there. We have therefore before us part of a new migration. That is the most important point that we draw from this, and it is supplemented by the fact that Babylon is under foreign sovereigns. With reference to the nationality of the three "kings of the sea country," it is to be noticed that partly their names, partly their description, show a remnant of the Kassite sovereignty, which must thus have been preserved longer in the extreme south.

The next three kings are called by the list and the chronicle the "Dynasty of Bazi," a district on the Elamite frontier. Their names and the length of their reigns are as follows:

E-dubar-shugamuna, reigns seventeen (or fifteen) years. Ninib-kudur-ussur, reigns three (two) years. Shilani-shuqamuna, only three months.

Then a single king is reckoned as a separate dynasty, and he was an *Elamite.* We see, therefore, that Babylonia was completely powerless and the prey of every foreign invader, of the Elamites above all, if they were not dislodged by the Assyrians. The period of these three dynasties embraces about the years 1000–960, and at its expiry we shall find Assyria, which had been hitherto powerless, once more bent on advance.

We do not know who overthrew the Elamites, or what other causes brought a new dynasty into power. The list of kings from this point is mutilated, and we have until about 750 practically no accounts except the Assyrian. From these latter we can learn quite clearly what was the distinctive feature of this period, even if we cannot give an account of the several reigns.

D. The Chaldæans

Babylonia, the prize for which the two great States of Assyria and Elam were disputing, was at this time flooded by a migration similar to those of the Semites, who had been settled there, and in the course of centuries had thoroughly adopted Babylonian customs. From this migration we can picture to ourselves most distinctly the constant ebb and flow of such a method of occupation; the only other equally clear instance is afforded by the circumstances attending the seizure of Palestine by the Hebrews. The Chaldæans thenceforth pressed into Babylonia, inhabited the open country, and tried to gain possession of the towns.

However prominent Chaldæans may be in the subsequent history, and however many details we have of their relations to Babylonia, we cannot yet form for ourselves any satisfactorily clear picture of their national characteristics. All the Chaldæans, indeed, who are mentioned at all bear quite Babylonish names. No new element in the language can be ascertained to have been introduced by their invasion of Babylonia, so that we can get no clue to their original race. Since

they evidently advanced from the south and first occupied the districts on the Persian Gulf, they must, as a matter of course, be regarded as Semites, who immigrated from Eastern Arabia, while the previous migrations starting more from the west, went first toward Mesopotamia and North Babylonia. The Chaldæan migration should therefore be placed between the Aramæan and the Arabian, and the Chaldæans should have their nearest kinsmen in these two groups of nations, or would be identified with one of them. If they were Semites, their rapid assimilation of the conditions of Babylonia is explained, for other stocks akin to them in language were already settled there, and Aramæan tribes had, as we shall see, already spread over Babylonia. The scanty facts that we can collect at present for a characterisation of the Chaldæans accord well with this view. The designation of Ur, the City of the Moon, as Καμαρίνη is traced back to Berossus. That cannot be explained from any language except Arabic, where *qamar* signifies moon. The chieftains of the Chaldæans are termed *ra'sani:* that is the Arabic pronunciation of the word for chieftain (Hebrew, *ro'sh*). The only god whose cult may be perhaps reckoned to have been introduced by the Chaldæans is the war god designated by (or identified with) Girra, whom Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar, and Neriglissor bring into prominence.

Thus we find henceforth by the side of a series of Aramæan tribes in Babylonia a number of Chaldæan principalities or stocks, which are designated by Babylonians and Assyrians as a "house" (bît) of their princely family. For example, Bit-Jakin, the "sea country," Kassite rulers of which, perhaps already borne onward by the new movement, we have just seen on the throne of Babylon, (see also the map "Babylonia, Assyria, and Adjoining Countries from 1100–745," on p. 9), Bit-Sa'alli, Bit-Shilani, Bit-Amukkani, Bit-Adini, Bit-Dakuri (in immediate vicinity of Babylon and Borsippa), and others. The one aim of their princes naturally was to gain possession of the adjacent large towns, and, as a culminating triumph, to become king of Babylon. The Chaldæan was the third candidate for the royal throne of Babylon who appeared then by the side of Assur and Elam, and the Babylonian population was less and less able to assert its independence. The state of things which resulted displays many phases. On the whole the Chaldæans and Elamites joined cause, while the Assyrian kings endeavoured to appear as the protectors of the national independence, or what they would have so called. The course of this struggle shows a constant fluctuation, until the Chaldæans attained their object with the fall of Assyria, and Babylon under a Chaldæan dynasty once more assumed a place among the great powers.

The facts we can collect from the period when Assyria was not yet again supreme in Babylonia are very few, and hardly go beyond accounts of wars with Assyria. The first king of the dynasty (perhaps Nabu-kin-apli) reigned at least twenty-six years. It seems as if in a record dating from his time the dominion over Mesopotamia was still ascribed to him (circa 960). He must have been the last who could have prided himself on that; for about this very time the Assyrian kings also bear, without further interruption, the title in question. The list of kings assigns to his successor, whose name is broken off, six months twelve days; after that there is a great gap until Nabonassai (from 747 on). Some of the names of the kings in this period we cannot determine conclusively. We know Shamash-mudammiq from his war with Assyria under Ramman-nirari II. He died during this war, and Nabu-shum-ishkun became king with Assyrian help. He was, there-

fore, certainly a Babylonian; his predecessor, a Chaldæan. This is in accordance with the fact that a successor, who showed hostility to Assyria, was apparently a Chaldæan once more. Then follows, possibly, an unknown king. After this, Nabu-aplu-iddin reigned at least thirty-one years, and died in 854. He was an opponent of Assur-nasir-pal and Salmanassar, and during the reign of the former tried to force his way along the Euphrates into Mesopotamia. In the year 879 he supported the prince of Suchi on the Euphrates, who was under Babylonian influence, against Assyria; but Assur-nasir-pal defeated the Babylonian reserve forces. The manner in which he speaks of this victory suggests that Nabu-aplu-iddin was a Chaldæan; and this is borne out by the eagerness with which, in an inscription of his own, commemorating the restoration of the Temple of Sippar, he represents himself as a good Babylonian. Under his reign Assyria did not venture to encroach on Babylon itself; Assur-nasir-pal contented himself with Mesopotamia, and seems later to have extended his power toward North Babylonia and to have occupied the district of the former "kingdom of the four countries of the world."

Nabu-aplu-iddin's death in 854 was, as usually happens in the East, the signal for disputes about the throne between his two sons Marduk-nadin-shum and Marduk-bel-usati. In accordance with the directions of the deceased monarch they had divided Babylonia among them, so that the former received North Babylonia with Babylon, the latter South Babylonia and with it the original home of the Chaldæans. The war between the Chaldæan prince and the Babylonian king naturally broke out at once, and the Chaldæan forces displayed their invariable superiority to the Babylonian. The Babylonian Marduk-nadin-shum summoned the Assyrian Salmanassar II to his aid, that is, he held his crown from him as a fief, and the Assyrian did not neglect such a favourable opportunity of realising the object of Assyrian policy, the practical sovereignty of Babylonia. The "Chaldæan peasants" of Marduk-bel-usati fled before his veteran troops back into their swamps. Salmanassar marched into the towns of Babylonia, offered the sacrifices as supreme lord of the country, and received the homage of the Chaldæan princes. Marduk-nadin-shum reigned under Assyrian protection. Salmanassar naturally possessed from the first the north of Babylonia, the district of the "kingdom of the four countries of the world," which from the time of Assur-nasir-pal was under the immediate government of Assyria. It seems, indeed, as if, at the close of his reign, when the revolt of his son Assur-danin-pal drove him out of Assyria, he relied on this part of his kingdom, and that his son Shamshi-Ramman made it and Mesopotamia the base of his operations for the subjugation of Assyria.

This impossibility of interfering effectively in Babylonia at this time could not fail to present to the ever watchful Chaldæans another welcome opportunity of attack. So soon, therefore, as Shamshi-Ramman was free from some of his most pressing enemies, he turned his attention to Babylon, where, after the death (or the expulsion) of Marduk-nadin-shum in 823, we now find Marduk-balat-su-iqbi as king, a Chaldæan prince, who was supported by Kaldi, Babylonian-Aramæan tribes, Elam and Median peoples (Namri): one more, therefore, of the Chaldæan chiefs who by Elamitic aid (standing thus in the same relation to Elam as Marduk-nadin-shum to Assyria) had mounted the throne of Marduk. We see therefore, for the first time, clearly marked out the condition of things which we shall repeatedly find,—Assur or Elam as the suzerain of a king reigning in Babylon under their protection.

The success of Shamshi-Ramman is not mentioned any more in his inscription; on the other hand, campaigns against Chaldæa and Babylon in 813 and 812 are recorded. The first presupposes a defeat of the Chaldæan king by Assyria, and with it the establishment of the Assyrian supremacy. The second coincides with the year of the accession of Ramman-nirari III. Perhaps the Chaldæans, who were hardly defeated, had, on the change of king, as often occurred afterward, commenced a new attack. Ba'u-achi-iddin seems this time to have been king of Babylon. He was conquered and captured by the Assyrian; and Ramman-nirari, just as Salmanassar previously, now sacrificed in the towns as supreme sovereign. It is not certain whether all this happened in 812, or only on the expeditions of 796 and 795 against North Babylonia, and of 791 against Chaldæa, about which we know nothing. This much is certain in any case, that this age is marked by attempts of the Chaldæan princes to gain the Babylonian throne under Elamitic protection and supremacy, and by the superiority of Assyria, as long as other claims are not made on her. On every change of monarch, or when Assyria is otherwise engaged, fresh attempts are continually made to shake off her yoke. It is the same spectacle that we find everywhere, and to which the prophets testify most clearly in the case of Judah and Israel; namely, two great parties in the country, who rely on two different great powers, and a continual shifting and changing to and fro.

We are not told whom Ramman-nirari instated as king of Babylon, and we possess no information about the ensuing period, since after Ramman-nirari the Assyrian power once more diminished and its influence over Babylonia waned. But Assyria did not abandon her supremacy without a struggle, for many expeditions against Chaldæa are recorded for us: thus, there was one immediately on the new monarch's accession in 783 and 782 under Salmanassar III, and under the same king in 777; also under his successor Assur-dan, immediately on his accession in 771, there was an expedition to North Babylonia, and in 769 one to Chaldæa. The explanation is given by the former condition of things, and we can imagine the course of events from the expeditions of Salmanassar and Ramman-nirari. Since we possess no special inscriptions of the Assyrian kings in question, and we have only the brief notices in the chronicles before us, we do not know any names of Babylonian kings of this period. At least three or four are certainly missing.

The Assyrian influence must have been completely destroyed in the succeeding revolts (763–746), and Babylonia was thus left at the mercy of the Chaldæans. The first fact we learn is the name (from the Babylonian list of kings) of King Nabu-shum-ishk(un ?), who reigned until 748. If the restoration of the name is correct, we have a record about him which clearly draws for us the picture which we might expect of the conditions of Babylonia. Nabu-shum-imbi, the mayor of Borsippa, the sister town of Babylon, reports of building in the temple of Nebo, and says: "Then in Borsippa, the town of law and order, there arose sedition, havoc, uproar, and revolution; under the rule of the king Nabu-shum-ishkun, of Bit-Dakuri, the Babylonians, men of Borsippa and Dushulti from the bank of the Euphrates, all Chaldæans, Aramæans, Dilbateans (from a Babylonian town !), turned for a long season their arms against each other, defeated each other, and waged war with the men of Borsippa about their boundary. And Nabu-shum-iddin (a high official of the temple of Nebo) instigated on his own responsibility a revolt against Nabu-shum-imbi, the mayor of Borsippa. In the night, like a thief, he collected foes and bandits and led them into the temple of Nebo. . . . They raised an uproar.

But the men of Borsippa and others, who came to the rescue, surrounded the house of the mayor and protected it "with bows and with arrows." Thus we find what we expected: the king of Babylon is a Chaldæan of the stock of Dakuri, and the Chaldæans and Aramæans take possession of the territory of the towns which are divided by internal feuds. It is not surprising that under such conditions the wealthy classes hailed the appearance of an Assyrian king as a salvation, and the same phenomenon will meet us again in subsequent history. The Chaldæan dominion signified anarchy for Babylonia; for a strong Chaldæan prince and assured conditions were hardly compatible with the want of cohesion among the Chaldæans themselves, and the natural opposition between the greedy invaders and the wealthy, timid town population.

The next king is Nabu-nasir, or, as the Ptolemaic canon has corrected it, Nabonassar; he reigned from 747 to 734. The circumstances just mentioned continued under him, and the disturbances in Borsippa described by Nabu-shum-imbi led to an attempt of Borsippa during his reign to shake off his yoke, which the king took strong measures to suppress. There are scarcely any actions of Nabonassar himself to relate, only one account, traced to Berossus, the historian of Babylon under the Seleucids, states that he issued some enactments (it is not yet certain what their nature was) relative to establishing an era. As a matter of fact, the Ptolemaic canon (and this has made Nabonassar's name known) and a Babylonian chronicle, written under Darius, begin with his reign in the year 747.

E. Babylonia under the New Assyrian Empire

The third year of Nabonassar, 745, inaugurated a new era for Assyria with the accession of Tiglath-Pileser III; and Babylonia was immediately aware of the changed order of things. The object of the first expedition of the new king was Babylonia, where he chastised the Aramæans and the most northerly Chaldæan tribes, and placed Nabonassar under his protection. We may conclude from this that he was not a Chaldæan, but a Babylonian. Tiglath-Pileser, who henceforth styled himself king of Sumer and Akkad and king of the four countries of the world, came on his expedition as far as Nippur. Presumably the Chaldæans submitted, and he could not pursue his objects further, owing to the disturbances threatening from Armenia and Syria. Nabonassar therefore reigned under Assyrian protection. If a revolt at Borsippa shows that his power did not extend beyond the city boundaries of Babylon, it was not, on the one hand, to the interests of the Assyrian to spare Nabonassar his little difficulties; on the other hand, Tiglath-Pileser was really for the moment too greatly occupied to trouble himself more about Babylon than was urgently necessary. It says, however, much for his reputation that for fourteen years no Chaldæan made an effort to make himself master of Babylon.

Nabonassar died in the year 734, and was succeeded by his son Nabu-nadin-zir (abbreviated Nadinu, accordingly the genitive Nadios in Ptolemæus). He reigned two years (734 and 733), when one of the rebellions, which might be expected, broke out. The king was deposed by a governor of the province, Nabu-shum-ukin, a Babylonian therefore, and consequently a leader of the anti-Assyrian party. The latter enjoyed but two months of royal sovereignty, when he had to give way to

the Chaldæan Ukin-zir (Chinzer in Ptolemæus), the prince of Bit-Amukani (732–730). Assyria was thus forced again to interfere; for a Chaldæan on the throne of Babylon could have no other object than to win for himself the whole of Babylonia, which Tiglath-Pileser had until then possessed. So soon, therefore, as the latter had arranged affairs in Syria and had captured Damascus, where the siege alone had secured three years' rule as king to Ukin-zir, he turned against Babylonia, occupied Bit-Amukani, the home of Ukin-zir, as well as other Chaldæan States, and took Ukin-zir himself prisoner. In order to put an end to the eternal disorders, he resolved, in spite of the troublesome obligation, to be present annually at the New Year's festival in Babylon, and to reside there as much as possible besides, and to assume in person the crown of the kingdom of Bel, and commanded that he should be proclaimed for the next two years of his life King of Babylon. The rights of the Babylonians were to be guaranteed; he, as well as the Assyrian kings who adopted a similar policy, bore as kings of Babylon at least another name (thus Salmanassar-Ululai and Assurbanipal-Kandalanu). Tiglath-Pileser is entered in the Babylonian lists as Pulu, a name by which he is mentioned in the Old Testament ("Pul").

Tranquillity prevailed then during these two years (729 and 728), and during the reign of his successor, Salmanassar, who (727–722) had himself also crowned king of Babylon as Ululai. So soon, however, as on his death the great revolution in Assyria commenced, which brought Sargon to the throne, a Chaldæan prince, Marduk-aplu-iddin (II), or, as we usually call him with the false pronunciation given in the text of the Old Testament, Merodach-Baladan, king of the "sea country," used the opportunity to wrest to himself the Babylonian crown, having come to an agreement with Chumbanigash of Elam. Sargon, it is true, tried quickly to expel him, but the Elamite protector was also on the spot. A battle was fought near Dur-ilu, in which Sargon claimed the victory for himself, and the Babylonians for Chumbanigash. In any case, Sargon was compelled to relinquish the attempt to expel Merodach-Baladan from Babylon. He had, however, retained most northerly Babylonia and the region of the "kingdom of the four countries of the world," and with it Dur-ilu. Merodach-Baladan calls himself king of Babylon (see the inserted plate, "Merodach-Baladan, King of Babylon, enfeoffs a Vassal"), king of Sumer and Akkad. He reigned as Merodach-Baladan II under Elamitic protection from 721–710, so long as Sargon, precisely as Tiglath-Pileser III, was distracted by the affairs of Syria-Palestine and Armenia.

Sargon, after ending these wars, turned his attention to Babylon, drove out Merodach-Baladan, who, after the loss of his capital in the sea country, Dur-Jakin, sought refuge in the court of Susa, and was received in Babylon by his own party, and above all by the priests, as a saviour and restorer of order. He assumed the title of a "Governor of Babylon," that is, he represented a king, though no one reigned as such by name. He held Babylon on these peculiar terms (and all Babylonia) until his death, from 709 to 705.

Babylon enjoyed tranquillity for two years more; then a revolt broke out, which brought a Babylonian, Marduk-zakir-shum, to the throne for a month. Merodach then seized the opportunity to occupy Babylon once more, with the help of Elam. His sovereignty did not, however, last long this time; for Sennacherib was not so taken up by other wars as Sargon in his time, and appeared before Babylon nine months after Merodach-Baladan's return. The latter was defeated at Kish, together

MERODACH-BALADAN, KING OF BABYLON, ENFEOFFS A VASSAL

(From the Original in the Royal Museums at Berlin)

EXPLANATION OF THE STELE OVERLEAF

The stele shows on one side a record of enfeoffment in the reign of Merodach-Baladan, King of Babylon. The other face, reproduced here, represents the king and the enfeoffed vassal. Above the king is the inscription : " Image of Marduk-aplu-iddin, King of Babylon."

with his Elamitic auxiliaries, and fled, to Elam probably, where he awaited a fresh opportunity. Sennacherib treated Babylon mercifully, for it was not the Babylonians who had revolted, and only the property of Merodach-Baladan and his followers was confiscated. The Chaldæans were again driven back to their country, and the districts occupied by them given back again to the towns. Even the Aramæan tribes, which, in a similar position to the Chaldæans, always stood by them, were again kept within their own bounds.

Sennacherib instated as king at Babylon Bel-ibni, probably a Babylonian prince, who had been brought up at the court of Nineveh (702–700). In the following year, 702, two other provinces were secured on the frontier toward Elam. Bel-ibni may have had the best intentions of remaining loyal to Assyria, but circumstances were too strong for him. Perhaps Sennacherib's policy to make Nineveh the first city of the East was already recognised; in any case, Bel-ibni was forced, while Sennacherib was occupied with Palestine, to break off with him, and (he can hardly have acted voluntarily) to enter into an alliance with Merodach-Baladan, that is to say, with his own rival, with another prince of the Chaldæans, Mushezib-Marduk, and with Elam; he therefore submitted. But just as the people of Palestine had taken up arms too late, so a miscalculation had been made in Babylonia and Elam on the present occasion. Sennacherib discontinued the siege of Jerusalem, after he had already occupied the whole country, turned against his more formidable opponents, and quickly broke up the alliance. Merodach-Baladan fled from the sea country to Elam, taking his gods with him; the Chaldæan Mushezib-Marduk withdrew into his swamps; and Bel-ibni was forced to wander back with his followers to the place whence he had come, namely, to the court of Nineveh. We see from this treatment of him that he had only joined Elam and the Chaldæans under compulsion, otherwise assuredly a severer penalty would have been meted out to him. At Babylon, Assur-nadin-shum, a son of Sennacherib, was instated as king (699–694).

Merodach-Baladan must have died soon afterward, for he is never mentioned again. Disturbances occurred in Elam, and thus Babylonia enjoyed quiet for five years. In the year 694 Sennacherib made an expedition in order to drive out the part of the population of the sea country which had fled at one time with Merodach-Baladan to Elam, and had settled in some towns on the coast, and thus to do away with a continually menacing danger for Babylonia. He describes in detail how he built ships for the purpose, which were brought on the Tigris up to Opis, thence to the Euphrates, and so down to the sea. He himself cautiously kept far away from the dangerous element, but ordered his army to be transported to Elam. It marched some way up the Karun (Ulai), devastated the provinces on the coast of Elam, and dispersed or captured the Chaldæans who were settled there.

While the Assyrian army was stationed in Elam, Challudush, king of Elam, did not remain idle. He entered Babylonia near Dur-ilu on the ordinary military road, captured Sippar, took Assur-nadin-shum prisoner, and carried him with him to Elam. He created Nergal-ushezib, a Babylonian, king at Babylon. Sennacherib tells us only of the heroic courage with which he had faced the raging sea and of his success in Elam; we hear of the Elamitic counter-move from the Babylonian chronicles alone. Nothing more transpires as to Assur-nadin-shum, the deposed son of Sennacherib. The new king possessed at first only the north of Babylonia; he tried now to drive the Assyrians out of the south also, and captured Nippur.

But Uruk, which seems to have joined his side, was recaptured by the Assyrians, and soon afterward the latter appeared in front of Nippur. Nergal-ushezib met him in the open field, but was defeated and taken prisoner. He had only reigned a year and a half (694–693). While Sennacherib in this same year undertook a punitive expedition against Elam, the above-mentioned Chaldæan Mushezib-Marduk seized the opportunity to establish himself firmly in Babylon (692–689). He allied himself closely with Elam, and actually sacrificed the temple treasures of Marduk in order to be able to pay to the Elamite (Umman-menanu) his "presents, or, what it really was, his tribute. This shows once more that the sacerdotal party supported Assyria. It was not such an easy task this time for Sennacherib to drive out Elam, — for this was the real issue at stake. In the year 691 a battle was fought at Chalule, in North Babylonia, with Umman-menanu, his vassal, Mushezib-Marduk, the son of Merodach-Baladan, and the other Chaldæans. Sennacherib gives a very magnificent account of the battle, in which he naturally claims the victory; the Babylonian chronicle makes Umman-menanu the victor, and is correct in so far as Sennacherib had gained no success; Babylon remained under Elamitic protection. In the year 689 Umman-menanu was struck down by apoplexy.

In the same year Babylon fell into Sennacherib's hands; Mushezib-Marduk was carried prisoner to Assyria. We must assume that in this revolt there was no strong pro-Assyrian party in Babylon; it was clearly seen that Sennacherib's policy aimed at the ruin of Babylon. The alliance with the Chaldæans had been, therefore, a struggle of desperation, and Sennacherib now lost no time in reaching his goal by the shortest road. Babylon was completely destroyed and its gods taken to Assyria. Thus all possibility of resettling there was taken away (689).

After the destruction of Babylon, Nineveh ought to have become the first town of the East; but it is easier to annihilate the effects of civilization than to reproduce them, and the old economic conditions, dating back thousands of years, could not be easily transplanted. For eight years, so the chronicles mournfully record, there was no king in Babylon and there was no Babylon; but then, after the murder of Sennacherib, the first act of his son Assarhaddon, who seems to have been previously governor in Babylonia, after his accession was to give commands for the rebuilding of the town and the temple of Marduk. The Chaldæans of the adjoining Bit-Dakuri had employed the time when Babylon lay in ruins to make themselves masters of the Babylonian territory. Assarhaddon drove them out. Further attempts of the descendants of Merodach-Baladan to form an alliance with Elam, and in this way to realise their ancestor's object, were suppressed (cf. the history of Assyria, below). While Sennacherib had been the representative of a purely Assyrian, and therefore strongly military policy, Assarhaddon, like Sargon, had to rely on the priests. The rebuilding of Babylon thus entirely came within the scope of their former efforts. The other party was not dissolved by the death of Sennacherib; it was indeed deeply rooted in Assyrian polity. These two movements seem to have depended on the two princes, Assurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin. We shall see in Assyrian history how, just when Babylon was ready, and the question at issue was a reoccupation of the throne of Babylon, the military party forced Assurhaddon to let its head, Assurbanipal, be crowned king of Assyria, and thus to ensure its power. His father could only secure Babylon for Shamash-shum-ukin, and perhaps South Babylonia. In the year 668 the statue of

Marduk was brought back to Babylon, and the two princes were proclaimed kings of their realms in their father's lifetime. The present condition was, however, the same as the old: Babylon was the protectorate of Assyria, and the new king of Assyria sacrificed in Babylon Sippar and Kuta to the Babylonian gods as their protector.

The old feud was thus revived and the outbreak of hostilities was only a matter of time. After a series of years full of prosperity and brotherly love had been recorded in the inscriptions of both kings, the struggle began anew. Shamash-shum-ukin sought alliances in whatever places he could find enemies of Assyria, and that was practically wherever the Assyrian power was felt or feared. Elam, the Arabs, the western countries (Palestine), and Gutium (the northern countries) armed against Assyria. In the war, which now broke out, the question was once more to be decided, whether Assyria or Babylon was to rule the East. The war really began toward the "fifties" of the seventh century B. C. by the refusal of Shamash-shum-ukin to allow his brother Assurbanipal to offer the sacrifices, to which he was entitled as protector, in the Babylonian towns; it ended with a terrible siege of Sippar, Kuta, and Babylon, and the death of Shamash-shum-ukin in the flames into which, according to Assurbanipal's account, his despairing subjects cast him. The war was ended in 648; and Babylonia had suffered so much from it that it remained quiet for some time. The Assyrian Assurbanipal wore the royal crown of Babylon from 647 to 626 under the name of Kandalanu (cf. pp. 26 and 75). His proclamation on his accession is extant. His successes against Elam deprived it of the power of making further encroachments on Babylonia. The land thus enjoyed rest until his death.

But, as so often before, the change of monarch gave a Chaldæan the opportunity to mount the throne. The lists record as king of Babylon after 625 Nabopolassar. He was a Chaldæan, but we do not know of which State. He is the founder of the last Babylonian dynasty. Under it Babylon once more, as the first power of Nearer Asia, extended its rule to the Mediterranean. In the uninterrupted struggle between Assyrians and Chaldæans for Babylon, the Chaldæans finally won, after centuries of disappointment and failure. Babylonia was now Chaldæan. The Chaldæan immigration had reached its goal and also its end.

3. A SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION, RETROSPECTIVE AND PROSPECTIVE

A. The Sources of our Information

Our knowledge of the Ancient East is still very young. All that has been learnt of it from the exploration of the ancient monuments dates from about fifty years; and much of this knowledge must be discounted, so long as science has to work with insufficient means. We are still very far from being in a condition to speak of any systematic examination of the soil of those old homes of civilization; all that we possess in monuments, and therefore all sources for the history of these countries, form only an infinitely small fraction of that which we might have, and which a more fortunate future age may expect. Every attempt to present a connected picture of the course of the development of the old nations in the East must therefore prove deficient. We can at most learn the internal connection of

those periods, for which chance has placed ampler sources of information in our hands, or at least we can state the effect of separate forces which determine the course of events; of other periods, again, we have some isolated notices, which require far-reaching conclusions in order to understand the mere outward bearing of the circumstances; while of others — and there are many such — we know nothing as yet; all that we can do is to supply the name of a king or so, of whom nothing has been recorded beyond the name.

An essential feature of the sources hitherto accessible to us is that they furnish us with more information about political occurrences than about the nature and extent of the forces working in the inner life of the people. The inscriptions of the Assyrian kings were the first to become known, and large quantities of them were found; thus the section of history, based on them, is that which is best known up to the present. But these inscriptions record almost exclusively wars, sieges, victories, and booty. What we would gladly know of the life of the people can only be extracted from scanty allusions.

Our survey of the history of civilization in the Ancient East must, therefore, prove very defective and unsatisfactory, owing to the want of materials. There are indeed for isolated periods (the era of the first dynasty of Babylon, then in Assyria from Tiglath-Pileser downward, then again in Babylon from Nebuchadnezzar down to the Persian era) thousands of records in our possession which belong to the business life of the people; namely, contracts, legal decisions, receipts, commercial transactions of every sort, and private letters. These indeed supply a motley abundance of isolated facts as to the private life of the times in question, but, as yet, they have been so insufficiently examined that out of the bewildering crowd of details we cannot recognise the broad principles, the typical cases, which have to be considered in the development of the national history. The foundations of a real comprehension of such points have only been laid with regard to New Babylon (by Kohler and Peiser, "Aus dem babylonischen Rechtsleben"). Before these great materials can be thoroughly worked, before the numerous records of the other two periods are opened to a real comprehension, much work and study are required. And before these periods, which are separated from each other by hundreds or thousands of years, can be connected together by filling up the gaps through discovery of new records, generations will be needed, even when we consider the astonishingly rapid progress of this science. Three forgotten millennia of civilization cannot be regained in three decades of science.

But even if science had succeeded in making full use of these countless records, which are far beyond the powers of a few explorers to master, yet they would only reveal one main aspect of the popular life in Babylonia and Assyria; namely, trade and business life, and here again principally the private side. So far as these, however, concern the life and the development of the entire people and the State, that is, in their bearing on political economy, very little light is thrown on the subject; and about much else, which we in modern times have recognised to be important in the life of a nation, we must be contented for a long period to know little or nothing. Trading relations and commercial life in all its aspects, the conditions of the tenure of real property in its bearing on the welfare of the State, the rules of administration, etc., — these are matters of which royal inscriptions can hardly tell us anything, and which naturally do not find expression in a contract made between A and B.

We know, as we have indeed seen, nothing at all as yet about the beginnings of native civilization in Babylonia. The Sumerians are still as prehistoric for us as the Assyrians and Babylonians were at the time when history was supposed to begin with Greece. The long periods when men had settled in the valley of the Euphrates and developed a civilization which had already attracted conquerors — were they the first? — at the time when our present knowledge begins are still hidden in the mists of antiquity. We shall be compelled for a long time yet to abandon the attempt to determine from contemporary sources, or even merely from the products of civilization, how the first settlers in the valley of the Euphrates, adapting themselves to the needs of the soil and forced by its nature, raised themselves gradually from a state of savagery to a higher stage of civilization. When and how greater achievements were accomplished, how and under what conditions men arrived at that intellectual result so important for the historian, the development of writing, are questions for which as yet no sources of information are forthcoming. The most remote antiquity to which we can go back, here as in the valley of the Nile, was already acquainted with a perfected system of hieroglyphics.

B. The Original Condition of the Soil and State of Civilization

The valley of the Euphrates (now to a large extent desolate and marshy) was one of the most fruitful tracts in the world. The fertility of the soil is described as marvellous at all periods, of which we have some, though unfortunately very scanty, accounts. The Euphrates and the Nile are two rivers the deposits of which give the tiller of the soil the richest reward for small exertions. In the almost rainless climate of the East these river-valleys were the only places which enabled an agriculture still in its infancy to work the soil profitably. On the other hand, the distress in times of drought compelled the Bedouins from the scantily watered steppes to seek pasture there for their numerous herds, and by growing crops for fodder to supplement the voluntary gifts of nature in preparation for the dry season of the year. The complete transition from nomadic to settled life in these plains can thus be explained by the nature of the land.

The step from an agricultural life in the open country to the building of fortified towns is not so great, and must have been taken very early in a land which was exposed on all sides to the inroads of the nomads. But even the gradual stages leading to such conditions are, in point of time, far anterior to the date when our knowledge of the Euphrates district begins. The old seats of civilization, such as Lagash, Ur, Uruk, Larsa, are towns with a most ancient past at the time when they, for the first time, appear in the light of history. They had already been long developed into that which they continued to be for three thousand years of the most varying political phases, the seats of ancient sanctuaries, worshipped since immemorial ages, and towns with a purely urban population engaged in trade and industries.

We must assume that even then the conditions of the tenure of real property and professional activity, transmitted from the old Sumerian civilization, existed in the form in which they always were maintained throughout the duration of Babylonian civilization. In distinction to the Western forms of culture, the growth of which we can follow from the beginnings, we here meet with an already sys-

tematised form of national life, such as corresponds to the course of the development of European civilization which was concluded in the Middle Ages; this form endured for three thousand years, though exposed to the most various storms. Each new migration which spread over the country quickly adopted the existing civilization and submitted to it. It is certain that even the less successful among the conquerors must have had their share in the booty; but no distribution of the land to a peasantry ever resulted, so that we can never follow the course of the national life from the beginning. The leaders of the different conquests always took the place of the old kings. If they did not wish to destroy the whole civilization, they were obliged to adopt it with its temples and towns, its settlement of the ownership of the soil and its classes. This is a reason why the individual nationalities so soon die out. They do not start their development from the very beginning, but mount with a sudden leap to a higher stage, beyond which they cannot go.

We find therefore, from the time when our knowledge begins, that the constitution of the land is one which we may designate by the term "clerical-feudal." The lord of the country is the divinity. He entrusts it to the priesthood and the king; there is therefore temple property and State property. The king has the disposal, above all, of the open country, which he grants to his vassals in fee. His authority does not extend to the territory which falls under the dominion of the god: this belongs to the town in which the god dwells, and naturally (together with that reserved for the temple) to the patricians in the town. The ground is cultivated by small farmers, who have to pay as rent their share of the profits to the owner, — temple, king, noble, or citizen. The organisation which is from time to time adopted has never been favourable to the prosperity of a peasantry under these circumstances. Even if, after a conquest, confiscated land were divided among the masses of the immigrating people, these could not long maintain their position by the side of the supremacy of the great proprietors, but would be forced to sell the land and become tenants. A serfdom need not have been immediately developed from this. The small farmer is, usually, personally free — so free as a man can be who retains from the proceeds of what has been wrung from the soil in the sweat of his brow as much as suffices for a thrifty Oriental livelihood. On the whole, serfdom has no legal existence in this period. War, indeed, supplied with its prisoners the necessary demand for non-free labourers, the use of whom we have to imagine to ourselves as more common in the industrial operations of the town than in the cultivation of the soil. Out of these is formed the numerous class of freedmen who meet us often in business life.

We must, on the whole, picture to ourselves the land as parcelled out into small farms which are cultivated by the tenant for the owner. With the simple means and implements required for farming on a small scale, but with all the grim industry applied to every patch of earth which this system enforces, it was horticulture rather than agriculture. The most important condition for a productive cultivation of the soil in the climate of the East, with its rainless summer, is a regular supply of water. Just as the want of this led the Bedouin from the desert to the river-valleys, so it is the task of the agriculturist to supply as large an area as possible with this valuable fluid. On the other hand, the immense streams of the Euphrates and Tigris, when the mountain snows melt, bring down with them such a volume of water that they flood the most fertile parts of the country, block up

the watercourses with their mud, and turn the fields into a swamp, as is now the case with great tracts which were once thriving. Thus want of rain on the one side and floods on the other compel the dweller in the Euphrates valley to regulate these conditions. He is forced to keep the surplus against the times of drought, and he is naturally driven to control the conditions of the water supply.

The country then, from the beginning of our knowledge of it, and as a preliminary condition of cultivation, was intersected by a network of canals, intended to receive the flood-water and to convey it from the districts threatened with inundation to the arid parts where it irrigates the soil in dry seasons. These canals in some places lie higher than the surrounding country, so that the required water can be let in through sluices; in other places they are lower, then the water, precisely as in the valley of the Nile, is raised to the land by well-wheels, or, if less is required, by buckets which a single man sets into movement.

If the adoption of these smaller contrivances is within the means of the individual owner of the land, the construction of large canals can, however, only be the work of the State, since their system must take into consideration the entire water conditions of the country. We find, therefore, among the scanty information which we have as to the kings' activity at home, accounts of canals which have been finished, thus showing that the importance of this duty was fully realised. In the older times, when dates were not yet fixed by the reigns of the kings but by the important events of the respective years, we find under the descriptions of the years by the side of, "In the year when this or that war was waged," also, "When the king built this or that canal." After the conquest of South Babylonia Hammurabi says, for example: "When Anu and Bel had granted me the land of Sumer and Akkad to rule, and placed their reins in my hand, then I dug the canal, 'Hammurabi is the blessing of mankind,' which brings the water of fertility to Sumer and Akkad. Its two banks I made into cultivable land, I set up granaries, and provided water for the land of Sumer and Akkad for ever." Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar make similar reports of waterworks. These constructions were sometimes used, as in Holland, for the protection of the country, as we find shown in the later days of Babylonia, when Nebuchadnezzar built the "Median wall," and Nabunaid with its help changed his whole "kingdom of Babylon" into an island (cf. below, p. 191). Famous canals, which ran through the whole of Babylonia, are the Palakuttu (Palakottas) and Nahr-sharri (Aramaic, Nahr-Malkâ), the "canal of the king," and we meet their names even in the Hellenistic era. The former mainly follows the course of the Euphrates on the south side, the latter effects a connection between the Euphrates and Tigris in an oblique line.

We must thus imagine the whole country intersected by a network of canals, of every size down to simple irrigation ditches. It is only through the efficiency of this system that the whole low-lying district was habitable. Accordingly, until the ruin of those countries by the Mongols, the superintendence of the irrigation works formed one of the first duties of the government. The destruction of the canals changed a great part of the land into marshes; and the first task, on an attempt to make this most fruitful of all districts once more valuable to mankind, would be to restore those old watercourses, the beds of which are still partly traceable.

These works, which are restricted in size and extent by the nature of the Babylonian lowlands, are neither possible nor necessary in the higher districts,

especially in Assyria, with its lofty mountains and a climate closely resembling that of Central Europe. On the other hand, we find instances of water being brought from a long distance for the supply of the towns. For instance, the aqueduct of Bavian, by means of which Sennacherib brought the water from the mountain streams to Nineveh, or the tunnel of Negub, through which Assurhaddon conveyed the water of the Zab to Kalchi in place of earlier works of Assurnasirpal.

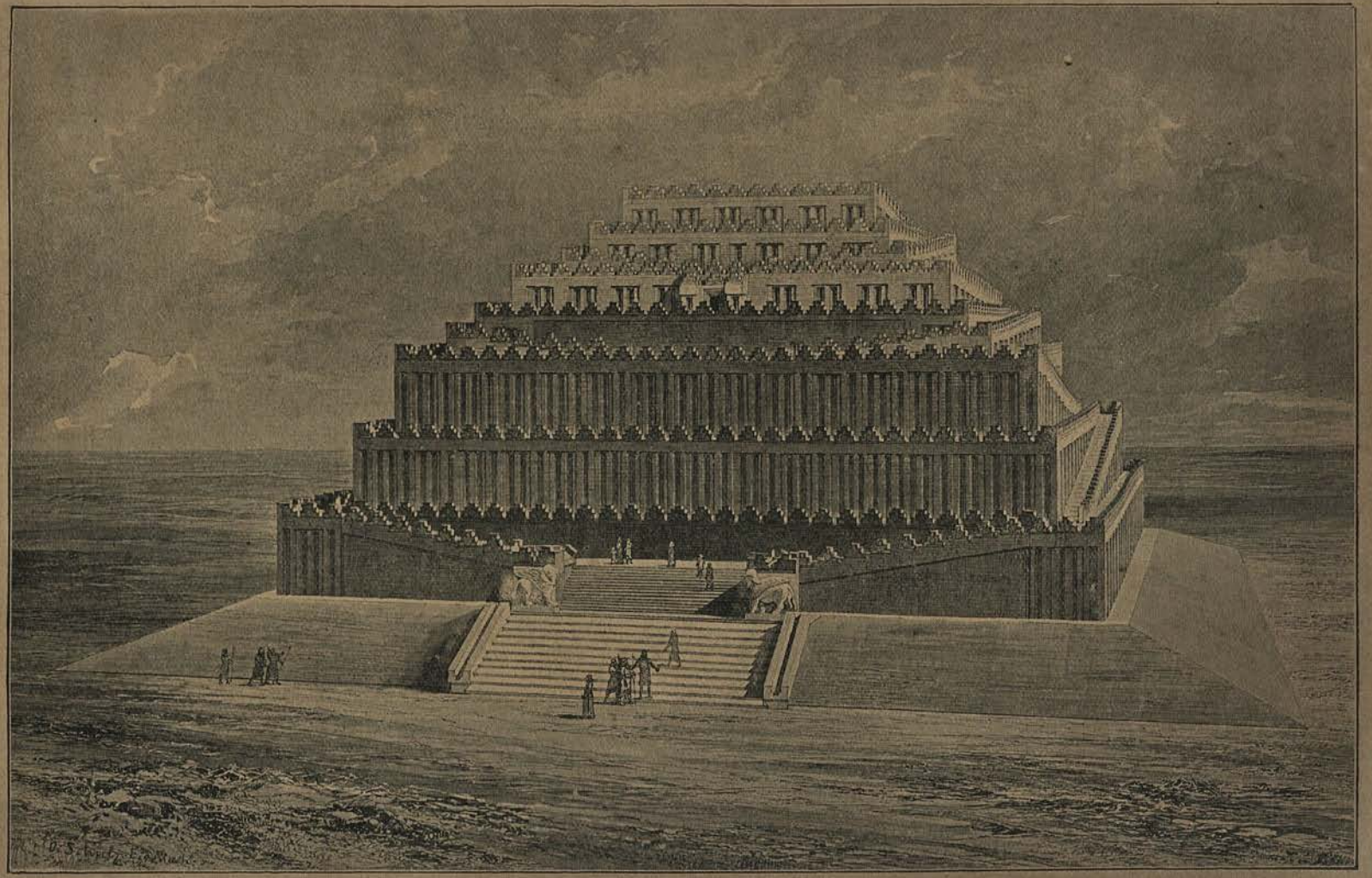
In architecture the inventive faculties of man are greatly dependent on the material at his disposal. Babylonia possesses neither stone nor suitable building timber, since date-palms, fig-trees, and olive-trees are not adapted for the purpose. While the Egyptians found in the upper valley of the Nile the stone necessary for their great buildings, and the river brought it down to the plains, the Babylonians had to fetch even the stone for their statues from a distance, and usually by land; Gudea, for instance, obtained the material for his statues from Magan (Arabia). We do not therefore find in Babylonia the colossal statues of the Egyptians, and their buildings are constructed of the material which the land supplied them, from clay. Babylonia is the land of brick buildings, and the influence of its civilization on the East is most distinctly shown in the fact that this art of building with brick was imitated in places where stone was available, in Elam, Assyria, and even Syria. The want of timber and stone columns led to the invention of a pillar made of bricks. But, so far as we can see, this was only seldom employed. Men preferred to obtain cedar trunks from Amanus, and, when those forests failed, from Libanon, for the necessary wooden columns and supports, but at no time were they extensively employed. In this respect Assyria followed in the steps of Babylon.

The ordinary brick was dried in the sun. It was burnt to give it additional strength, and for the decoration of the walls it was enamelled with bright patterns and designs. The land supplied abundance of asphalt as cement for the bricks, and it is with this that the Babylonian buildings are put together.

A characteristic product of Babylonian brick architecture are their "terraced towers" (zikurrat), pyramidal erections built in several (as many as seven) storeys, which embellish the great temples, and the pinnacles of which were thought to be the dwelling-place of the god. The story of the Tower of Babel (see the inserted plate, "the Tower of Babel") is connected with these buildings.

The temples are by far the most conspicuous works of Babylonian architecture. To a higher degree than even the church and convents of the Middle Ages they united in themselves all that the intellectual and material powers of Babylonian civilization created. We have already found that a great portion of the country belonged to them, and we must see in them the seat of the intellectual life. The priesthood not merely exercised an influence on the people by religion, but was entrusted with the care of science as well as of the technical arts. Such a temple formed a town with a government of its own, and we can see how it managed its own affairs. Countless clay tablets from Telloh (cf. above, p. 7) might furnish information as to the internal administration, but they have, as yet, hardly been investigated.

Any survey of the intellectual influence is, from the nature of our sources, more difficult. It is obvious that the duty of giving instruction and fostering learning fell upon the priesthood. The secret of writing could certainly only be thoroughly learned from them; they were thus guardians and patrons of all literature, whether religious or secular, and of the sciences entering closely into the scope of practical



THE TOWER OF BABEL

(Drawn by O. Schulz from the model constructed by Sir Henry Rawlinson and placed in the United States National Museum at Washington)

life, the study of which is hitherto hardly attested by records (some mathematical ones would be the most important). All the more abundant are the proofs of an extensive observation of the sidereal heavens. Babylonia is the home of astronomy and of astrology, which is inseparable from it in the Eastern mind, and the "Chaldæans" were reputed to be masters of these sciences even in the Greco-Roman times. The movements of the stars were accurately observed and noted. Omens were declared and every possible constellation was consulted. An eclipse is an event which is recorded even in the Assyrian limu chronicle (cf. p. 53) in a similar way to a war. If the ability of a Thales to foretell an eclipse for the year 585 excited the astonishment of the Ionic-Greek world, he had obtained his wisdom from the Babylonians, as, indeed, Pythagoras must have borrowed the suggestions for his symbolism of numbers from the East, with which he is said to have become acquainted as an Assyrian mercenary. A large number of observations of the heavens and the stars are extant, and unfortunately equally as many omens of the most ordinary soothsaying type, which we would gladly exchange for other information.

Closely connected with the observations of the revolution of the stars is the settlement of the chronology. The Babylonians are the teachers of classical antiquity with regard to the system of the calendar. We still retain their divisions of years, months, and weeks. The designation of the seven days of the week after the gods, which correspond to the two great stars and the five planets known to them, has come down to our times, as well as the division of the day into twelve double-hours, which we still find on the dial of our watch.

The numerical system is in connection and agreement with these divisions. It is a sexagesimal system with the divisional quantities five and twelve, apparently based on astronomical observations and calculations. By the side of it and combined with it the decimal notation was employed. Our sources of information do not yet reach back to a remote antiquity when we can establish the use of one alone of the two systems or the introduction of the other. Similarly the system of weights and measures is based on the same method of computation. Thus ancient Babylon possessed a systematic method of notation such as has been only reintroduced of quite recent times in our decimal system, after the unit of that original system of notation through the development of many thousands of years had been lost even to the explorer. We only now see how recollections of its principles had lasted down to our days, just as in the chronology, and recognize its influence even among the peoples of the West, although we cannot state with certainty the paths of its wandering. All this is an almost untrodden field of exploration, from which some time in the future we may hope to obtain interesting information as to the prehistoric conditions of the races of our civilization.

We are faced with a perplexing difficulty when we are called upon to give an account of the real duties of the temples and the priesthood, and to explain the observance of cults and religion. The phases and forms of men's ideas on this subject during three thousand years would necessarily have furnished matter for a special comprehensive enquiry, and yet our sources of information on this head are more defective than in the field of political history, and the attempt has not even been made to comprehend the growth of these conceptions. So long as we have no insight into the real antiquity of Babylonia and the beginnings of its civilization, not even into the beginnings of the first Semitic immigration, it will be hardly

possible to gain a firm standpoint from which we can obtain explanations as to the nature and origin of that motley throng of deities whose names come before us in the inscriptions.

The inscriptions of Lagash-Telloh point already to a complete and separate pantheon. It is possible that this signifies that it goes back to the Sumerian age (though certainly in an epoch which had long been Semitic); its forms for the present are nothing more than dead names. What we find then in the inscriptions of the South Babylonian dynasties seems more familiar to us who have learnt the history in reverse order. These are the same forms which from that time onward continually meet us. The simple explanation of this is, that the towns of South Babylonia which come under our notice preserved their importance during the whole period of the duration of Babylonian civilization, while Lagash seems a relic from earlier times, which must have prematurely disappeared. But we are still very far from being able to give an accurate account of the phenomena which meet us here for the first time in history.

What we find here is purely Semitic, or at least Semiticised. But in what relation does it stand to the past? This will not be known until it is clear how these ancient seats of civilization, Ur, Larsa, Isin, Warka (cf. above, p. 7), stood in relation to the older civilization. They are connected with the names of the deities as follows: Ur, with the moon god; Larsa, with the worship of the sun; Uruk, as seat of Nana or Istar, the female principle; Nippur, with the temple of Bel, the Babylonian Zeus. But each of these, together with many other still unknown seats of civilization, had developed in its temple a special mythology during the centuries and tens of centuries of its existence. This was a confused medley of all that had been produced by the effort to bring a conception of the particular divinity, based on the nature of things, into harmony or rivalry with the doctrines of the other centres of culture. In addition to this the various migrations of nations had deposited their ideas, since an arrangement and an adjustment was made between the newly introduced and the long established ideas. At any rate, as far as we can at present trace historically, we notice a great rigidity in the cults; the Semitic immigrations of the thirty centuries known to us have not introduced any important change. Nevertheless many noteworthy events now occur, for example, the introduction of the cult of the storm-god Ramman by the "Canaanites." But the less positively we can speak of a further development of these notions, the more must we look for the starting-point of the conception in a time which up to the present is shrouded in complete obscurity. Even then it will be a gigantic task to disentangle the threads that run through the different temple traditions, and to trace them back to their original sources. It may seem doubtful whether it will ever be performed. At present we are very far indeed from the beginning; for we still know nothing of the object of the enquiry itself, the temple traditions, with the exception of the little which we know about the Marduk cult in Babylon.

The farther we go northward, the more pure is the Semitic element which meets us in the period known to us; there is no Sumerian written in the oldest inscriptions yet found here (age of Naram-sin). The repetition of the cults proves that the country was distinct from South Babylonia. Just as there was a South Babylonian sun-god of Larsa, so there was a North Babylonian sun-god of Sippar; the Istar of Uruk was matched by Istar of Agade in the north. We know less of the north in the earlier times than of the south. In the later period (after the first Babylonian

dynasty) other towns became prominent, as Kutha with the cult of Nergal, god of the lower world. The moon cult, which had its chief seat in Ur, was of inferior importance in North Babylonia; but we hear of its most famous shrine at Harran in Mesopotamia.

We do not yet find any mention of Babylon in the inscriptions of the earliest period. It is possible and probable that it only owes its importance to political occurrences of a comparatively late period. It appears to have become the chief city in Babylonia under the "first Babylonian dynasty." Its elevation to the position of capital of the Babylonian Empire, and its consequent supremacy in the domain of political economy, are accompanied, in conformity with eastern ideas, by the development of a historico-theological justification of this pre-eminence. Precisely as Athens, having attained the hegemony, tried to prove her antiquity in mythology and history, so the wise men of Babylon took pains to prove that Babylon was the seat of the most ancient civilization and the centre of the world.

The former city-god, Marduk (in biblical pronunciation Merodach), becomes the god round whom the whole creation of the world turns. We have fragments of the creation myth of Babylon, in which Marduk plays the chief part, and similarly we must assume that like works of more ancient origin, reproducing the events of the time when their city flourished, were taught in the temples of South Babylonia. This epic of the creation expresses the supremacy of Babylon, which was founded by the dynasty of Sumuabi and Hammurabi. It is Marduk who fights the war of worlds for the sovereignty of the *Dii Superi*, who are threatened by Tihama (Chaos), and it is he who, after cleaving the monster, imagined under the form of a snake or a dragon, creates the world out of the two halves. In Nippur we meet with Bel, and in the shrines of the other towns Shamash (the sun), Sin (the moon), or Istar, whose important rôles have been properly made known. The more recent these myths were, the more natural must it have been that they should be influenced by the others. It must remain a moot point whether we shall ever become acquainted with a period when the origin of the separate myths will be placed clearly before us; at present we only know some fragments of the most recent, which do not enable us to construct any system. We have only insignificant remains of some others.

The Babylonian myths of the creation are looked upon as the prototypes after which the biblical myths were formed. How, then, did Babylonia become the teacher of the entire spiritual life of Nearer Asia? We have at present hardly any other evidence of this beyond the comparatively few fragments of Assyro-Babylonian literature hitherto won from the soil (these are derived mainly from the "library of Assurbanipal;" cf. below, p. 76), and the remains of Jewish spiritual life preserved for us in the canonical books of the Bible. The relation of the one to the other is said to be that of the focus of the whole civilization to an unimportant petty state, that of origin and reproduction; but so long as we have no more, we must try to form our conception of the religious life of the East from these remains.

Religion has indisputably played a part in the civilized life of these nations which we moderns are prone to underrate. The priesthood is the nursery of knowledge; therefore all teaching, every attempt to investigate the nature of things, every proof and justification of the existing order, and every attempt to introduce change is referred back to the primitive doctrines of the beginning of things, and by this either approved or discountenanced. Just as mediæval minds tested the

correctness and justice of a cause by the teaching of the Bible, just as reformers and their opponents based their religious as well as political claims on the teaching of the Bible, so it was the case in the Ancient East. And more than this: these doctrines, the power of which shows itself even in the life of modern nations to be far more effective than seems conceivable to those who are not versed in history, these doctrines of the old Babylonian spirit, perpetuated by Judaism and many civilizations in all their varieties and applications to the different conditions of culture, are still in substance what they ever were; namely, they show the Babylonian hierarchy as the representative of the entire spiritual life of the oldest world of civilization. It is perhaps believed that we ought to see in the prayers and the ideas of Judaism a great advance as compared with the polytheism of the rest of the East. Rationalists are convinced that the notion (or rather the pious belief) of the development of Judaism and of the phenomena proceeding from it is entirely changed when considered in the light of universal history. With the few remains which we possess they cannot indeed adduce particular proofs; but the simplest reflection on the nature and growth of human conceptions teaches us, they say, that the ideas which dominated the ancient civilized world could not have arisen in a corner remote from it. In short, they argue that an idea can be formed where the motive for it exists, and the very spiritual struggles which Israel and Judah of the period of the kings or of the exile had to experience for the first time had been long before experienced repeatedly by Babylonia in the course of its different eras of prosperity; their results had long been the property of Babylonian spiritual life. Thence the Israelitish "prophet" obtained his spiritual weapons; and there Judaism must have received not only its motives, but also its entire system. But all this is admittedly theoretical.

Even monotheism in its perfected form cannot be claimed as a product of the Jewish mind, even though in certain respects it met with singular favour in Judah. The polytheism of Babylonia finds its historical explanation in the circumstances of times long since past in the march of civilization. But as human knowledge consists in a perpetual systematising of what has been received and an advance to that which is recently learnt, and a co-ordination of results tending to unity, thus in Babylonia also, by the side of the strictly formulated national religion, there was an advance in exact knowledge. Not only does the national religion in the enjoyment of its privileges represent finally the course of development of religious and spiritual life, but also that which seems conspicuously in contrast with it, and which, although meeting with prejudice and even persecution, forces its way to recognition. If the Babylonian or Assyrian prayed to his god, he did so with the same words as the Jew: his contrition, his submission to the divine will, his trust in God, were precisely similar, — only that the former people had found an expression for such feelings and thoughts, while the Jew learnt it from them. Even if the Babylonian prayed to Marduk or the Assyrian to Assur, there was not the slightest difference between his thought and that of the Jew of the eighth century or so, who supplicated Jahve (Jehovah). The Jew did not dispute the god of those who dwelt outside the dominion of his Jahve. If it was a false god, it was only so in the sense that every Babylonian doctrine saw the true lord of the world in the temple of his own city. The reason, it is said, why Jahve became more and more exclusively the only god of Judah was simply that Judah had become so small that it had no longer any room for other gods (cf. the twelfth section).

There are innumerable occasions in the life of a civilized people like the Babylonian, when discontent with the existing conditions must bring together large bodies, who systematise their claims and justify them according to the Oriental mode of thought. As the history of the East at all times teaches us, a system of sects must then have flourished which had its origin in social conditions, and gave a predominantly religious form to its doctrines. Such sects must appear in numbers, and be protected by the force of circumstances. Judaism by this hypothesis must have derived its doctrines from those which were thus formed. If these are indeed the steps, the lost paths of human thought and human destinies have so far eluded enquiry, nor is it likely that they will ever again be made clear; but we may speculatively infer from what is hitherto known, and from the laws of human development, that the sources of the fundamental doctrines of Judaism, which have not yet been attested in the cuneiform records, may some day be discovered there. The doctrine of a coming Saviour could only arise in the centre of civilization, where the conditions of power did not at all correspond to the claims of a greater past. The rationalist naturally excludes revelation, and attempts a solution of these issues on natural grounds alone.

The mental activity of man is manifested in the development of mythology, which comes next to the doctrines of religion and is closely connected with them. So far as this is a doctrine of divinities and temples, we have already realised how limited the range of our knowledge is. We must raise the same wail over the hitherto known remains of anthropomorphic mythology, the hero legends, which form the first theme of the non-religious poetry of a people. A quantity of fragments testify to the existence of a whole series of epics; but only of few of them have we sufficient remains to be able partially to restore or to guess their contents. The best known is the Epic of Gilgamesh (the name of the hero is written with the signs Is-tu-bar, so that he was formerly so called; it was thought at first that the Nimrod of the Bible had been rediscovered in him, hence the name "Nimrod Epic"). It is the Babylonian Hercules whose deeds are glorified in it, and have given Hellenism the attributes with which to endow the legendary form of the Alexander of the so-called Alexander romances. The work received the form in which it is preserved for us at Uruk; it reflects the condition to which the old Istar-Nana town, considered to have been founded by Gilgamesh, had been reduced by the oppression of Elam. An account of the flood, the basis of the biblical story, is incorporated in it as an episode. The short poem of Istar, who descends into the lower world in order to win back the dead brother and husband (cf. Adonis), has come down to us in entirety. Other epics of which fragments are extant are Etana and the Eagle, and the legends of the god of pestilence, and of Zû the god of the winds. We cannot yet, however, properly understand their connection.

The apologue, which appeals so greatly to the taste of the East, had already been matured in Babylonia. We possess remains of stories of "the ox and the horse," of the "snake-god" and such like, of which even more than of the former we must abandon any idea of understanding the connection, so long as we only possess a line or two of them. A large number of unpublished fragments, which are still unintelligible on account of their small size, is here, as in the case of all similar literary productions, only further evidence of the information which we may hope to gain some time in the future.

It would be a most important and repaying task clearly to describe the extent of the industries and trade in Babylonia. For this, however, almost all data are wanting, apart from the fact that in the course of three thousand years there must have been as many vicissitudes in the industrial as in the political life. We may safely assume that Babylonia and (since it is the admitted capital in the period known to us) above all Babylon owed their importance and power to their industries and their trade. During the entire period in which we can follow the power of Assyria, Babylon was impotent as a political community. It was compelled to buy its independence from the Assyrians, just as on the other hand it obtained by its gold help from the Elamites against Assyria. It had not men enough to wage war on its own resources; indeed, the conditions under which its land was held precluded any such idea. This fact alone is sufficient to give the country its predominantly industrial character. Sennacherib's intention, when he destroyed Babylon, was doubtless to win for his newly chosen capital Nineveh some share of the trade and industries.

We have seen that the pivot of the Babylonian policy, after the Kassite dynasty, was the possession of the road through Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean, and that Kadashman-charbe made an attempt to secure a route to Syria and the Phœnician ports through the desert (p. 17). By this measure he doubtless wished to safeguard the interests of the Babylonian trade. We can draw conclusions as to the extent of Babylonian commerce in the earlier times from the inscriptions of Gudea: he obtained the blocks of stone and the timber for his buildings from Phœnicia, Syria, and Arabia. Some slight information about Babylonian industries is given us by the Tel-Amarna letters (cf. above, p. 16). The Babylonian, like the Mitani prince, required gold from the Egyptians; in return they supplied industrial products, especially the lapis lazuli, or an imitation of it, which was highly valued by the Egyptians, and was a staple of Babylonian export. The Egyptian obtained weapons and war chariots from Mitani and even Assyria. If, at the same time, the Babylonian ordered inlaid work of ebony and ivory, it was merely a question of fashionable objects in the Egyptian style, such as have been found in Nineveh; they have no more significance than Chinese porcelain or Japanese lacquer-work with us.

The question of navigation on the Persian Gulf is still entirely shrouded in obscurity, as well as that of the Alpha and Omega of all communications between two worlds,— the trade route to India. It is inconceivable that the earliest civilization of Babylonia—and the older it was the further south was its home—had not engaged in navigation on the "sea of the East." At the period when our knowledge begins we see this civilization already withdrawing more northward, into the interior of the country. The most ancient inscriptions, from the nature of their contents, do not mention anything of such matters; and thus we must, probably for a long time yet, be content merely to ask the question. In the later period the road to the sea was barred by the Chaldæans. The centuries of prosperity of a State called the "sea country" (cf. above, p. 21) and its obstinate resistance to Assyria are partly explained by the wealth won by trade relations with the East. Merodach-Baladan possessed ships, in which he escaped to Elam over the "Bitter water," the great bay at the embouchure of the two streams (see the map, "Assyria after 745," etc., p. 87); there was then no fleet in Babylonia, so that Sennacherib was forced to have ships built by Phœnician workmen in Assyria and

brought down stream (cf. above, p. 27). Any Babylonian trade with the East is thus inconceivable. Dilmun, the island of Bahrein, including probably the adjoining coasts, which the Babylonian of the thirtieth century still regarded as within the sphere of his civilization and power, appeared to Sargon a far distant island, from which he only received tribute; none of his successors again mention it. Elam, too, must have had much to do with the traffic on the Persian Gulf, and when at last the gloom which still rests on it is dissipated, we shall understand the matter more clearly.

Hardly any products of Babylonian industries have as yet come down to us. Even the arts of architecture and sculpture, comparatively familiar to us in Assyria, are represented to us in the very home of such culture by few and comparatively insignificant monuments. All that is left to us on a large scale is the ruins of Telloh, which has supplied us with a considerable number of statues and sculptures of the kings and Patesis of Lagash. While the statues of the first kings were but rude attempts (see the illustration of the Vulture stele, p. 10), rapid progress is made, and those of Gudea and his time show the highest perfection of execution. It seems as if a rapid revival had followed on a great period of decadence. The careful and delicate work on the monument of Merodach-Baladan (see the plate facing p. 26) is one of the few productions of a later period of art which are known to us. A whole series of similar stones, from the Kassite era downward, cannot be compared with it as a work of art. Some few genre representations in clay prove to us that we may expect, in the future, some proofs of a keen and humorous conception of ordinary life.

In the same way we possess hardly any notices of the order and form of the constitution, of the internal administration, and the military system in Babylonia. The Babylonian inscriptions, in contrast to the Assyrian, never deal with the warlike and other achievements of the kings. Anything, therefore, that we can suggest on these points is more clearly explained by the better attested Assyrian institutions, which, since they grew out of similar conditions, exhibit in the main similar phases.

4. ASSYRIA

A. The Mesopotamic Era

We have already seen that the advance of Assyria falls within a period which lies in the full light of history, or can be illuminated without difficulty by the results of excavations. We have further demonstrated that its first natural expansion took place toward Mesopotamia, and that this then was its undisputed property, from the possession of which it became a great power, as extensive and as important as Babylonia itself. The history of Assyria itself must therefore be preceded by an attempt to throw light on the conditions of Mesopotamia.

We have assumed, and the events which can be followed out in history support our assumption, that the great Semitic immigrations reached Babylonia from the North. Mesopotamia would therefore have been earlier reached by them; the Semites thus, who meet us in South Babylonia as first representatives of historical times, must have already been settled there. The era anterior to them is still more prehistoric there than in Babylonia, and all the more so since no excavations at all have been organised in these regions.

There is a large collection of titles, symbols, and omens which illustrates the conditions of the period about 3000, that is, the age of Sargon and Naram-Sin (although it also deals with later times, since it was brought into its present form much later); its geographical horizon marks also the extent of the power of the Babylonian civilization (cf. above, p. 10). This collection recognises, by the side of the kings of South Babylonia and of North Babylonia, a king who bears the title Shar Kishshati, that is, "king of the world" (cf. above, the "king of the four countries of the world," p. 9). His kingdom must have had its centre in Mesopotamia, where we should look for the capital, the seat of the ruling divinity, first in Harran, the city of Sin, the moon god, as being the most important; and this conjecture appears to be supported by various indications in the subsequent period. However this may be, we can safely assume that Mesopotamia stood not only under the influence of Babylonian civilization, but that it actually belonged to its inner circle, and had a special share in shaping the development of the countries on the Euphrates, a fact that continually finds expression in the high reverence paid to the greatest sanctuary of those parts, that of Sin, at Harran. The origin of the cult at Hebron, where Abraham was revered as the *genius loci*, which the immigrating "Hebrew" tribes may have found there and adopted, is traced by the biblical legend, according to the older tradition, from the seat of the Sin cult in Mesopotamia, while only a later application of the myth claims for it Ur, the South Babylonian seat of the moon god. The adoration of Ba'al Harran, the god of Harran, is found also in Sendschirli, in Northern Syria. (The Berlin Museum possesses a relief dedicated to him.)

We can picture to ourselves with some certainty the part played by this land in political history. Some such development as that which we were able to ascertain in the South must have taken place here; the kingdom that grew up here must have fought out the same battles with its rivals, as we shall see afterward in the case of Assyria, its heir. Together with the kings of Babylonia, "kings of the world" must on their side have tried to rule Babylonia, and in their turn must have been defeated by the former, as we have already seen (pp. 4 and 18) that Mesopotamia, in antiquity, as now, was indispensable as a link of communication between Babylonia and the West. Even if no inscriptions afford us information as to the course of these struggles in the period anterior to 1500, yet the subsequent era is sufficient to make the general outline of events at any rate clear to us, until some day the spade is busy in this country also. A short excavation was once undertaken by Layard in the district under notice at Arban, in the Chabur valley. It brought to light antiquities from the palace of a governor (princely priest), Mushesh-Ninib, which we shall have to consider monuments of the pre-Assyrian Mesopotamic period. Some few remains, which are to be seen at Harran, may, however, belong only to the Assyrian age, since Salmanassar II and Assurbanipal added to the buildings of the temple of Sin.

We must realise that a kingdom which had its seat somewhere in Harran did not merely look to Babylon, but on the contrary was forced first to expand in the direction of the less civilized countries. If Mesopotamia was for Babylonia a link in the connection with Syria and Palestine, an independent Mesopotamia would naturally absorb these countries, whether by peaceful negotiations or by force of arms. As an indication of the former side of this expansion, we have already mentioned the accounts of the Abraham cult of Hebron, and the cult of the moon

god in Sendschirli. We shall see further how in historical times the districts on the right bank of the Euphrates, the country from Malatia right up to Cappadocia, perhaps away over the Taurus to Cilicia, are found in the possession of the successors of the kings of Mesopotamia. Harran, again, commands the roads which, in the North, lead to Armenia; from this part, upward between the two rivers, we find the Assyrians making an advance at an earlier period, while they are still expanding toward Babylonia, immediately, indeed, on their occupation of Mesopotamia (Ramman-nirari I, Salmanassar I). Clay tablets, in cuneiform characters and written in a Babylonian manner, adapted similarly to that of the Tel-Amarna letters, have been found in "Cappadocia." They already show the influences of the Assyrian colonisation of those countries, but in any case belong to the first period of Assyria's appearance in that part (under Salmanassar I, about 1300 B. C.), and prove by the style of their language and writing that these are nothing new in those districts, but that both may be assumed to have been long in use.

B. The Kings of Mitani

The earliest accounts which we possess show us Mesopotamia under a foreign dominion. Our sources are the Tel-Amarna letters of King Tushratta of Mitani to Amenophis III and Amenophis IV. The picture that they give us of the intercourse between the two countries holds good for the predecessors of the two Pharaohs, so far as they advanced into Asia. They virtually designate Mesopotamia and Syria as Naharina. In this connection it is a matter of indifference to us how much gold Tushratta begged for himself from Egypt, and how many letters he wrote in order to fool his "brother" and son-in-law in Egypt. The point at issue is, to ascertain at once that in these "kings of Mitani" we have to see the representatives of a migration of barbarians who possess Mesopotamia. We shall learn later that we shall be best advised in assigning them to the group of nations which we designate "Hittite." As rulers of this country, they play the same rôle which the Kassites, coincidently with them, play in Babylonia (cf. p. 14).

It does not appear from their letters where the kings of Mitani resided; but we must look for the country, which is known as Mitani after them, somewhere, roughly, in the region north of Harran, where, in any case, the centre of their kingdom lay. We can define its extent, as given in the words, "an heir to the old kingdom of Mesopotamia." In the direction of Babylonia it still included Nineveh, which, at the time of Tushratta (about 1430 B. C.), was therefore not yet Assyrian, as it must before that have been Mesopotamic. Obviously all Mesopotamia belonged to it, and on the right bank of the Euphrates the Melitene (Chanigalbat), and the district called by the Assyrians Mussri and by the Egyptians Sanqara (in a Tel-Amarna letter from Alashia: Shanchar), a part of Cappadocia abutting on it as far as the Taurus, possibly across it into Cilicia. Westward and northward of this part of the kingdom were settled the Cheta, the rivals and kinsmen of the Mitani, with whom they were at war, as a letter of Tushratta to Amenophis mentions. The Cheta must have either forced their way in through the territory of the Mitani when we find them in Syria, or they only skirted the real territory of the Mitani kings, by entering Cilicia through the Cilician Gates.

What was true of the friendship of the Babylonians (p. 17) is true of the friendship with Egypt so verbosely emphasised. Even the kings of Mitani are

instanced by Egyptian vassals in Phœnicia as natural enemies of a true servant of the Pharaoh.

This kingdom must have already existed for a considerable period, for Tushratta, the writer of the letters, mentions his father, Sutarna, who had sent his daughter, Giluchipa, as attested by an Egyptian inscription, into the harem of Amenophis III, and his grandfather, Artatama, who had maintained relations with the former's predecessor, Thutmosis IV, and had concluded the same bargain (for the chief matter of discussion was the dowry). The writer himself had been at the court of Amenophis III; he was perhaps educated there as a sort of hostage when his father died. In a letter to the Pharaoh he describes how an insurrection broke out, to which his brother Artashumara fell a victim, and how, on his return, he had suppressed the revolt. The same letter contains an account of the above-mentioned war with the Cheta, who had thus wished to use the opportunity.

Among all the haggling for presents there is one letter, which is conspicuous by more important news. Tushratta requests Amenophis III to send back the statue of the goddess Istar of Nineveh, which shortly before had been sent to Egypt, as it had already been once sent in the lifetime of his father, and had been honourably returned. The meaning of this journey of Istar is not quite evident. It can hardly be explained otherwise than that Tushratta, like his father, had conquered Nineveh, and did not take the captured divinity as a badge of victory back home with him, but—presumably on account of the goddess' wrath which caused her to go into a foreign land—sent it to the Egyptian king, whose right of protectorship was thus acknowledged. The "tribute" of the Egyptian inscriptions would tally well with this theory. The question then remains, from whom did Tushratta take Nineveh? It can hardly have been Assyria, but Babylonia; however, the matter can rest there. More important for us is the fact thus proved that Tushratta was master of Nineveh, for we are thus able to settle approximately the date of Assyria's advance. Tushratta's reign corresponds with the close of the glory of his people. Eighty or a hundred years later, Assyria is in possession of Mesopotamia, and its kings style themselves "king of the world," in order to defend this title against Babylonia after they had driven out the Mitani (cf. p. 18).

The rule of the kings of Mitani who are known to us points already to the end of the epoch which had seen this group of nations advance beyond the Euphrates. This advance perhaps in its first vigour extended as far as Babylonia, where it seems to have made itself felt at the time of the first dynasty of Babylon (c. 2000 B. C.). Since we see in the Tel-Amarna period that the Kassites of Babylonia and the Mitani of Mesopotamia were enemies, it would be the most reasonable conjecture that the Mitani or their predecessors had been driven out of Babylonia by the Kassites.

C. The Beginnings of Assur

We can only think of the "land of Assur" in its primitive form (just as was the case with the kingdom of Babylon) as being little more than the territory of the city of Assur, the modern Kala Shergat. It lies, indeed, almost outside the district which later constitutes the true country of Assyria, the land, namely, which is bounded by a line drawn from Nineveh to the mountains, by the lower Zab and

the Tigris. It is obvious that Assur, from its position, which was too southern for this district, and from its site on the right bank of the Tigris, cannot have been from the first the capital of the subsequent country of Assur; it clearly has more affinities with the South and Babylonia than with the North and West, in which direction it first expanded. If we also consider that Assur was only a town, like many others in the Euphrates valley, we shall be inclined to suppose that its Patesis were subject to the supremacy of Babylonia, and on occasions to that of Mesopotamia also.

It can be proved that in historical times it was not the capital of any considerable kingdom, and in fact was only governed by Patesis, and the date of the rise of this new power can be fixed with tolerable accuracy. Tiglath-Pileser announces about 1100 B. C. that part of a temple restored by him in Assur had been constructed six hundred and forty-one years before the time of his grandfather, who, himself had added to it sixty years earlier, by Shamshi-Ramman, Patesi of Assur, son of Ishme-Dagan, Patesi of Assur. We have therefore, about 1800 B. C., at the time of the second dynasty of Babylon, Patesis of Assur who must have been subject to Babylonia or Mesopotamia, probably to the first. We are acquainted from their own inscriptions with the names of four other such Patesis: Shamshi-Ramman and his father Igur-Kappapu, Irishu and his father. The first king of Assur, whose date we can fix more accurately, is Assur-bel-nishi-shu, the contemporary of Karaindash (cf. above, p. 15). Assur therefore became independent between 1800 and 1500 B. C. Its Patesis called themselves kings, and, possibly under the influence of a new immigration, began to expand their power. The cause of this, and the conditions under which it was possible, were the same as those which gave Babylonia to the Kassites and Mesopotamia to the Mitani. The disorders of the time offered a favourable opportunity to energetic rulers of founding a kingdom of their own. On the other hand the two spheres of civilization, which had been hitherto connected, were parted by the two different foreign sovereignties, and allowed the country that lay between to found a power of its own. Before, however, we come to the history of the new kingdom, it will be necessary to consider to what causes it is due that, while the Semitic world was now everywhere breaking up, the Semites of Assur preserved that firm attitude and strength which thenceforth ensured victory for their arms, and what were the characteristics of these future lords of the East.

The Assyrian type is totally distinct from the Babylonian, which we have seen to be the result of a great mixture of races. The numerous Assyrian portraits show us clearly marked features, precisely those which we ordinarily regard as Semitic; to the smallest detail they are those which we call the "Jewish" type. Our conception is erroneous in so far as this type is completely distinct from the Arabian, in which we should finally expect to find in greatest purity the Semitic type (if we may use such an expression at all); on the other hand, it corresponds in essential points with that of the modern Armenians, who speak an Indo-Germanic language. It is not our present task to explain this. We have to study the history of the nations, and in doing so have laid down the principle of linguistic classification as a suitable scheme of grouping. The physical characteristics of the nations constitute a principle of classification to be carefully distinguished from this, for physical mixture of races and development of languages follow quite different paths. It hardly comes within the province of

history here to consider how the Assyrians reached this type, and to which of the larger groups it belongs. The answer is especially difficult through the deficiency of materials for the subject. F. v. Luschan has proposed to distinguish a Mesopotamic-Canaanitic-Armenian group (based on physical characteristics), for which some evidence can be found in the historical development. It must be observed that the country of Assyria was naturally affected by the Canaanitic immigration at least as much, if not more, than Babylonia. The mixture of nationalities thus produced may be shown in the Assyrian type. Thus Canaanitic national customs lasted here much longer, owing to the nearer vicinity of the countries occupied by Canaanites; for example, the god Dagon was worshipped even by the later Assyrians. It is sufficient for our immediate purposes to ascertain the always unmistakeable Assyrian type.

We are then met by the question, in what the extraordinary superiority of this people over the other peoples of Nearer Asia consisted. This will resolve itself into two points especially: the organisation of this State, and the condition of the civilization of its population. The "land of Assur," down to the times when its superiority over Babylonia was undisputed, that is, down to Salmanassar II and Ramman-nirari III, must have possessed a free peasantry of its own, while the economically more developed home of the most ancient civilization had only a system of feudal and "ecclesiastical" tenure, with a population completely dependent on it. This was the source of the weakness of Babylonia, which had no troops at its disposal, while its defenders consisted of "allies" whose intentions were only too clear. Salmanassar still called out the militia of "the land" when a bold enterprise was planned. Tiglath-Pileser, as we shall see, tried to free this peasantry from the fetters of the feudal system of great estates which had meanwhile grown up in Assyria also, and a reaction began under Sargon. The power of Assyria in the interval had reached its zenith (this prosperous period was inaugurated by Tiglath-Pileser himself), but had not then shown real development. This short-lived success without permanent results is due to the other side of its constitutional organisation, which is explained by the formation of the kingdom.

The expansion of the dominion of a Patesi into a kingdom, such as the rise of Assyria shows, was only possible if at the time in question the princes of these towns had a body of efficient soldiers at their disposition. How far that was connected with the immigration of a new population into Assur and Assyria is beyond our knowledge. Naturally we are disposed to make some assumptions. Just as David with a trustworthy band was able in the general disorder to seize the throne of a realm comprising various tribes, so the Patesis of Assur did the same on a larger scale. The strength of Assyria in opposition to the countries of the Euphrates valley, with their high industrial development, was therefore based on an army; through this alone could it rise at all into any importance or assert its position. A country with a peasantry could supply the men. When this peasantry disappeared at a later period, and even Tiglath-Pileser could not save it, recourse was had to armies of mercenaries, who were recruited out of all countries, both subject and barbarian. It was with these that Sargon and his successors carried on their wars. With such troops, so long as pay and booty were abundant, it was possible to keep the East in subjection; but after a great defeat and without money a new levy was impossible. The strength of Assyria therefore rested on

its army and its population; but as they changed, so there was a complete alteration in its fundamental constitution. While it could always recover from earlier disasters, Assyria, a State completely under Babylonian influence, with a ruling military and sacerdotal caste which was supported by a mercenary army, and no longer possessing a national population, was destined to disappear and leave no trace. The first accounts of the "kingdom" of Assyria which was founded on conquests, somewhere about the seventeenth or eighteenth century B. C., show us the new constitution. A king of Babylon, whose name is not preserved, imprecates in an inscription the usual curses on every successor who refuses him the credit due for a building erected by him: "That prince shall experience calamity, never shall he be of joyous heart while he rules, battle and slaughter shall not cease, in his reign brother shall eat up brother, the people shall sell their children for money, all lands shall rise like one, the husband shall desert the wife, the wife the husband, the mother shall bar the door against her daughter." Then he adds as a sign of the times, "The treasures of Babylon shall come to Suri and Assyria, the king of Babylon shall bring to the prince of Assur the treasures of his palace, his goods to the (town of Assur?)." We here find Suri and Assur mentioned together. Suri (cf. above) is supposed to be the centre of Mesopotamia; the prince, not yet the king, of Assur is he who appears as the opponent, and the curse with which he is here threatened has often enough been fulfilled in later times.

On the other hand, Assyria, in another account, equally belonging to the period before 1500 B. C., appears completely independent of Babylon. We have a noteworthy letter of an unnamed Babylonian king to a Patesi, whose territory we must suppose to have adjoined Assyria, and who was a natural rival of the "king" of Assyria. He had made all kinds of proposals to the Babylonian, with the intention doubtless of bringing him into the power of Assyria. The king of Babylon, however, saw through his game and declined, since he refused to give the desired recognition of his royalty, and declared himself thoroughly satisfied with the existing conditions, which were as follows: at the time of the father of the writer, the king of Assur, Ninib-tukulti-Assur, had fled to Babylon and found refuge there. He had been "brought back to his country," that is, the insurrection there had been suppressed, and the steward of the palace, who had also fled, had been instated as regent; the king was detained in Babylon, naturally only "with his own consent." Here we see Assyria the vassal of Babylonia and completely under its dominion.

D. The Old Assyrian Empire 47-57

(*a*) *The First Rise.* — The natural aim of Assyria at the period of her rise was freedom from the tutelage of Babylonia. We are fortunate enough to possess a record which enables us to follow the development of the relations with Babylon almost from their beginning. When the mutual relations were arranged under Ramman-nirari III, all the treaties and wars between Babylon and Assyria were enumerated. This record is for us what it is usually, though otherwise inappropriately, designated, a synchronic history of the relations of the two States. The first lines of the tablet, belonging to the library of Assurbanipal, on which the document is recorded, have been broken away; it begins with the treaty between Karaindash and Assur-bel-nishi-shu (fifteenth century B. C.). The details of the

treaty are not recounted: it is merely said that both States concluded treaties and mutually fixed the boundaries of their territory (cf. above, p. 16). We may conclude from this that the contents of the treaty were no longer ascertainable by the archivists of Ramman-nirari himself; there was no information on the point beyond the notices of the royal steles. The same is true of a treaty between Bussur-Assur, the next-mentioned king of Assyria, and Burnaburiash (I?), by which we approach the years immediately preceding the Tel-Amarna period.

The Amarna period includes Assur-uballit, from whom we possess a letter to Amenophis IV. We have also other facts about him, and can by their help follow his line of action. He complains in his letter that preference was shown to the king of Mitani: we have already seen several times that his territory was that which the Assyrian must have wished to win first. He alludes also to letters which his father, Assur-nadin-achi, had already addressed to Amenophis III. A communication of Burnaburiash to Amenophis IV (cf. above, p. 17) demands at the same time that the Assyrian attempts to enter into connections should be declined, since Assyria was his vassal. Ramman-nirari I, the great-grandson of Assur-uballit, is able to announce that the royal greeting of his grandfather had been recognised in distant countries; that is to say, his diplomatic attempts at forming connections had met with success, notwithstanding all letters of protest by the Babylonian, and he was recognised by Egypt as an independent king. He was also successful against the kings of Mitani. A victory over them by him is announced; and Nineveh, which we found still in Tushratta's possession, must have been lost to Assur-uballit in his reign. At Nineveh he added to the temple of Istar the goddess who had once been sent to Egypt (p. 44). He seems to have been the first Assyrian who, perhaps however only temporarily, styled himself "king of the world." As regards Babylonia, he followed, under Burnaburiash or his successor, Karachardash, the policy of "*Felix Austria*" (extension of territory by nuptials). Karachardash married his daughter, and their son was Kadashman-charbe, whose policy and relations to Assyria are already familiar to us (p. 17). We have also seen how the murder of Kadashman-charbe gave a welcome opportunity to Assur-uballit of interfering in the affairs of Babylonia. It may fairly be assumed that for the rest of his long life he really governed for his infant great-grandson, Kurigalzu.

This Assyrian guardianship could not but lead to friction so soon as the young king of Babylon was grown up and could adopt a policy of his own. Assur-uballit's successor, Bel-Nirari, is shown to have waged a war with Kurigalzu, in which Babylonia was worsted. The arrangement of the frontier concerned the district "from the borders of Mitani (Shubari) as far as Babylonia." Pudi-il, the next king of Assur, only fought against northern nations, the Suti, the Bedouins of the Steppe, and kept in check the recurring hordes of Aramæans. His son was Ramman-nirari I (about 1300–1270). Assyria under him reaped the fruits of the preceding wars. He overthrew the kingdom of Mitani and became "king of the world" through the possession of Mesopotamia. Babylonia could not quietly stand by and see this. The war with Mitani she had relinquished, it is true, to Assyria, but the possession of the country, on account of its importance for communications with the North and West, she was compelled to try and win for herself. War was declared under Kurigalzu's son, Nazi-Maruttash. Assyria was left victorious. The frontier for the two districts was fixed by a line which ran roughly

from the Sindschar mountains over the Tigris eastward, to the range of Lulumî; that is, Assyria was assigned the upper, Babylonia the lower, river territory (see the map, "Babylonia, Assyria," etc., p. 9).

Salmanassar I (about 1270) completed his father's work. He conquered, in addition, the provinces of Mitani, Chanigalbat, and Mussri, lying westward from Euphrates (cf. above, p. 43), and secured Mesopotamia, since he subdued the Aramæans, who were continually expanding in this direction. He then advanced in the region between the two streams toward Armenia, and took measures to provide an advance guard for this civilized district by founding Assyrian colonies. We see that Assyria still had a vigorous surplus population which sought for some outlet; it was still a land with a peasantry. The settlements of Salmanassar proved to be full of vitality. Although they found no subsequent support from the mother country, they still existed even after these districts had twice been lost by Assyria (in the period after Tukulti-Ninib I and after Tiglath-Pileser I). When Assurnasirpal again advanced toward Armenia (c. 860) he found these colonies still there, although the Assyrian settlers had suffered greatly. A further testimony to the strength of the Assyrian powers of expansion is furnished by the cuneiform texts from Cappadocia with the numerous Assyrian names, the appearance of which we have already connected with the successes of this era (see pp. 3, 17).

Assur, the old capital, was no longer suitable to be the seat of government of the newly expanded kingdom. Salmanassar therefore removed his court farther up stream to a position on the left bank of the Tigris, which more adequately met the requirements of the new régime. Kalchi (Nimrud), in the angle of the Tigris and the Upper Zab, became the new capital. The importance of this place as the capital of Assyria while in possession of Mesopotamia is proved by the fact that, on the decay of the Assyrian power, Assur became the capital once more, until, after the fresh rise of the kingdom under Assurnasirpal, Kalchi was again selected.

So soon as the Mitani difficulty was settled and the possession of Mesopotamia secured, it was merely a question whether Assyria wished to be attacked by Babylonia, or to take the initiative herself. Assyria always was ready to play the part of the aggressor. Under Salmanassar war had been already declared with Kadashman-Buriash; and this was continued under his successor, Tukulti-Ninib. Finally, after fights with Bibejashu, it was under the succeeding kings, Bel-nadin-shum I (or under Kadashman-charbe II?) that Tukulti-Ninib conquered Babylon, hard pressed by Elam (cf. above, p. 18), and thus became ruler of the whole of Babylonia. "Tukulti-ninib, king of the world, son of Salmanassar, conqueror of the land of Karduniash," is his style on a seal rediscovered under Sennacherib, of which a copy made by Sennacherib is extant — a note says that it had been engraved "six hundred years before Sennacherib;" a welcome help to us in determining the chronology (c. 1275). Tukulti-Ninib did not bear the title "King of Babylon," but he allowed first, perhaps, Kadashman-charbe II, and then Ramman-shum-iddin, to be crowned under his protection.

This state of things lasted seven years. Then the nobles of Babylonia rose, drove out the Assyrians and placed Ramman-shum-ussur on the throne. If we compare the similar position of affairs at Sennacherib's death and the rebellion at the end of Assarhaddon's time, we have the key to the meaning of what the chronicle from which we derive these facts tells us in connection. "Assur-nassir-apli,

his son, and the lords of Assyria rebelled, and dethroned him. They shut him up in a house at Kar-Tukulti-Ninib, and slew him with the sword." Accordingly we must assume that Tukulti-Ninib, as the later Assyrian kings in a similar position, had allowed his own policy to be affected by Babylonian influence. This must have caused dissatisfaction in Assyria, because there was the fear that the more highly developed Babylonians would assert their superiority and acquire the chief power. It was therefore an Assyrian military rebellion against the threatening predominance of Babylonia. Probably the Assyrian revolutionary party had come to an understanding with the Babylonians themselves, and Tukulti-Ninib, when expelled from Babylon, found that everything in Assyria was already in the hands of his son. He threw himself, therefore, into the fort built, as the name shows, by himself, and there he met his death. According to the above-mentioned chronicle he had reigned six years when he conquered Babylon, and had ruled there seven years; his reign, therefore, only lasted thirteen years.

If the object of the revolution was a severance from Babylonia, it was very thoroughly realised; for now the struggle could begin afresh, and Mesopotamia, in particular, would be protected against the once more powerful opponent. We know nothing further of Assur-nassir-apli. It appears, however, that he and his successors, Assur-narara and Nabu-dajan, two brothers who reigned concurrently, had by the events in the interval (as might be expected with two brothers on the throne), owing to the Babylonian Ramman-shum-ussur, reduced Assyria to the position it held before its expansion under Assur-uballit. The tone of a letter from the Babylonian king to the former shows a great departure from the previous terms of courtesy. The pair are not addressed as the "brothers" of the writer, but are sharply reprimanded as subjects. Similarly Ramman-shum-ussur is described as "king of the world." Thus Assyria was once more restricted to the "land of Assur."

There were several attempts of Assyria to recover Mesopotamia. Bel-kudur-ussur, perhaps the successor of those two brothers, fell in battle with Ramman-shum-ussur, who met the same fate. His son, Ninib-apal-ekur, led the army back to Assur; there he seems to have withstood a siege of the Babylonians, presumably under Melishichu, the new king.

(*b*) *The Second Rise of the Assyrian Power.* — Babylonia continued to maintain the supremacy under the son of Melichichu, Merodach-Baladan I; for he boasts of a victory over Assyria (under Ninib-apal-ekur or his son Assur-dan), and styles himself also "king of the world." His successor, Zammana-shum-iddin, finally received a reverse at the hands of Assur-dan on Babylonian soil, to the left of the Lower Zab (c. 1200 B. C.). But Assyria had not yet won back Mesopotamia by this. We saw that even the first kings of the Pashe dynasty (p. 20) still held it; in particular Nebuchadnezzar I once again advanced into Palestine. Assur-dan was succeeded by Mutakkil-Nusku. His son was Assur-rish-ishi, the contemporary and rival of Nebuchadnezzar I. After repeated wars the Assyrian, according to the "synchronic" history, is said to have been the victor. He occupied Mesopotamia once more. One of his inscriptions records another check to the hordes of Aramæans in Mesopotamia and successes against the Lulumî in the western Zagrus district and against the Kuti, the peoples of the North.

If his activity on this new rise of Assyria corresponds to that shown by Ramman-

nirari I on the earlier occasion, the reign of his successor, Tiglath-Pileser I (about 1100 B. C.), presents a repetition of the successes and of the downfall of Assyria under Salmanassar I and Tukulti-Ninib. Once more the first question was to secure Mesopotamia by renewed expeditions northward, and by the reconquest of Chanigalbat and Mussri westward of the Euphrates. We shall endeavour to throw light on the incursions of the nations here coming into notice when we treat of the "Hittite" movement. We have an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser's which deals with the first five years of his wars in these parts. He first cleared the district north of Mesopotamia by driving back or subduing the encroaching tribes, and advanced toward Armenia, in the district between the two rivers. He thus endeavoured to secure the very territory which Salmanassar had once occupied with Assyrian colonists. He further subjugated the "Nairi country," the district south of Lake Van; that is to say, the highlands between Armenia and Mesopotamia. On one of these campaigns, at the head of the Subnat (Sebene-Su), the source of the Tigris, he erected his statue, which has been preserved for us, with a short inscription mentioning three such expeditions into the Nairi country. He then, like Salmanassar, checked the Aramæan hordes which had spread over the steppes of Mesopotamia, and drove a part of them over the Euphrates into the territory of Karchemish. He actually crossed the river and took six castles occupied by them in "the territory of the Bishri mountains." This is the identical district which appears under Salmanassar II as the part of Bit-adini lying to the right of the Euphrates with the town of Til-Basheri. [In the time of the Crusades it was made the fief of Joscelin of Tell-Bashir, the feudal tenant of the county Edessa.] Here he also occupied Pitru, in the angle between Euphrates and Sagur, the Pethor of the Bible (erroneously made the home of Balaam), and occupied it with Assyrian colonists. Then, still following the example of Salmanassar I, he subdued Melitene (Chanigalbat) and then Mussri, which was in the hands of the Kumani, and by this restored the old Mesopotamic kingdom in its former extent.

An expedition thence brought him actually to Phœnicia. At Arvad he went out to sea in order, as a mighty hunter, to be present at the capture of monsters of the deep. He mentions on this occasion an exchange of presents with the king of Egypt, who sent among other things a crocodile (*namsuch*). We do not yet know who this Pharaoh was. But we see that the intercourse between the civilized States was not yet broken off, and that the Egyptian kings still had their eyes on Palestine, where Saul and David were forming a kingdom, even if they did not actually interfere. The correspondence between the two kings is not extant. But if it is borne in mind that, only a few years before, these northern districts of Phœnicia had been held by Nebuchadnezzar, it can be imagined that on the exchange of presents weightier issues were concerned, and that the question of fixing their spheres of interests in Palestine had been discussed by the two powers.

Now that the West was secured, it was naturally the turn of the East to be considered. We thus come to that part of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser which resembles the part played by Tukulti-Ninib. The "synchronic" history tells us of two successful wars against Marduk-nadin-achi, of Babylon, in which the North Babylonian towns, together with Babylon, had been captured; and a small fragment of Tiglath-Pileser's annals relates his entry into Babylon itself. But the rapid rise was inevitably followed by an equally rapid fall. Sennacherib found on his capture of Babylon in the year 689 B. C. statues of gods, which Marduk-nadin-achi

had carried away from Assyria "four hundred and eighteen years before, in the time of Tiglath-Pileser;" and this same Marduk-nadin-achi bears in one of his inscriptions the title "king of Sumer and Akkad" and "king of the world." He therefore not only possessed all Babylonia, but had won back Mesopotamia. Tiglath-Pileser accordingly must have lost once more everything at one blow which had been gained in the interval. The extent of Assyria is again what it was after the fall of Tukulti-Ninib.

After Tiglath-Pileser, his sons Assur-bel-kala and Shamshi-Ramman (I) reigned. We must now consider Mesopotamia as predominantly under Babylonian supremacy, although this cannot have been very strictly asserted, as the encroachments of the Aramæans show. Assyria once more possessed only the "land of Assur," and was forced for the third time to begin again. Babylonia itself was indeed no powerful rival at this period, and both for the time maintained peace. Assur-bel-kala and Marduk-shapik-zir-mati ("king of the world," that is, in possession of Mesopotamia, as his predecessor) made peace. When the Babylonian died, and Ramman-aplu-iddin came to the throne, the Assyrian married his daughter, and received, according to the synchronic history, "a rich dowry; both nations lived together in peace." Nothing more is known of his brother and successor, Shamshi-Ramman; in fact, in the tradition there is a gap of almost one hundred years, during which we have no trustworthy information as to Assyria or Babylon.

We learn from later accounts of Salmanassar II, that at this time Assur-irbi must have been king of Assyria. He seems to have made an effort to regain what had been lost, for Salmanassar mentions that he erected a statue on the shore of the sea. This can only have been either Lake Van or the Mediterranean; from the context, probably the latter. According to this view, Assur-irbi, like Tiglath-Pileser I, must have reached Phœnicia on an expedition. It must remain undecided whether his statue was among those at Nahr-el-kelb, north of Beirut, or whether the place was still more to the north.

Another account states that Pitru (cf. above, p. 51), which was occupied by Tiglath-Pileser, was, during his reign, seized by the Aramæans. This brings us to the movement which has left its mark on this period.

(*c*) *The Aramæan Migration.* — In addition to the migrations of the Kassites from the East, of the "Hittites" (Mitani) from the Northwest, Mesopotamia and Babylonia were at this time the object of the third of the Semitic migrations which we have distinguished, namely, the Aramæan. We have already seen several times that the Assyrian kings, when they occupied Mesopotamia (Pudi-il, Salmanassar I, Assur-rish-ishi, Tiglath-Pileser I), tried to keep in check the "Aramæan hordes" which held Mesopotamia, and to drive them back over the river. The country, therefore, as early as 1300 B. C., had been overrun by these still nomadic Aramæans (Tiglath-Pileser I expressly describes them as such), precisely in the same way as we have seen happen in the two previous immigrations.

Mesopotamia with its great steppes was the first object of their invasion; thence they encroached on Babylonia, which they did not occupy until later. They thus came from the North, like the "Canaanites" and "Babylonian Semites." We have often found them there as "Aramæan tribes" at the period of the Assyrian supremacy in Babylon (Tiglath-Pileser III and his successors) [cf. pp. 25, 27]. The advance of the *Chaldæans* from the South checked their further progress. Besides

this, it can be clearly traced how the tribes which pushed on before them, and were certainly most closely akin to them, — just as the "Hebrews" to the "Canaanites" — hindered their expansion in these districts. These are the Suti, whom we have found under Assur-uballit and Kadashman-charbe still in possession of the Syrian desert (cf. pp. 17, 21). They were forced by the Aramæans toward Babylonia, where in the twelfth century B. C., under the kings of the dynasty of the "sea country," they are mentioned as raiders, and were finally driven to the left bank of the Tigris, up to the mountains, where they are still mentioned under Sargon (in Jamutbal). Thus even in the eighth century the stratification in the sequence of the Suti and Aramæans in Babylonia is clearly recognisable. Just as these tribes first came into the country at the time when the Kassites were able to establish their power owing to the weakness of Babylonia, so after 1100, when neither Assyria nor Babylonia could offer any vigorous resistance to them, their expansion was all the easier. This period covers, therefore, the above-mentioned devastation of Babylonia by the Suti, who were pushed onward by the Aramæans; and we must therefore include in it the advance into Babylonia of the Aramæan tribes which afterward settled there.

At the same time they occupied Mesopotamia, which lay still more open to them, and played the part there which we have often pictured to ourselves in the course of the migrations. While in Babylonia they were kept away from the towns through the Chaldæan counter-current, and remained in the open country, they completely occupied Mesopotamia. As soon as our Assyrian sources are again available, we find Aramæan States there and a predominantly Aramæan population. The language of the land of Suri (cf. above, p. 10) then became Aramaic, and the terms "Syrians" and "Aramæans," originally completely distinct, became gradually synonymous. We proved that a similar result followed on the occupation of Pitru (p. 51). We must picture to ourselves that the period of the century after Tiglath-Pileser, on which no light is thrown by further accounts, was filled up by numerous cases of this sort in Mesopotamia. The Assyrian kings obviously could not have looked on passively, for we believed that we could prove some opposition was shown them even under Assur-irbi. On the whole, it is only natural that this struggle fluctuated greatly, and that its course can best be realised by the typical case of the Chaldæans in Babylonia.

E. The Middle Assyrian Kingdom

Although Babylon and Assyria were not in a position to protect Mesopotamia against the Aramæan migration, they could still dispute for its possession. We had seen that Babylon, after Tiglath-Pileser, was superior to Assyria; and this relation appears to have lasted up to the beginning of the "Chaldæan dynasty" (cf. p. 22). So soon as we once more have Assyrian accounts, this question has been once for all settled; from this time every Assyrian king, to the end of Assyria, styles himself "king of the world."

The next names of such kings, whose succession is now unbroken, are: Tiglath-Pileser II, only known from the genealogy of his grandson (about 950); Assur-dan II, also mentioned there (c. 930); Ramman-nirari II, known by a small inscription. With the reign of the last named the "Eponyms Canon" (the *limu* list) begins; this particularises the Assyrian Eponyms (*limu*), by which the sepa-

rate years are dated. Henceforth, to nearly the end of the kingdom, each year of Assyrian history can be verified by its *limu*.

All three, then, are designated by the now permanent title of "king of the world, king of Assur." Mesopotamia has become an integral part of the Assyrian Empire. Harran and Assur are the capitals of the two divisions of the country. The one division is completely occupied by an Aramæan population, which, even in the old towns, certainly caused the same annoyance to the old population as the Chaldæans did to the Babylonians (p. 23), and included a number of Aramæan States, the princes of which used every opportunity to assert their independence or to win the sovereignty for themselves. Thus near Harran is an Aramæan State, Bit-Adini, a counterpart to the county Edessa of the Crusaders (cf. above, p. 51); similarly, near Babylon is the Chaldæan Bit-Dakuri, and we shall learn of others in the time of Assurnasirpal. The subjugation of these States and tribes formed, therefore, the immediate task of an Assyrian State, which did not intend to be at the mercy of any ambitious prince.

Ramman-nirari II was succeeded by his son Tukulti-Ninib II (890–885). The latter, on an expedition to the "Nairi country," had an inscription carved by the side of that of Tiglath-Pileser I at the source of the Subnat (cf. 51, 59). The same thing was also done by Assurnasirpal and Salmanassar II, his son and his grandson. Tukulti-Ninib was afterward solicitous to secure the districts of Assyria which had been colonised by Salmanassar and won back by Tiglath-Pileser. Under Assurnasirpal their possession is assumed (Damdamusa).

With Assurnasirpal (Assur-nassir-apli) II (885–860) our sources once more flow abundantly. We possess several very extensive inscriptions by him, which describe his campaigns in detail. He it was who reduced Mesopotamia to order, and put an end to the independence of the Aramæan princes. He abolished the feudal system, and carried out the principle of provincial administration. His accounts of this give us an insight into the conditions of the country.

In his very first full year of sovereignty (884) an insurrection broke out in the Aramæan State Bit-Chadippi (or Bit-Chalupi, on the Lower Chabur; see the inserted map, "Babylonia, Assyria, and Adjoining Countries from 1100–745 B. C."); there the prince, who was an adherent of Assyria, and had therefore been already at some earlier period conquered, had been killed, and a prince summoned from the adjoining Bit-adini (near Harran), who was a sworn enemy of Assyria. Assurnasirpal was on the Euphrates in Kummuch, and hastened to Bit-Chadippi. While he was on his way the Aramæan princes of Shadikanna (or Gardikanna) and Shuna hastened to show their submission by payment of tribute. On his arrival, Sura, the capital of Bit-Chadippi, submitted, and surrendered up its prince, Achijababa, but did not, however, escape the fate of destruction. Azi-il, a native sheik, was instated as Assyrian "governor."

The course of this insurrection is typical for most of the struggles of Assyria with these Aramæans, as with all tribes in a similar position. If a favourable opportunity was presented, they sought alliance with others, and suspended the payment of tribute, but they seldom offered resistance to an Assyrian army. On the right bank of the Euphrates, beginning with Syria as far as Babylonia, Assurnasirpal was acquainted with three such half nomadic States as a result of the Aramæan immigration; namely, Laki, Chindanu (country of the mouth of the Chabur), and Suchi. They were subjugated in various campaigns. We have

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already seen (p. 23) that Babylonia actually interfered in the war with Suchi. Generally speaking, none of these insurrections were undertaken recklessly, but in concert with more powerful peoples, that is, Babylonia. Babylon was trying in this way to regain her influence over Mesopotamia, and only abandoned the attempt when the whole country was subject to Assyrian provincial administration.

The most formidable opponent was the prince Achuni of Bit-Adini, the Aramæan State which abutted on the territory of Harran and commanded Northern Mesopotamia (see the map, p. 54 and cf. above, p. 51). Most of the rebellions of the small States on the Chabur were the result of his instigations. Assurnasirpal, as soon as he had restored tranquillity on the Chabur and on the Euphrates, turned his arms against him (878 B. C.). Achuni submitted, as also an ally, Chabini of Tel-abnaja. These districts were once more traversed in the Syrian campaign of the following year (877), and tribute enforced; Achuni was compelled even to supply troops. At that time Aramæan princes on the other side of the Euphrates, from the most northerly part of Syria, paid tribute. The Aramæan expeditions were not difficult wars, for the restless Bedouins had already become peasants and readily submitted to any large army.

Assurnasirpal had conducted most of his campaigns in the North against the Nairi country, where his object was to recover or to secure the old possessions. In the districts west and south of the Mons Masius the Assyrian colonists (p. 49), who had been ill-treated by the surrounding population and had fled to the mountains, were brought back, and the province of Tusheha was once more secured. In the same part, Tela, which was inhabited by Assyrians and had revolted, was punished with barbarous severity; a like fate befell the disloyal governor Chulai, who had wished to occupy Damdamusa. Some other expeditions were led over the Tigris still farther into the Nairi country. He also advanced on the other side of Arbela toward Lake Urumiya, where the most important countries subdued were Chubushkia, Zamua, and Gilzan.

Then when, like Tiglath-Pileser I, he had attained his immediate object, he undertook an expedition into Phœnicia (877 B. C.). Starting from Bit-Adini, which had been subdued, the king crossed the Euphrates on rafts of inflated sheepskins, a method still employed, and marched on the left bank down stream to Karchemish, "the capital of the Chatti country." Sangara, "king of the Chatti country," paid tribute and furnished his contingent for the army. The Syrian State of Patin, now occupied by Aramæans, which comprised the district north of the lake of Antiochia, the so-called Amq, and stretched farther south to the Orontes, adjoined the district of Karchemish to the west. Azaz was first conquered, and when the Assyrian army after crossing the Afrin (Apre) advanced to Kunalua, the capital, the king Lubarna, or Liburna, submitted, paid tribute, and furnished troops for the rest of the campaign. Gusi, prince of the Aramæan State Jachan, near Arpud, did the same.

The march was continued from Kunalua over the western stream of the Amq, the Kara-su, and then southward, the Orontes being crossed below the lake. Here, in the most northerly *hinterland* of the Phœnician coast, which had belonged to Patin and was called by him "Luchuti," Assurnasirpal founded an Assyrian colony, following the example of Salmanassar I in Nairi. He then marched farther south along the sea, where a sacrifice was offered to the gods. The spot was probably near Nahr-el-Kelb, where one of the weather-worn Assyrian reliefs may

represent the monument erected by Assurnasirpal to commemorate his victory. Arvad, Gebal, Sidon, Tyre, and the Amorites in the *hinterland* sent tribute. Another division had been sent northward to the Amanus, in order to fell cedar-trees there for the buildings in Nineveh. Tyre is the most southern State of which mention is made. The Omri dynasty was then reigning in Israel. The movements of the Assyrian army must have been noticed and carefully followed by it. Assurnasirpal did not, however, venture to penetrate farther, for the more southern districts either paid tribute to Damascus, then the ruling State of Assyria, or were under its protectorate. Assurnasirpal did not venture on a quarrel with it. Since he feared it, he makes no allusion to it; but he only demanded tribute from such States as were not subject to the influence of the king of Damascus. In other respects the expedition of Assurnasirpal was nearly a repetition of that of Tiglath-Pileser I, which he evidently took as his model.

We must regard the steps taken to secure Mesopotamia as the most valuable result of his reign. As Salmanassar I had done before, so he, to emphasise the altered conditions, removed his capital from Assur once more to Kalchi, where his palace, the "Northwest palace," has been excavated by Layard; he also planned an aqueduct from the Zab to the city.

His successor, Salmanassar II (860–825 B. C.), continued all the work of his father from the point where the latter left off. His successors in Babylonia (cf. above, p. 24) are known to us. In Mesopotamia he confiscated most of the fiefs of the conquered Aramæan princes and placed them under Assyrian administration; in the North he subjugated the same districts as his father, and made fresh conquests; finally, in Syria he ventured to attack Damascus, a step which his father had so carefully avoided.

The first years of the reign of Salmanassar II were devoted to the affairs of Mesopotamia. In three campaigns (859–857) Achuni of Bit-Adini, who had again rebelled, was defeated, and his territory forfeited and made a province, and partly colonised by Assyrians. A similar fate befell in 854 another Aramæan prince, Giammu, in the Balich valley. Thus all independent government of the Aramæans in Mesopotamia ceased; they became Assyrian subjects.

For Salmanassar, as it had been for Assurnasirpal, the next step naturally after the conquest of Mesopotamia was the occupation of Syria, and, if possible, of Palestine. His father had subjugated the northern part, Patin; it now remained to conquer the State which the former had avoided, and which ruled all Cœle-Syria and Palestine. In 854 he crossed the Euphrates near Til-Bursip, which had recently been Achuni's capital, and was then the seat of an Assyrian governor, and marched in a southerly direction toward Pitru, which had also been retaken from the Aramæans and placed under Assyrian government. There he received the tribute of the Syrian princes, who had voluntarily submitted or had already been reduced to submission. They were Sangar, of Karchemish, who in 877 had done homage to Assurnasirpal; Kundaspi, of Kummuch; Arame, of Gusi; Lalli, of Melitene (also already tributary to Assurnasirpal); Chajani, of Gabar-Sam'al; Kalparunda, of Patin and Gurgum (the two latter, in the district of Sendschirli, princes of parts of what was formerly Patin). Thence the expedition went farther to Aleppo, which offered no resistance; there Salmanassar sacrificed to Hadad, or Ramman, god of the city.

Thence marching in a southerly direction, he reached the sphere of interests of

Damascus, the borders of Hamat, where Irchulini, the prince, was allied with King Bir-idri of Damascus, or probably paid him tribute. Bir-idri with his army met him near Karkar in the vicinity of Hamat. Among the vassals who had to obey the call to arms are mentioned: Irchulini of Hamat, Ahab of Israel, the princes of Kue (Cilicia), Mussri (pp. 43, 51), Irqana, Matin-baal of Arvad, the princes of Usana, Siana (North Phœnicians), Gindibu of the Arabians (the first mention of such), and Ba'sa of Ammon. Salmanassar, of course, claimed a splendid victory; but the result of the battle was his withdrawal to Assyria and a continuation of the power of Damascus in its fullest extent. Since Babylonian affairs (852–851) prevented any immediate renewal of the attempt, no action was taken until the year 849 B. C., when the results were equally trifling. Salmanassar fared no better in the succeeding year (848) when he invaded Hamat from the Amanus, that is to say, from the tributary country of Patin, "won a " similar " victory," and was obliged to return to Assyria once more without any real results. Damascus had thus proved to be a well-matched rival; the Assyrian army had to fight there against a thoroughly disciplined force and not against the militia of an uncivilized tribe. Salmanassar was only incited to greater efforts to overthrow this rival, whose defeat would secure him all Syria and Palestine. Three years subsequently he undertook another expedition, having this time raised levies " of the land " (cf. above, p. 46). But his rival had placed an unusually strong force in the field; and the " victory " of Salmanassar was of the same character as the earlier ones which his inscriptions record.

He first gained a success when there was a change of sovereigns at Damascus, and he was able to win the vassals partly over to his side. Bir-idri was dead and Hazael had become king of Damascus; meanwhile in Israel a revolution had set Jehu on the throne, and he looked to Assyria for support. Above all, Damascus now stood entirely alone. We have frequently noticed already how the death of a king is the signal for a universal defection of the vassals. Hazael was dependent, therefore, on his own resources. Salmanassar advanced from the North along the coast, in order to attack Damascus from the side of Beirut, where he had one of the weatherworn monuments cut near Nahr-el-Kelb. Hazael tried to bar his passage between the Hermon and the Antilibanon, but failed to check him, and was forced to retire behind the walls of Damascus. Salmanassar besieged the city for some time, but could obtain no results. It was not the mud walls of an ordinary provincial town which resisted his battering-rams. He had to be content with laying waste the open country as far as the Hauran, and then to withdraw homeward with the indemnity which Tyre and Sidon always paid, and the homage of Jehu (see the two smaller reliefs on the plate opposite p. 70). Even a sixth attempt (839) met with no better results. Damascus preserved its independence. The State thus continued to exist which blocked Assyria's road to Palestine. The whole course of Israelitish history was determined by that. For the next hundred years Israel and Judah remained under the influence of Damascus; when finally it fell (731 B. C.), the fate of Israel also was sealed.

Salmanassar made no further attack on Damascus after 839; Israel and the rest of Palestine were therefore left to themselves to deal with Damascus. Although Cœle-Syria and Palestine had temporarily escaped the Assyrian power, only a further conquest of North Syria and a wider expansion toward Asia Minor remained to be effected. Melitene, Patin, and Amq had acknowledged the

Assyrian supremacy; but now Salmanassar advanced over the Amanus and into the district of the Taurus. Kue (Cilicia) had been at first tributary to Damascus; it was now (840, 835, and 834) subjugated, and at Tarsus Kirri was made king in the room of his brother Kate. To the north of the Taurus tribute was demanded from the Tabal, who were governed by their chiefs, and thus the circle of Assyrian vassal States from Cilicia over the Taurus as far as Melitene was completed.

The district of Malathia (Chanigalbat) formed part of the Armenian Highlands, and was, therefore, the next object of conquest for a power advancing in that direction. It had been secured for Assyria under Salmanassar, Tiglath-Pileser, and Assurnasirpal, who had already conducted campaigns up to Lake Van. Since in the north of this country some approximation to a united State was noticeable in Urarthu, with its capital on Lake Van, Salmanassar made war on its kings. By 857 he had once more marched through the districts south of the Upper Euphrates, namely, Alzi, Zamani, Anzitene, and on the other side of the Arsanias Suchme and Dajaeni, which had been subject to his predecessors, Salamanassar I and Tiglath-Pileser. He invaded the territory of Urarthu from this point; King Arame withdrew into the interior. A statue of Salmanassar was erected near Lake Van, and the march continued through the eastern passes past Gilzan and Chubushkia to Arbael. New expeditions were undertaken in 850 and 845; during these latter the inscriptions at the source of the Subnat were probably carved (cf. above, pp. 52, 54).

Meanwhile, that change of monarchy in Armenia must have occurred which brought the powerful dynasty to the throne that had its seat at Thuruspa on Lake Van (the modern Van), and from thence founded the mighty kingdom of Urarthu. This caused much trouble to the kings of Assyria in the succeeding years, and contested with them for the supremacy in Syria. The defection of Lalla of Malathia in the year 837 is certainly to be traced to the efforts of these kings. Four years later (833) an Assyrian army was sent to the Arsanias in order, it would seem, to reoccupy the districts of Suchme and Dajaeni, which are situated on its right bank; Sarduri I, the new king of Urarthu, was therefore clearly advancing. In 829 a new expedition, this time from the other side, was attempted through the passes of Gilzan and Chubushkia. Mussassir, a State to the southwest of Lake Urumiya, was sacked, and a part of Urarthu met the same fate. But the Assyrians did not obtain any decisive results here; on the contrary, the power of the new State grew continually in subsequent years, and from the time of Ramman-nirari onward Assyria was more and more ousted from these regions. The kings of Urarthu encroached on Mesopotamia and Syria, until they were driven back to their highlands under Tiglath-Pileser III.

While Assurnasirpal's frontier on the east and southeast had been the Zab, Salmanassar advanced against the districts between Lake Urumiya and the plain of the Tigris, which had often in earlier times been subject to the Assyrian supremacy (Lulumî), but now, as frequently, were more influenced by Babylon. In 860 an expedition was made into the passes of Holvan, and in 844 a similar one to Namri, the Southwestern Media. An advance was made in 836 against the prince of Bit-Chamban, who had been instated there; then the march was continued farther northward to Parsua, on the east of Lake Urumiya. Here chiefs of the Medes, who are mentioned for the first time in this connection, brought their tribute, when the advance was continued in a southerly direction to Charchar,

east of Holvan. The districts of Kirchi and Chubushkia, which lay to the south of the Lakes Van and Urumiya, and had been already traversed by Assurnasirpal, were also subjugated, and Man on the western shore, as well as Gilzan to the north of Lake Urumiya, were punished.

Salmanassar's successes in Babylonia have been spoken of in the Babylonian history (p. 23). The close connection with Babylonia and the growth of its influence caused the great rebellion which broke out toward the end of the reign of Salmanassar. The peasant class of Assyria must have suffered by the wars — Babylonia was the seat of the hierarchy; and certainly even such contrasts must have had their weight in this rebellion (cf. below, pp. 64, 69, 72, *et sæpius*). Almost the whole of Assyria and the Assyrian provinces, with the former capital, Assur, which had naturally lost much by the change of the royal residence, at their head, now revolted. Of the important towns, only the capital, Kalchi, and Harran, capital of Mesopotamia, where Salmanassar had rebuilt the temple of Sin, remained loyal; and it would appear that Salmanassar found a refuge in North Babylonia, which indeed belonged to him. The leader of the rebellion was Assur-danin-apli, Salmanassar's son, who maintained his position for at least six years (829–824), and at this time certainly bore the title "King of Assur," since he was in possession of the ancient capital.

Salmanassar had died meanwhile (825), and his son, Shamshi-Ramman, who at first only possessed Mesopotamia (therefore merely "king of the world"), at length subdued Assyria again (825–812). The only inscription which we have by him extends merely to his fourth campaign against Babylonia. The first expedition he records was to Nairi, and in connection with that, the homage offered by the entire Assyrian empire from its northern to its southern frontiers, and from the eastern frontier as far as the Euphrates (there were no Assyrian provinces yet in Syria). The second campaign was directed against the Nairi country, through the district between Lakes Van and Urumiya, in the course of which a part of Urarthu was laid waste. The third expedition went to the same place, and then was led further to Man, and round Lake Urumiya up to Parsua; thence it went in a southeasterly direction through Media, probably to Holvan. A large number of Median districts are enumerated in this place. The fourth campaign finally was that against Babylon; the narrative breaks off after the victory over Marduk-balatsu-iqbi (cf. above, p. 24).

From the reign of Shamshi-Ramman onward we possess a new source, which serves as an invaluable clue for the following period; a fragment of it actually deals with the beginning and the end of the reign of Salmanassar II. This is the Eponyms chronicle, a Limû list (cf. above, p. 45), with short notes, which record the most important event of each year, usually a campaign; it is especially valuable for the ensuing period down to Tiglath-Pileser III, from which we have few other inscriptions. We possess some more short inscriptions by Ramman-nirari III (812–783 B. C.), which give a general survey of his campaigns, and are supplemented by the accounts of the Eponyms chronicle. On the whole, it is a question of continuing the conquests of his predecessors, or of winning back territories which had become untrustworthy. He had hardly made any important conquests. Among his subject countries in the East he mentions Ellipi (bordering on Elam), also Charchar and Araziash up to Parsua, known from the time of Salmanassar, and for the first time, Andia, adjacent to Parsua, on the northeast. He also re-

ceived tribute from Median chiefs. Three expeditions to Chubushkia and the Nairi country are enumerated, and two to Man. He did not, however, venture on further advance against Urarthu, which continually developed its power. He met with some successes in Syria. In 806 and 805 expeditions to Arpad and Azaz (p. 55) are mentioned, and in 797 another to a Syrian town, Manssuate. We may connect with this the notice that Mari', king of Damascus, paid tribute; perhaps the accession of a new king at Damascus was the cause. Ramman-nirari also mentions among the tributary States, Tyre and Sidon, Israel, which thus still held to Assyria, and Edom and Philistea, which last were recent additions. This points to a preponderant Assyrian influence in Palestine, and thus a decay of the power of Damascus. As long as Damascus remained independent, it was always a bulwark for all districts lying south of it (for Ramman-nirari's relations to Babylonia, see above, p. 24).

For the following period we have no more royal inscriptions, and are, therefore, entirely dependent on the accounts of the Eponyms chronicle. The lack of inscriptions in itself points to a period of weakness, and this is confirmed by the facts which we can establish. On the whole, for the next forty years it is merely a question of retaining what had been won. Indeed, this could not always be done, for we shall see that in the revival of prosperity under Tiglath-Pileser much had first to be won back again. This is especially true of the territories which lay within the sphere of interests of the new kingdom of Urarthu. Assyria, when once she ceased to attack, was herself attacked; henceforth this was done by Armenia, where the kings (especially Menuas) extended their power toward the South, and deprived Assyria of the Nairi country as well as the districts of Northern Assyria. Salmanassar III (783–773 B. C.) had already been obliged to wage defensive wars principally against Urarthu; no fewer than six of his ten campaigns were directed against the incessant encroachments of this rival. There does not seem to have been so much lost toward the East, on the borders of Media, for there he had to deal mostly with barbarian States without a firm organisation. There are expeditions thither (to Namri) mentioned in 749 and 748, and one in 766 against the Medes.

The next king was Assur-dan III (773–755 B. C.), who conducted several campaigns in Syria; the first (773) against Damascus, the second against Chatarikka, to the north of it. He twice marched into Babylonia, in 771 and 767; he had therefore attempted to oppose the Chaldæans there. In the second half of his reign his kingdom was convulsed by a shock which was destined to destroy the fabric of tributary States so laboriously reared. A rebellion broke out in the year 763, which continued in succeeding years to spread from place to place, and gradually must have affected a large portion of the empire. The Eponyms chronicle puts before this year — the year when the chronicle records that eclipse, the ascertainable date of which forms a fixed point in ancient chronology — a mark of division, as at the beginning of new reigns; for since the rebellion broke out in Assur a rival king would have been proclaimed there. What the deeper lying cause may have been is not proved, but it is not difficult to settle: the rebellion started in the ancient capital of the empire. If we reflect how Tiglath-Pileser chose Kalchi again, and Sargon on the contrary restored the privileges of Assur, we may conclude that the movement originated with the priests of Babylon, whose privileges were infringed by the removal of the royal residence. The rebellion was suppressed, it is true; but

the next king, Assur-nirari (754–746 B. C.), seems to have been subject to the influence of its promoters, for the first act of his reign was the removal of the court back to Assur (754), even if Assur-dan himself did not do so. This signified a victory of the hierarchy over the source of Assyria's strength, the army. The monarchy, by abandoning this, the only support to its power in Assyria, voluntarily abdicated (754 B. C.).

Assur-nirari reigned eight years, to each of which (with one exception) the note, which is not otherwise found, "in the country," that is, "no war," is appended. However, for the last year (746) the chronicle records, "rebellion in Kalchi;" and in the course of the next year Tiglath-Pileser III mounted the throne. We have once more inscriptions of his, which show that he resided in Kalchi, and was not of the royal stock. He therefore was placed on the throne by a military rebellion in Kalchi. Assur-nirari, who resided at Assur under the influence of the hierarchy, was the last king of his house.

F. The New Assyrian Empire

(*a*) *Assyria the Paramount Power in Nearer Asia.*—With Tiglath-Pileser III (745–728 B. C.) begins a fresh period of Assyrian history, a new era of prosperity which raised Assyria to the supremacy in Nearer Asia. He really laid the foundations of the glory of Assyria. This is the age when Assyria subdued Damascus and Palestine, and thus interfered in the history of that small people, whose records and sacred books have long been the best known to us, and preserved the name of Assyria for two thousand years, when the proofs of its history lay buried in the earth, and no one knew what language had been spoken by these lords of Nearer Asia.

We must distinguish between three theatres of war in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser: Babylonia, where his successes have been already mentioned; the North, where he had to fight with the now powerful Urarthu; and Syria-Palestine, with Damascus, which, far from being crushed, had on the contrary been able in the interval of Assyria's weakness to regain its strength, and had since the last war (773) discontinued the payment of tribute.

After the Babylonian campaign in the first year (745), and another in Western Media the next year, war was begun in 742 against Sarduri II of Armenia. The latter had in the meantime made continual advances, had subdued Melitene and Kummuch (Commagene), and even Gurgum, the northern part of the former Patin, and had compelled their kings to pay tribute to him and not to Assyria. He had then entered into friendly relations with Mati-il of Agusi, who had either already occupied Arpad (an expedition had been sent there in 754), or wished to do so, in order to found a kingdom for himself there (p. 128). According to the Eponyms chronicle, Tiglath-Pileser was actually near Arpad, and therefore was marching against Mati-il, when an Armenian army under Sarduri invaded Mesopotamia. It was defeated in the country of Kummuch. Sarduri was pursued to "the bridge of the Euphrates, the boundary of his land," and thus a check was put at least on his advance toward Mesopotamia; further operations against him had to be deferred until a later occasion. The three following years were filled up by expeditions "to Arpad." Mati-il must therefore have shown a vigorous resistance. After his fall most Syrian princes paid tribute; namely, Kustaspi of Kummuch and Tarchulara

of Gurgum, who thus seceded from Urarthu, Rasson of Damascus (p. 120), Hiram of Tyre, the prince of Kue, and Pisiris of Karchemish (p. 111). Assyria's supremacy in Syria was therefore restored in these three years (*vide* the map "Babylonia, Assyria, etc., from 1100–745," p. 54, and "Assyria after 745," p. 87), while Urarthu was driven out. Only a part of Patin, Unqi, that is, Amq, together with the capital Kinalia or Kunalua, offered resistance; its prince, Tutammu, lost his throne, and this part of the country became an Assyrian province.

The next year saw an expedition to Ulluba, one of the Nairi countries; it also was placed under an Assyrian governor. The object of this movement was naturally to strike a blow at Armenia, from which this territory had been taken. The country was secured by fortresses against attacks from the side of Armenia. In 738 another expedition was made to one of the districts of Patin. Azrija'u, prince of Ja'udi (close by Sendschirli), had revolted; his town, Kullani, was taken. This event threw its shadows as far as Israel and Judah, where Isaiah held up the conquest of "Kalno" as a warning example to the Jews. A number of North Phœnician districts — the same region where once Assurnasirpal had founded his Assyrian colony Aribua, and which now belonged to Hamat — had joined Azrija'u, and incurred the penalty of being annexed. The Assyrian province of Simarra was constituted out of them, which stretched from the Orontes to the district of Gebal, but did not include this or Arvad, which remained independent. This new Phœnician province, which received fresh additions in the year 733, was assigned to Salmanassar, son of Tiglath-Pileser. In this way part of the "foreland" of Damascus became Assyrian. Damascus itself, as well as the remaining Syrian and Phœnician States, Kummuch, Karchemish, Sam'al, and Gurgum in Amq, Hamat, Kue, Gebal, Tyre, also Menahem of Israel, paid tribute; the latter, as may be assumed from the biblical narrative, only did so when a part of his dominions had been taken away from him. The wider circle of the tributary States which had once been bound to Salmanassar, namely, Melitene, Kasku, Tabal, and the principalities of Cappadocia and Cilicia, paid tribute once more. The Assyrian king, as the actual feudal lord of Damascus, received presents from Zabibi, queen of the Arabians.

In the years 737 and 736 B. C. expeditions were led to Media and Nairi, with the object of more completely crushing the influence of Urarthu; and in the ensuing year this great rival was finally attacked in his own country. Urarthu was traversed. Tiglath-Pileser besieged the citadel of Thuruspa (Van), but without success, and had to be contented with erecting a royal statue there in view of the besieged. He annexed the southern part of Urarthu, and united it to the province of Nairi. He thus struck an undeniably heavy blow at Urarthu, and he placed a strong obstacle in the way of any renewed advance by fortifying the frontier provinces. Urarthu's dominion over Syria and Nairi was thus ended. But he did not entirely relinquish his schemes of conquest until his power was broken by Sargon, and at the same time a dangerous antagonist faced him on the other side in the Cimmerians.

Damascus had hitherto paid tribute. But it is always to be noticed that the position of tributary to Assyria was never permanent. On the one hand, the sums exacted were so high that only compulsion could wring them out of the feudal princes; on the other hand, these conditions formed a constant incentive to revolt as soon as any other prospect was shown. Very often also there may have been an intention to force tributary States to revolt, in order to have a pretext to annex

them as a province (we may compare the policy of the Romans toward their *socii*). The year 734 saw an expedition to Philistia, where Ascalon was brought under Assyrian rule. We see that all Palestine must follow the destinies of Damascus. Soon afterward, however, Damascus seems to have shaken off the yoke. The pretext for interference was given by the appeal for help of Ahaz of Judah, whom Rasson (Rezin) and his vassal Pekah were besieging in Jerusalem, in order to force him to join an alliance aimed against Assyria. Tyre was also privy to it, and there seem to have been hopes of help from Egypt. In the year 733 Tiglath-Pileser advanced before Damascus. In Israel, Pekah, on the approach of the Assyrians, fell a victim to a revolt of the Assyrian party, and in his place Hoshea, the leader of this party, was appointed king. This opportune outbreak deprived Tiglath-Pileser of the excuse for annexing the country, and thus a respite of ten or twelve years was purchased; but then destiny must be fulfilled. Damascus, as on previous occasions (p. 57), offered a successful resistance; however, it fell at last, and became an Assyrian province (732 B. C.). Israel, whose territory even without this had been much curtailed, was now directly bounded by an Assyrian province: the State which had hitherto politically ruled it, and was its leader in the development of culture, was administered by an Assyrian governor! Tyre also, which had joined in the cause, made a peace on the approach of an Assyrian army. The rich trading town was best able to pay tribute.

The next years belong to the conquest of Babylonia and Babylon (cf. above, p. 26). Tiglath-Pileser reigned then two years as king of Babylon; in the year 728 he died, and was succeeded by his son Salmanassar IV (727–722 B. C.). His reign is merely an appendage of that of Tiglath-Pileser, whose policy he seems uniformly to have followed. We do not possess any inscriptions of his own. Samaria, in his reign, found itself compelled once more to suspend payment of tribute; but the expected help from Egypt was not forthcoming, and after a three years' siege the town was captured and made the seat of an Assyrian governor. The Assyrian frontier now ran a little north of Jerusalem (*vide* map, p. 87).

Salmanassar died before the fall of Samaria, so that its capture is recorded as effected by his successor, Sargon. This Sargon, like Tiglath-Pileser, was the founder of a new dynasty; he had been made king by a reaction against that movement which had brought the former to the throne. His account of the measures of his predecessors, which he superseded, throw light for us on the nature of this movement, of which we have already found traces in the revolutions of Assur-danin-apli and of 763.

Tiglath-Pileser had, according to this, endeavoured to restrict the excessive influence of the priesthood and the favoured position of the great cities. These had possessed the most extensive privileges and enjoyed immunity from almost all burdens. If we consider the additional fact that the greatest part of the land belonged to them, we shall realise that the national revenue must have diminished more and more; and we understand why the Assyrian kingdom, in the end, became so impotent. Even the attitude of the Assyrian kings toward Babylonia was regulated by this. Tiglath-Pileser, Salmanassar, Sennacherib, Assurbanipal, acted energetically; Sargon and Assarhaddon favoured Babylon, where the system of privileged priests and towns, which caused this weakness, was followed out. Tiglath-Pileser and Salmanassar tried to put an end to it. In doing so they must have supported themselves to some extent on the peasant class, so far as one was

left. Obviously we need not see in them, for that reason, any special friends of the "small man;" they were only concerned in having subjects that could pay their taxes and perform their duties. They understood, however, that a monarchy which was propped up on the towns and the hierarchy could only maintain its existence so long as it had advantages to offer them. Henceforward we can trace out how the two parties in Assyria worked against each other. This point is clearly shown in the series of forcible depositions of the kings. It is obvious that a *rapprochement* of the privileged towns and temples was in reality no benefit to the country population; this at best afforded the material for a movement. The real point at issue was indeed the contrast between country and town; but the country was mainly represented by the nobility, which partly had the army at their disposal. Tiglath-Pileser and Salmanassar thus were under their influence. Sargon, elevated to the throne by the counter-movement, favoured the towns and temples, to which he restored their privileges. Sennacherib again represented the interests of the nobility and army, as is shown by his attitude toward Babylon. He was murdered, and the Babylonian hierarchical party won the day with Assarhaddon. A revolution broke out when he wished to secure the power to his son Shamash-shum-ukin, who held the same views; and with Assurbanipal the Assyrian nobility were victorious. These were the two currents which thenceforth determined the inner course of Assyrian history; on Tiglath-Pileser's accession they produced a sharply defined and conscious opposition.

Thus in the year 722, when Salmanassar died, we suddenly find Sargon on the throne. He was unable to point to any royal ancestors; but instead of that he became the progenitor of the royal house under which Assyria reached the zenith of her power, and then rapidly sank. His reign was in home affairs the counterpart to that of Tiglath-Pileser, and showed in foreign policy a wish to continue the operations of the latter and to execute the schemes which he had been compelled to leave unfinished. We have already seen (pp. 46, 63) that his instrument in these operations was different from that of his predecessors; thenceforth the Assyrian army consists merely of mercenaries collected from every country and province, standing completely at the disposal of the king so long as he can provide it with pay and booty, but immediately refusing to fight if these two are not forthcoming. From Sargon's time onward the "royal" army is the instrument by which Assyria keeps the East in subjection. The sovereign power in Assyria has therefore devolved on the administration (which according to Oriental customs is equivalent to the extortion) of the nobility and hierarchy; an Assyrian people, to whom Salmanassar I and Assurnassipal had assigned land in the conquered provinces, no longer exists. If the king now wishes to occupy a conquered province with new settlers, he must meet the difficulty by exchanging the populations of two provinces situated at different ends of the empire. The peasant class in Assyria was extinct; there were only the great landed estates of the nobility or of the temples, cultivated by slaves or paupers.

The military operations of Sargon, since they were a continuation of his predecessor's plans, were carried out on the same scenes; it is once more a question of wars in Babylonia with Chaldea and Elam, or with Urarthu about the northern districts, and of a continuance of the conquests in Palestine.

We have already learnt of his successes in Babylonia (on page 26). In Palestine, as we have just mentioned, the annexation of Samaria and the "carrying

away of the Ten Tribes," which make the name of Sargon of interest to readers of the Bible, are merely results of the siege under Salmanassar. Hamat, north of Damascus, in Syria, had hitherto avoided this fate by regular payment of its tribute. But it became acquainted with the "good will" of Assyria in 738, when the revolted towns of Hamat were not given back, but were added to the province of Simirra (cf. above, p. 62). Great hopes had been centred on the change of king in Assyria; thus we now find (720), in place of the pliant king Eni-il, a "peasant," Ja'ubidi, on the throne and in open hostility to Assyria. He was allied with Hanno of Gaza, who must have submitted to Tiglath-Pileser. Both clearly rested their hopes on Egypt; at the same time they found support from the nations of Northern Arabia, which had their emporiums in Gaza, and therefore were forced to pay tithes to Assyria. The newly constructed provinces of Arpad, Simirra, Damascus, and Samaria joined the cause. The greater part, therefore, of Syria and Palestine tried to free themselves from the burden of tribute or the Assyrian yoke. But the allies could not decide on combined action, the usual defect in such operations by petty States. Hamat was conquered and constituted a province. Hanno, who with the help of an Arabian army wished to capture Gaza, was defeated near Raphia, on the southern frontier of the territory of Gaza. The revolted provinces were reduced without difficulty, and tranquillity was thus restored in Syria and Palestine.

Sargon could now turn his attention to his third remaining opponent, Urarthu. Rusas I was again active, and attempted to extend his influence to North Syria and in the East to the Median frontier States, and apparently found ready hearers. Sargon's next task, like that of Tiglath-Pileser in his day, was therefore the subjugation of these disloyal vassals. In 719 two towns of Man (western shore of Lake Urumiya), whose king supported Assyria against Urarthu, were punished because they had gone over to the Indo-Germanic tribe of the Zigirtu (Sagarthians ?), who were friendly to Urarthu; the same lot befell other towns which had seceded to Urarthu. In 718 one of the princes of Tabal, Kiakki of Shinuchtu, was carried prisoner to Cappadocia, and his dominions given to a loyal neighbour, Matti of Atun.

In 717 Karchemish fell, which had paid its tribute since the days of Assurnasirpal. The annoyances of Assyria must have exhausted the patience of this wealthy town and driven it to a war of desperation. It had vainly looked for help to the ruler of the former territory of the Chatti in Asia Minor, — Mita of Muski, as Sargon calls him (-Midas of Phrygia). Pisiris was the last king of Karchemish, and the last relic of the Chatti rule in Syria was henceforth an Assyrian province.

The years 716 and 715 bring wars in the east of Urarthu, where Rusas meanwhile had made especial efforts to gain Man for himself by force; he had therefore abandoned Syria and turned more to the east. There he succeeded, by stirring up disputes about the throne, in obtaining the sceptre for Ullusunu, a prince favourable to him. But before the party of Urarthu had won a firm footing, Sargon appeared and forced the king to do homage; his example was followed by the prince of Nairi and other chiefs of those regions. In 714 war was made against Urarthu itself. Sargon advanced from Man past Mussassir, the conquest of which he has represented in his palace, toward Lake Van, while he devastated the country. Rusas committed suicide, although Urarthu could not be entirely conquered by Sargon. From that time the power of Urarthu was broken. It had now to fight

for its existence with the new opponent on its northern frontier, whom we have already mentioned, the Cimmerians. Assyria had, it is true, got rid of a rival, but by so doing had weakened the bulwark which formed her natural protection against the now threatening danger of the migration of Indo-Germanic nations, whose first representatives she had met in the above-mentioned Zigirtu. Henceforth the Assyrian generals in the northern frontier provinces carefully watched the struggles of Urarthu with the Cimmerians and other allied tribes, and under Assarhaddon these already began to menace Assyrian territory (*vide* below, pp. 71, 72).

Many districts of the former Patin in Syria had already been annexed, and under Sargon this happened with the rest, namely, Gurgum with the capital Marqasi (Mar'ash). Even Kue and some Cappadocian districts, among them Kammanu, corresponding to the former Mussri (Komana in the Antitaurus), as well as Melitene and Kummuch, became Assyrian provinces after unsuccessful attempts at rebellion by their princes. This marked the greatest extension of Assyria toward the northwest (see the map, "Assyria after 745 B. C., New Babylonian Empire and Media," p. 87). Toward the end of Sargon's reign the governor of Kue actually undertook an expedition over the Taurus, in order to deter Mita of Muski (Midas of Phrygia), who tried to advance against Assyria there and on the Halys, from any idea of invasion.

When Sargon had seized Babylon, he received the presents of seven Greek "kings" of Cyprian towns. This is the first ascertainable contact with "Ionians." Those who thus paid homage were the princes of the western part of the island, who sought assistance from Assyria in their efforts to expel the Phœnicians of Tyre from the eastern part.

An isolated case in South Palestine of refusal to pay tribute was that of Ashdod, which relied on Arabian help. It is noteworthy from the allusion to it in Isaiah, chapter xx. We can imagine with what hopes and fears men in Judah had followed this rebellion in their immediate vicinity. Indeed, Judah, according to Sargon's account, took part in it with Moab and Edom, without letting matters go so far as open resistance, when an Assyrian army conquered Ashdod and founded an Assyrian colony there.

In the East, Elam, after the expulsion of Merodach-Baladan, had not been able to accomplish any further results in Babylonia. The quarrel between the two rivals showed itself in a dispute as to the throne in the borderland of Ellipi, where two hostile brothers sought support, the one from Elam, the other from Sargon. After the former, Nibi, had driven out his brother Ispabara with Elamitic assistance, Sargon was obliged to restore the latter.

Toward the end of Sargon's reign his great palace, which he had caused to be built to the north of Nineveh at the foot of the mountains, was finished and solemnly taken possession of. The royal residence was thus removed from Calchi; but Sargon had been raised to the throne by the party which formerly had their headquarters in Assur. Since, then, Assur itself was not adapted from its position to be the seat of government, Sargon founded a new capital of his own, Dur-Sharrukin, the "castle of Sargon" (Khorsabad), on the model of his legendary prototype, Sargon of Agade, whose name he indeed only adopted on his accession: "Sargon the second" he was called by his loyal scribes. The inscriptions and sculptures from the palace of Dur-Sharrukin — the first to be excavated by Botta

in the years 1842–1845 — are the chief authorities for the history of his reign. Sargon's death fell in the year 705. We have no particulars as to it; it only appears from a communication of Sennacherib, that he met with a violent end and "was not buried in his house," namely, that no proper burial was accorded to him. This can only mean that he fell fighting with barbarians, as Cyrus did. Such barbarians are almost exclusively to be found on the northern frontier of his empire, among the Indo-Germanic tribes, the Cimmerians and "Scythians." These, therefore, first suggest themselves to us. The song in Isaiah, chapter xiv. 4–21, referred in later times to the death of a king of Babylon, was certainly originally composed on Sargon's unexpected death. The hopes therein expressed did not remain without some actual results, for Palestine and Phœnicia attempted a great rebellion.

Sanherib (or Sennacherib, 704–681 B. C.) was first occupied in Babylonia and with an expedition to the Zagrus (702); there he chastised the Kashshu, a remnant of the old Kassites which had preserved their independence, and the Jasubigalla. Then he turned (701) to Palestine.

Two princes in particular were the soul of the revolt there, — Luli of Tyre and Hezekiah of Judah. The former was "king of the Sidonians." He possessed Tyre and Sidon, with a territory which commenced south of Beirut and extended to Philistia; in addition, the east of Cyprus belonged to him, with the most important town Citium, or Kartchadast (Newtown, Carthage). We have already seen (p. 66) that the west of the island was in the possession of "Ionians," and joined Assyria through enmity to the Phœnicians. Hopes had also been entertained of Merodach-Baladan, but he had been quickly driven out. Besides this, in the South, promises had been received from the Arabian princes: an Arabian army did, in fact, advance subsequently. Hezekiah was leader of the revolt here owing to the fact that the anti-Assyrian party in Ekron, a town of Philistia, deposed King Padi, who favoured Assyria, and gave him up to Hezekiah. This was the state of affairs which had arisen between 705 and 702.

When Sennacherib set out in the year 701 and marched along the coast of Phœnicia (he also commanded his image to be carved at Nahr-el-Kelb, near Beirut), it again appeared that each had counted on an annihilation of the dreaded tyrant by other powers: there was no combined resistance. The Phœnician States, Arvad and Gebal, paid tribute; the same thing was done by the Southern States of Philistia, as well as by the neighbours of Judah, — Ammon, Moab, and Edom. Luli surrendered Sidon and fled to Cyprus, where he soon afterward died. The only resistance was offered by Tyre, which Sennacherib besieged in vain, and by Hezekiah. Sennacherib instated a new king, Ithobal, at Sidon, so that thus the "Sidonian" kingdom was again broken up into its two component parts. Then he marched southward to Judah, where Hezekiah, trusting to the approaching Arabian help, was persevering in his resistance. He conquered Ekron, defeated the relieving army, which consisted of Arabian troops of the "princes of Mussri and the king of Melucha," and gradually took forty-six fortified places in Judah. He then appeared before the capital and closely invested it. But the besieged held out, trusting to the disorders which were expected to break out in Babylonia; in the end Sennacherib had to withdraw without capturing Jerusalem itself. The independence of Judah was saved for the time being. Hezekiah, however, forfeited the greatest part of his territory; for the conquered towns were divided among his

neighbours, and he himself lost no time in again offering his submission. After the destruction of Babylon (689) Sennacherib was able to turn once more to the West. Some petty wars had meanwhile occurred in Cappadocia (Chilakku) and the province of Kammanu, constituted by Sargon. Some attempts of "Ionians" to land in Cilicia are said to have been repulsed. No further important conquests were made there, nor was there any expansion of territory by the formation of new provinces. Tyre had successfully stood a siege in 701 and maintained its independence. The Arabians who marched to Hezekiah's aid had been repulsed, it is true, but Sennacherib had not ventured to chastise them. It seems as if he now undertook an expedition to Northwest Arabia (Melucha) and against Egypt. Jerusalem too feared his chastisement, but once more fortune was favourable. The Assyrian army did not enter the country; perhaps it was destroyed in Arabia, on the march to Egypt, by a pestilence or by the unhealthy climate. Certainly the expedition was disastrous. Sennacherib had to return to Nineveh with the loss of his army. There he was carried off by the fate of so many Oriental kings: he was murdered during a rebellion of his sons.

(*b*) *The Fall of Assyria.* — The reign of Sennacherib had been nowhere successful. He had wished to solve the Babylonian problem by force, and apparently had accomplished his purpose; but even in Babylonia he received from Elam at least as many defeats as he inflicted. Thus in the year 694, while his army was plundering in Elam, the Elamites laid waste North Babylonia, and took his son Assur-nadin-shum prisoner (cf. above, p. 27). In the West, if we compare him with Tiglath-Pileser and Sargon, he distinctly failed, since he was unable to take either Tyre or Jerusalem. He did not win any provinces of importance either in the East toward Media, or in the West in Asia Minor, where his predecessors had made their most valuable conquests. We especially notice the absence of any attempts to face the menacing danger in the North; the Indo-Germans were spreading more and more widely in the regions of Urarthu and Man.

Sennacherib's failures explain his end. He had come to the throne as the candidate of the "Assyrian" military party, and when he lost his army he fell a victim to the opposition, the "Babylonian" party. There must, however, have been distinct sections within it. Its real and natural leader was obviously Assarhaddon, who administered Babylon. But one of his brothers must have attempted to forestall him in Assyria; and he was probably the leader of the rebellion in which Sennacherib was murdered "as he was worshipping in the temple of his god," so the Bible records. Assarhaddon turned against him and defeated the army of the insurgents in Melitene, to which country it had retreated, relying on the help of Armenia, the deadly enemy of Assyria. Assarhaddon by this became king of Assyria and Babylonia.

We know that he pursued a home policy quite opposite to that of his father; the most lasting work of his reign was the rebuilding of Babylon. The effects of this were such as they could not fail to be; the civilization of Babylonia and Mesopotamia once more flourished, and the supremacy over Nearer Asia was secured. It proved to be a momentous change for Assyria, the actual ruling power of the time. In other respects Assarhaddon is one of the figures in Assyrian history which harmonise most with modern conceptions. We read less frequently of cruel punishments inflicted on rebels. And, above all, at his court a taste for

literary activity must have prevailed, which was certainly connected with his preference for Babylon. Assurbanipal boasts of the literary education which was given him, and we are indebted to it for the collection of his celebrated library.

The Assyrian empire under Assarhaddon, as under Sennacherib and even later, no longer obtained any considerable additions apart from the valueless conquest of Egypt. Assarhaddon's wars were, on the whole, merely directed to the maintenance and complete protection of the territory already subjugated. There were attempts at revolt by the Chaldæans in Babylonia during his reign, but matters stopped at revolts and did not go so far as the setting up of a rival prince. In the "sea country" a grandson of Merodach-Baladan, Nabu-zir-kitti-lishir, made an attempt to seize South Babylonia and advanced to Ur, but was forced by the approach of an Assyrian army to fly to Elam. There, however, contrary to the old tradition, he found no reception, but was murdered. His brother Na'id-Marduk considered it, however, more prudent to leave this place of refuge and walk into the very jaws of the lion; he was pardoned by Assarhaddon and enfeoffed with the "sea country."

The affairs in connection with Bit-Dakuri served to illustrate the conditions which the destruction of Babylon had produced, and to characterise the Chaldæans generally. This tribe had lost no time in taking possession of the defenceless province of Babylon, and had not despised the territory of the adjoining Borsippa. The restoration of Babylon necessitated the recovery of what had been unlawfully appropriated, and this could not be done without force. The "king" Shamash-ibni was deposed in favour of Nabu-usallim, a member of a different family. In the negotiations which subsequently took place under Shamash-shum-ukin as to the conditions of the tenure and the rights of some villages situated in the district of Bit-Dakuri, the latter came forward as superior lord. The district of Babylon and Borsippa was evidently retaken from the Chaldæans.

Chumbachaldash of Elam, as we have just seen, had not received the fugitive grandson of Merodach-Baladan. Nevertheless, in the year 674 he raided North Babylonia as far as Sippar, which consequently suffered great loss. Assarhaddon was no better able than Sargon and Sennacherib to seek out this dangerous enemy in his own inaccessible country. He was content to secure the loyalty of the tribe of the Gambuli, settled on the Elamitic frontier near the mouth of the Tigris, and to entrust their chief, in his fortress of Shapi-Bel, which was strengthened for the purpose, with the protection of the frontiers; a policy adopted at all times by Oriental States. Assarhaddon established more friendly relations with Urtaki, the brother and successor of Chumbachaldash. Urtaki sent back the images which had been carried off from Sippar in the preceding year, and even obtained assistance from Assarhaddon on the occasion of a famine in Elam, which worked for peace.

In the West, Tyre, after 701, persevered in its resistance, and after 694 or so found a supporter in Egypt under the Cushite Taharqa, who was eager for victory. Sidon also, which in due course (cf. above, p. 67) had been severed from Tyre by Sennacherib, now revolted in 678 under the new king, Abd-milkot, the successor of Ithobal. It was captured, and the old town (which, like Tyre and Arvad, lay on an island), with the national objects of worship of all "Sidonians," was destroyed. A new town was built on the mainland, which received the name of "the Castle of Assarhaddon" (in reality, of course, it still bore the name of Sidon), and

became the seat of an Assyrian governor. Sidon then remained a pr
did not get kings of its own again until the Persian era; the town of A
became the nucleus of the later Sidon. Sanduarri of Kundi (perhaps Kyn
old name of the fortress of the later Anchiale) and Sizu, a Cilician prince, had been allied with Abd-milkot. After a three years' resistance his castles fell into the hands of the Assyrians, and Sanduarri's head was brought to Nineveh almost at the same time as that of Abd-milkot.

Tyre offered a more obstinate resistance. The "island" of Sidon must have been situated close to the mainland. The island of Tyre was more difficult to capture, and was taken for the first time by Alexander by means of his famous mole, which then connected Tyre permanently with the mainland (cf. Vol. IV, p. 118). When Assarhaddon marched against Egypt, he was compelled to attempt the capture of Tyre, and besieged it by land, occupying Ushu, which is situated there, and cutting off the inhabitants of the island from all access to the water by means of counter-walls. But the island, which was supplied with provisions from the sea, held out until the news came from Egypt of the expulsion of Taharqa (670). King Ba'al then considered all resistance objectless, and offered to pay tribute. His submission was accepted under the usual condition that he retained only what he actually then possessed; that is, he kept nothing but the island city of Tyre itself, while an Assyrian province was constructed out of the territory held by the Assyrians on the mainland.

In this year (670) the stele of Sendschirli (*vide* the chief figure of the plate, "The Monument of King Assarhaddon commemorating the Subjugation of Egypt," p. 103) was set up, which shows us Taharqa and Ba'al as subject kings before Assarhaddon. The representation on it was finished and the inscription was about to be engraved when Taharqa suddenly went back again to Egypt, and Ba'al, who indeed scarcely had anything left to lose, once more revolted. The end of the inscription, which was to give an account of Ba'al's submission, was therefore intentionally omitted. When Taharqa had been driven out for the second time (668), and Tyre had been besieged for five years in all (673–668, the Assyrian blockading lines had practically remained effective throughout the period), then Ba'al once more submitted. Tyre, this time also unconquered, retained its independence, but was restricted to the small island. Its territory on the mainland was not given back, but remained under Assyrian government.

The possession of all the trading towns on the Syrian coast, especially Gaza, the terminus of the caravan route, as well as of Edom, through which the route ran, brought Assyria into close contact with the Arabian tribes who were engaged in this overland trade. They had already done homage to Tiglath-Pileser and Sargon. Sennacherib had then tried to subjugate the Arabians of the Steppe, and had undertaken an expedition (cf. above, p. 68.; his army was lost on it) by which he overthrew the "kingdom" of Aribi which existed there, took the capital, and brought the queen with the gods to Assyria. Assarhaddon sent these back on receiving assurances of obedience. His armies then made further laborious expeditions (recounted, as it seems, with the inevitable embellishments) both to Western Arabia (Melucha) and also to the east (Yemama). Hardly any armies had penetrated so far into the heart of Arabia, unless it were those of Sargon and Naram-Sin in their conquests in Magan and Melucha.

There were constant disturbances on the borders of Cilicia and Cappadocia;

Assarhaddon tells us of an inroad into the district of the Du'a in the Taurus, adjoining Tabal. The Assyrian inscriptions tell us nothing of the fact that Melid (Malatia) had been conquered by Mukallu, chief of a Tabal or similar tribe probably, and that the latter, in alliance with Ishkallu of Tabal, had become dangerous to the Assyrian claims. We learn of this from questions asked of the oracle, which had been put to Shamash the sun-god on this subject. The Assyrian possessions in the direction of Asia Minor had thus grown less.

These same tablets afford us the best account of the great Indo-Germanic movement in the North, in Armenia. The governors of the frontier provinces no longer, as under Sennacherib, report the reverses which Urarthu has sustained from the Cimmerians; they now anxiously enquire of the sun-god whether the threatening enemies, the Cimmerians, Saparda, Ashkuza, Medes, who were already devastating adjoining districts, would spare the Assyrian provinces; they ask if the Assyrian troops will succeed in relieving beleaguered towns or in recovering those already taken. That is quite a different story from Sargon's announcements of victories. And when Assarhaddon tells of victories over Cimmerians and Ashkuza, he cannot report any results gained by them. We may, therefore, conclude that such victories at the best were only won over roving bands, if they did not merely consist in a retreat. On the whole, it is evident that Assyria's power was waning. Negotiations were now begun with these barbarians on a basis of equality. Assarhaddon looked round for allies against the threatening Cimmerians, and found them in their neighbours on the east, the Ashkuza, whose king, Bartatua, actually received a daughter of the "king of the world" to wife. We shall again meet these Ashkuza as allies of Assyria in its last days (cf. p. 76).

The expeditions to Media, where (after the disappearance of the Namri and Parsua) the Indo-Germanic element became increasingly prominent, are of no real importance. It certainly was an easy task for a disciplined Assyrian army to exterminate isolated hordes and districts and bring booty and prisoners home with them. But the expeditions as far as the "Salt Desert" to the southeast of the Caspian Sea and up to the Demavend had no lasting results; new tribes immediately pressed forward, and where one wave of this flood of nations had exhausted itself, others kept rolling onward. Here the destiny of the old Oriental civilization, in spite of all victories and phrases, was incessantly fulfilling itself, although no blame can be attached to the Assyrian king if he did not recognise the whole extent of the danger and tried to derive new revenues from the conquest of other lands.

Assarhaddon can record one success which had not yet fallen to any Assyrian (whether a Babylonian before the year 2000 can claim it must be decided by the evidence of future discoveries): he conquered Egypt. In so doing he certainly considered the necessity of conquest for Assyria, to provide employment and booty for the mercenary army, on whose spears the existence of the empire depended. He was further influenced by considerations of State policy.

Egypt was as much dependent on Palestine as the countries on the Euphrates. If these latter necessarily required the ports on the Mediterranean, Palestine was for Egypt the nearest and most promising country, if it ever wished to expand at all. As long, therefore, as we can trace the history of these countries, Egypt is either in possession of Palestine, or is trying to win it back. It interfered, therefore, in all revolts against Assyria, but usually failed to render the promised help.

"The broken reed which pierces the hand of him who leans on it" was the phrase already coined by Isaiah for the false Egyptian promises of assistance. The continual unrest in Palestine made it prudent to prevent the disturber of the peace from doing damage; Sennacherib had already tried to do this on his last expedition when he lost his army.

Assarhaddon renewed this attempt all the more because Egypt had again become united under the Ethiopian Taharqa, against whom Sennacherib's expedition was directed, and who was a bolder spirit than the last Pharaohs. We saw that he had been implicated in the revolt of Tyre, which broke out in 673. The Babylonian chronicle announces for this same year a defeat of the Assyrians in Egypt: the first attempt then to attack Taharqa in his own country had miscarried. In 671, however, a new army advanced against Egypt, and Taharqa could not withstand it. The Assyrian advanced irresistibly from Ischupri, where the first battle took place, as far as Memphis in fifteen days. Taharqa five times attempted to offer resistance and was himself wounded in battle; he then fled to Thebes. Memphis was immediately taken in the advance "in a half day." The family of Taharqa and rich treasures fell there into the hands of the Assyrians; fifty-five statues of kings were brought to Nineveh. Taharqa seems to have been unable to remain in Thebes. His army was scattered, and as a foreigner he found no support in Egypt. He thus fled back to "Kush," that is, Nubia, and evacuated Thebes.

The Assyrian king placed twenty-two "kings" over the separate districts of Egypt, who are all enumerated for us by his son Assurbanipal. But each of them received an Assyrian official as overseer, and a large body of Assyrian officials at his side. The most southern district named is Thebes. This fact shows within what narrow limits the Assyrian sovereignty was recognised. Assarhaddon therefore uses extravagant language when he styles himself after this success, "King of the kings of Mussur (Lower Egypt), Paturisi (Upper Egypt), and Kush." Even the Sendschirli stele, which, like a memorial carved at Nahr-el-Kelb near Beirut, glorifies this victory, expresses rather the wish than the fact when it represents Taharqa as a prisoner, a ring through his lips, imploring mercy on his knees before Assarhaddon (*vide* the plate on p. 103). This supremacy only lasted a few months, when Taharqa was once more on the scene. The Ethiopian was in fact no Egyptian; and we see that he had only "fled," in order to fetch a new army. Meanwhile Assarhaddon was again in Assyria, where he had to cope with a rebellion, at the bottom of which was his son Assurbanipal; Taharqa had naturally been privy to this. Then an "express messenger" came to Nineveh and announced that Taharqa had once more occupied the whole country and was ruling as king again at Memphis, having driven out or crushed the Assyrians who were in the land. The Egyptians must have looked on at this "restoration of settled order" with the calmness with which this people, accustomed for thousands of years to oppression, have acquiesced in their numerous masters before and after.

After the internal affairs in Assyria had been arranged, and Assurbanipal and his brother Shamash-shum-ukin were crowned (668), the army was once more available for Egypt. Assarhaddon himself started thither; he had become superfluous at home, and was certainly sufficiently acquainted with the nature of an Oriental throne to see that there was nothing left for him but to die. He actually died on the march (668). The campaign was therefore brought to an end in the reign of Assurbanipal, as he himself records. The East, with its cult of parents and

family, has no affection for the memory of the dead, so soon as he is once "buried in his house."

The causes which had led to the coronation of Assurbanipal have already been mentioned in their place (cf. above, p. 29). When Assarhaddon wished to put the coping-stone to his work, and to have himself or Shamash-shum-ukin, his son by a Babylonian woman, proclaimed king in the rebuilt city of Babylon, the time had come for the Assyrian party to take action. In 669, so the Babylonian (?) Chronicle announces, "the king ordered many nobles in Assyria to be put to death;" yet Assurbanipal reports that, when he was proclaimed successor to the throne and co-regent at the beginning of 668, he had "interceded" for the notables. Assarhaddon had clearly intended that Shamash-shum-ukin should be at once crowned king of Babylon, in order that the power might be secured to him on his own death. This scheme was now frustrated. With Assurbanipal the Assyrian military and aristocratic party gained the day over the Babylonian priests and citizens. Under Assurbanipal's long reign (668–626) the Assyrian military system, with its army of mercenaries, a strange medley from the lands of every ruler, celebrated its final triumphs.

The success of the Egyptian campaign, in which Assarhaddon died, was rapid and complete. The army with which Taharqa wished to defend Lower Egypt was defeated near Karpanit; he abandoned Memphis to its fate and withdrew to Thebes. In "one month and ten days" the Assyrian army advanced thither. Taharqa, who could not repose any confidence in the population of the capital, preferred to evacuate this town, and entrenched himself higher up stream on both banks of the Nile, obviously in order to bar the passage of the river plain. The Assyrian army did not advance beyond Thebes, and Assurbanipal, like his father, could only impose kings in the districts up to this point. In this same year or soon afterward Taharqa died while holding his entrenchments. His successor in Napata was Tanut-Ammon, his sister's son, who at once assumed the aggressive. The Assyrian army must have already left Thebes, and the nephew of Taharqa had no difficulty in seizing the rest of Egypt. The Assyrian garrison in Memphis alone offered resistance. Tanut-Ammon invested it and took up a strong position at On (Heliopolis) to the north of it. Once more an express messenger reached Nineveh with the tidings, and the Assyrian army started by forced marches to the relief of the besieged. Tanut-Ammon thereupon abandoned the siege and evacuated the country as far as Thebes, where he tried to hold his own. But the town was captured (667 or 666) and the Ethiopians were forced to abandon Egypt. Assurbanipal was able once more to instate his provincial princes. But this state of affairs did not last long. The Assyrian supremacy naturally only enabled the Egyptian princes to get rid of the Kushites. When that object was attained, they would have to devise a way of ridding themselves of their not less troublesome ally. Within two years Psammetich, son of Necho, to whom Assurbanipal had given the districts of Memphis and Sais, declared himself independent. The Assyrian army was occupied elsewhere, and thus Egyptian diplomacy proved successful in its plan. It had driven the Kushites out of the country with the help of Assyria, and had seized the right moment for robbing their helper of his reward.

Assurbanipal complained of similarly base ingratitude from Gyges of Lydia (cf. Vol. IV, p. 52). The Cimmerians, at the very time of his accession, had made

aggressive movements toward Lydia, and had crossed the Halys. Since Assyria had aided the Ashkuza against the Cimmerians, Gyges asked help from Assurbanipal, whose Cilician and Cappadocian possessions, as they adjoined Lydian territory, were equally threatened. Assurbanipal helped him, indeed, by offering prayers to Assur, which proved so effective that in the end Gyges conquered the dreaded enemy. He sent two chiefs from among the prisoners in chains to Nineveh, where the strange-looking barbarians, "whose language was understood by no interpreter" caused great astonishment. The thankless Lydian thought that by doing this he had shown sufficient gratitude. He sent no more embassies (and "presents"), and actually supported the revolt of Psammetich, not by prayers, but by auxiliaries. This outrageous conduct soon met with punishment, in answer to Assurbanipal's fervent prayer: Gyges could not ward off a fresh attack of the Cimmerians. He fell in battle, and Lydia was overrun by barbarians. Gyge's son (Assurbanipal does not mention his name, Herodotus calls him Ardys) offered his submission. But Assurbanipal still did not announce any effective aid; the Lydians were forced to help themselves. The attack of the Cimmerians did not break up until it reached Cilicia, that is, on the Assyrian frontier, although it hardly seems as if that was due to Assyria's efforts. This all took place in 668 and succeeding years.

In 668 also, after Taharqa had again evacuated Thebes, Ba'al of Tyre finally submitted. He was compelled to be content with retaining only his island city (cf. above, p. 70). The king of Arvad, Jakinlu, who had certainly reposed hopes in Taharqa, now paid tribute again and sent his sons as hostages and pages to the court. Another expedition against the rebellious Man on Lake Urumiya, in which district the Ashkuza, allies to Assyria, were expanding their power, falls into the first years of Assurbanipal. It is not difficult to imagine the reasons which induced King Achsheri to suspend payment of tribute. With the Ashkuza in the country, who were still allied with the suzerain, the revenues would be in a sorry condition. But when the Assyrian army advanced, Achsheri fell a victim to a rebellion, and his son Ualli submitted to the Assyrians.

About the same time there were expeditions against some Median chiefs. Assurbanipal did not advance in this direction so far as Assarhaddon and Sargon; this region had already been flooded by the great stream of nations.

War with Elam broke out afresh in 660 B. C. or somewhat later; and once more the Elamites were the aggressors. For the last period since Assarhaddon's time there had been peace with Urtaki (p. 69). Now having made an agreement with the chiefs of Babylonian tribes, especially those of the Gambuli, he tried to establish himself firmly in Babylonia, and for this purpose sent an army. Assurbanipal does not appear to have had his army ready; it was only when the Elamites had advanced before Babylon itself that he interposed and drove them back over the frontier. He did not venture farther. Assyria thus, after the one attack led by Sennacherib which was accompanied by such disastrous consequences (cf. above, pp. 28, 68), always remained on the defensive against Elam. Urtaki died soon after. The complications which the change of kings produced led to war with Teumman, who was advancing on North Babylonia, but was forced to return after reaching Dur-ilu (*vide* the plate, "Battle of Assurbanipal against Teumman of Elam," page 103). An Assyrian army now marched for the first time through the passes of the Zagrus to Elam and up to the walls of Susa. The successes of

Burigalzu and Nebuchadnezzar I were thus renewed. This war concludes the operations during the first half of Assurbanipal's reign.

All the succeeding wars of Assurbanipal are connected with the great rebellion of Shamash-shum-ukin, which broke out openly in 652 B. C. (cf. above, p. 29). The Assyrian army asserted its superiority in the suppression of it; but the sympathy which Shamash-shum-ukin had found everywhere, the hopes which had been raised by his attempts in every part of the realm, showed at the same time that this empire was only held together by force, and that it would be infallibly ruined without the help of its army of mercenaries. Assurbanipal did not indeed treat Babylon as Sennacherib did, but, as a representative of the "Assyrian" policy, he acted like Tiglath-Pileser and Salmanassar (cf. p. 26). This is shown very clearly from the fact that he himself, precisely as they did, assumed the regal crown of Babylon, and reigned there under the name of Kandalanu (647–626 B. C.).

Once more Babylon had received from Elam the strongest support during the rebellion. The result of this was a succession of wars, which finally led to the capture of Susa and the complete annihilation of Elam. Assyria, however, which made no effort to retain the conquered territory, had gained only one result: she played the neighbouring country into the hands of the advancing Indo-Germans. Just as in Urarthu, so here she had destroyed the "buffer State" which could guard her from this enemy. The progress of the annihilation itself, from which we see that Elam suffered from continual disturbances, will be better treated in the history of Elam. In Babylonia itself, as was probable, the different tribes had been equally won over by Shamash-shum-ukin; the Gambuli and Puquda, as well as some Chaldæan States, were chastised for it. The overthrow of Merodach-Baladan's grandson in the "sea country" was connected with this, and contributed its share to the complications with Elam, (cf. below, p. 104).

A plundering expedition to Arabia was a consequence of the rebellion in Babylonia. The Bedouins, at all times eager for booty, had sent auxiliaries to Babylon, who were indeed entirely destroyed; but since the State of "Aribi" was, properly speaking, subject to Assyrian suzerainty, the defection required punishment. An Assyrian army traversed the Syrian desert, laying waste the country while it marched in a semicircle from Assyria to Damascus (soon after 648). Tranquillity did not last long, for the newly instated king of Aribi, Abijate, was soon once more refractory and had again to be chastised. Assurbanipal's records relate the campaigns against Arabia with much spirit and still greater vagueness.

In Phœnicia, at this time, Ushu, the town on the mainland facing Tyre, and Akko were punished. The "province of Tyre" (cf. above, p. 70) had therefore attempted a rebellion; this seems to have been the only practical result which the appeal of Shamash-shum-ukin effected in the West.

The king of Urarthu, Sarduri III, now voluntarily courted the suzerainty of Assyria; the invasions of the Indo-Germans forced him to take this step. This is the last event which Assurbanipal himself records of his reign.

(*c*) *The Downfall.* We have no records for the last years of Assurbanipal's reign: this is a rather long gap, ten or fifteen years, perhaps. We may assume generally from his victories that he upheld the prestige of Assyria. The fact that he remained king of Babylon up to his death proves this. The rapid downfall which followed shows how this prestige was due to one man and his army.

Assurbanipal has become more important for us through his patronage of literature than by his victories, which have made his name, under a false form as "Sardanapalus," celebrated even in classical legends. He founded in his palace at Nineveh a library of cuneiform tablets, which contained copies of all Babylonian literary productions and old inscriptions which could be collected. We owe to the scanty remnants which have as yet been excavated almost all our knowledge of Babylonian literature and of many other valuable documents, of which the originals are lost. Assurbanipal with his victories does not stand alone in Assyria, but he is a unique character from the pleasure which he found in obtaining copies of these records and in reading them himself, and in view of such a trait we can almost forgive him for being an Assyrian.

Assyria had two kings after Assurbanipal, Assur-itil-ili and Shin-shar-ishkun, two brothers. Little is known of their reign. Babylon was lost with the death of Assurbanipal, but not Babylonia, of which some parts were kept until the end. We are not informed how long each of them reigned.

We have at present only some slight accounts of the end of the empire. The Chaldæan Nabopolassar could no longer support himself on Elam, as his Chaldæan predecessors on the throne of Babylon did, for Elam existed no longer. But he found instead a more powerful ally in the successor to Elam, the Medes. Assyria, on her side, had, since the time of Assarhaddon, been allied with the Ashkuza, who, as neighbours of the Medes, were their natural foes. In 609 we find Nabopolassar in possession of Mesopotamia. He styles himself "king of the world," and boasts of his victory over Shubari, using the ancient designation of Mesopotamia (cf. above, pp. 48, 29). The power of Assyria must thus have been already broken, for soon afterward we find the Mede Cyaxares in front of Nineveh. An auxiliary army of the Ashkuza, under Madyas, son of the Bartatua who had married Assarhaddon's daughter (cf. above, p. 72), advanced, but was defeated by Cyaxares. This sealed the fate of Nineveh, which fell about the year 607. The last king, Shin-shar-iskun, is said to have burnt himself — the fate which legend records of Sardanapalus. The Median bands attended to the business of plundering and laying waste far more thoroughly than their ally liked; for not only Nineveh, but all towns of Assyria, and even those of Babylonia which had still remained loyal to Assyria, were ruthlessly sacked. Nineveh never again rose from her ruins; a fortunate circumstance for us, for buried beneath rubbish the remains have been preserved for us which otherwise would have served as building materials for a later age.

Nabopolassar looked with very little satisfaction on the conduct of his allies, for they were, after all, devastating his own lands. But it is noteworthy that the barbarians seem really to have kept their agreement; they evacuated the conquered country, and observed the treaty by which the Tigris was to be the boundary of their respective provinces (see the map, "Assyria after 745," p. 87). It is uncertain whether this was really due to crude notions of international obligations, or whether some compulsion helped to influence the Medes' action; but there is no evidence in support of the latter alternative. The new condition of things was thus created. Media possessed all the country to the north of the river district of Elam as far as Asia Minor. There were once more kings of "Anzan and Sur," of whom the oldest Babylonian accounts speak (p. 10). Babylon kept Babylonia, Mesopotamia (Assyria would have remained Median), Syria, and Palestine (circa 605 B. C.).

Thus the "Assyrian Empire" disappeared from history. We have already frequently suggested why it was impossible for any attempts at revolt to be made. The "empire" was supported merely by an army of mercenaries and a host of officials. It was long since there had been an Assyrian people. In the provinces it was a matter of indifference whether the governor extorted money in the name of the king of Assur or the king of Babylon. The only feeling excited was the wish for a new master, fostered by the deceitful hope of an amelioration of the conditions. The provinces (Syria and Palestine) had long been incapable of action. Only in some isolated places, such as in Judah, was any resistance offered, and this naturally could not withstand a large army.

G. Retrospect of the Assyro-Mesopotamian Civilization

The region farther up the rivers, namely, Mesopotamia and Assyria, has a distinctly different character from Babylonia with its hot climate. The vicinity of the mountains tempers the heat of the great plains; and a more ample rainfall, with snow also in winter, make its climatic conditions similar to those of the warmer countries of Europe. The two great rivers are here far apart, and flow mostly between rocky banks, so that any idea of the construction of canals on the scale of the Babylonian system is out of the question. Smaller streams, especially the Chabur and Balich in Mesopotamia, intersect the plains and produce wide stretches of corn-land; between them lie vast steppes which have at all times furnished the nomads with a welcome home, from which they pressed on toward the cultivated land studded with flourishing towns.

Until some considerable finds which go back to the pre-Assyrian epoch are made on Mesopotamian soil (cf. p. 30), we must naturally abandon any attempt to settle the peculiar character of Mesopotamian civilization in its variations from the Babylonian. We can only picture to ourselves the comparatively short time during which Assyria possessed the supremacy. But we had seen that the older history of Assyria is still shrouded from us in darkness, and this is still more true of the internal conditions. We do not learn more details until the time when Assyria begins to conquer and to extend over Nearer Asia. It meets us, therefore, in the special form which made it lord of the civilized world of Western Asia; but the course of its development from the beginning up to this point has not yet been proved by records. All that we can, therefore, in any degree ascertain is the nature and condition of Assyrian rule.

The country on the left bank of the Euphrates above the Lower Zab did not develop an independent civilization: it is in every respect an appendage of the sphere of Babylonian and Mesopotamian civilization. The sovereignty which it exercised toward the end of the period when that civilization was a pioneer in the history of the world was purely political and won by force. Our first duty is to ascertain the nature of that sovereignty.

We must assume that Assyria at the time of her first expansion in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B. C. (*vide* the map, p. 9) still possessed an active and vigorous population; this condition presupposes a numerous peasant class. We do not know how that happened. The fact is apparent, since she then could send out colonies; this can only be done when a thriving and multiplying peasantry exists.

On the other hand, there are already indications that the conditions of ownership of the soil were no longer satisfactory, that "over-population" was a growing evil, or more correctly expressed, the distribution of the soil no longer conformed to the conditions necessary for a peaceful and progressive development of the agricultural classes.

The later Assyria of Assurnasirpal and Salmanassar II had a quite different population, influenced to some degree by the Aramæan immigration. It is true that Assurnasirpal even yet led colonies into the reconquered or newly won lands. But we may hardly assume that it was a question of surplus masses of people; they were really parts of a population which had become indigent through faulty economic policy. We had seen (p. 46) that it is only once mentioned in a special case that Salmanassar II had "summoned the country to arms." The wars of aggrandisement were waged by Assyria with a standing army, that is, with mercenaries. This points to a complete change of the principles of Assyrian power. Henceforth there is no Assyrian nation which expands by conquest, but only an armed predatory State, which, by troops recruited from every country, crushes the nations, and wrings from them the means for keeping them dependent. The Assyrian people, so far as one existed at all, sank into insignificance before the hierarchy which here had obtained the supremacy on the one side, and before the monarchy with its feudal adjuncts on the other. We saw in the policy of Tiglath-Pileser III an attempt to put the existence of the State once more on a broader basis, but the attempt was futile; and Sargon's powerful reaction restored the character of Assyria and sealed her destruction.

The power of Assyria lay then in its army. This was an army of mercenaries, composed of heterogeneous elements, which the king was obliged to support and to provide with pay. This furnished a motive for incessant expeditions for conquest or for plunder. Such an army clamoured for employment and booty, and experience showed that in the East there were no means to support it unless they were wrung from conquered lands. The country was mostly in the possession of the temple lords and feudal owners; even the larger towns enjoyed freedom from taxation, and the insignificant and oppressed peasant class was naturally unable to furnish the required means. Thus a perpetual incentive to new expeditions for conquest was given by the mere basis of the constitution. This itself would have forced Assyria forward on the path once trodden, even if no rich or comparatively weaker neighbours had formed a tempting prey.

Assurnasirpal's reign and the beginning of the age of Salmanassar II saw the overthrow of the newly formed Aramæan State of Mesopotamia. This ancient sphere of civilization was thus mainly brought under Assyrian government; it became an essential part of the empire. The Aramæan population, that is, priesthood and feudal lords, was put on an equality with the Assyrian. Assyria, therefore, in the widest sense, comprised the countries up to the Euphrates as its western boundary (*vide* the map, p. 54). The perfecting of the organisation of government was the chief work of the second epoch of Assyrian history. The result thus obtained lasted until the overthrow of the whole constitution.

The advance beyond the Euphrates marked a new stage of development, which was already begun under Salmanassar II and his successors, but did not lead to permanent results until the new Assyrian Empire after Tiglath-Pileser III. Under this latter, for the first time the larger part of the countries west of the Euphrates

their own government and were constituted Assyrian provinces. But no such definite successes were attained here; for it was a question of States, which, in spite of everything they owed to the common mother civilization, possessed a peculiar population and civilization of their own. These were never assimilated with Assyria. Here also the other sphere of civilization, that of Asia Minor, exercised its influence and raised a wall of partition, which, in spite of all arbitrary political acts, was never entirely thrown down, between the civilization on the right and left banks of the Euphrates.

The policy toward subject States was that which similar powers (the most recent example in the world's history is the Turkish Empire) have always adopted. The ceaseless unrest in the civilized country caused by nomads eager for booty and land made it necessary to reduce these to some form of subjection in order to be protected from such inroads. The first stage of this submission was the duty of paying tribute, since a complete subjugation and the institution of a local government were impossible with such tribes. The same policy would then be adopted toward neighbouring civilized States. The king is called upon to pay tribute; if he consents to this, he retains, as vassal of Assyria, the absolutely free administration of his land. Besides the payment of tribute, he is also bound to furnish troops. His suzerain does not as yet interfere with the internal government of the country.

This indeed, especially in cases where the taxes imposed were considerable and the land incapable of paying them, meant often little more than that the prince filled the office of an Assyrian tax-collector, on whom the responsibility for the punctual payment of the imposts rested. The great king did not consider himself in any way bound to render it possible for the vassal to perform his obligations by guaranteeing him unqualified protection against enemies. If the vassal, through the offers and the oppression of a neighbouring State, allowed himself to be seduced from his allegiance to Assyria, and accepted the suzerainty of the oppressor, then an Assyrian army appeared in order to call to account the "rebel," who probably had only submitted to compulsion. The vassal princes therefore stood usually between two or three fires. They were responsible to the great king; on the other hand the people, who had to supply the higher taxes, were discontented. Thus parties were formed, each of which sought the advancement of its respective interests in an adhesion to Assyria or another great power. We have contemporary testimony to such party efforts in the utterances of the Israelitish prophets. We see how at the time of an Amos in Israel and Judah the question stands: adhesion to Assyria, such as Ahaz represents, or to Damascus and the Arabian Mussri, against which Amos issues warning. After the fall of Damascus Hosea knows only of Assyria and Mussri, just as Isaiah does, until, after the appearance of Taharqa, an Egyptian party opposes the Assyrian. The king stands between the two, usually in a very precarious position, since he can only save himself by joining the actually superior great power. We can thus trace Hezekiah's vacillation, and recognise from the activity of Jeremiah the pitiful position of the last kings of Judah, who, faced by the choice between Nebuchadnezzar and the Pharaohs, are in the end overtaken by their destiny.

It is in the nature of things that such relations, which merely imposed on the vassal burdensome obligations, were broken off so soon as any favourable prospect of revolt presented itself; that is, if there was no immediate fear of an invasion by

the Assyrian army. But if this appeared, the fate of the rebellious State was virtually sealed, owing to the military superiority of the Assyrian. It must be acknowledged that even in such cases there was no display of the brutality which prevailed in the mediæval wars; for example, in the border wars between Germanic and Slavish tribes. Punishment was meted out only to the leaders of the hostile party and to the responsible princes as rebels. We even see that on the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar the supporters of the Chaldæans retained their possessions.

If a State had been completely conquered by force of arms, it was confiscated; it lost its independence, and became an Assyrian province. So long as it was a question of the districts of Mesopotamia, this process had caused, as we have seen (p. 46), little difficulty, owing to the affinity of the population and the homogeneousness of the country. But when an advance had been made into heterogeneous countries, it would have been hardly possible to force an Assyrian government on a foreign population, which had shown the vitality of their peculiar customs and institutions by the recent rebellion. This would have been tantamount to abandoning the handful of Assyrian officials to a certain death on the next recrudescence of discontent. And a deportation of the majority of the population as slaves would have destroyed the chief part of the productivity of the new province.

After the time of Tiglath-Pileser III, when Assyria itself could supply no more colonists, an attempt was made to remedy these difficulties by transplanting the population, by interchanging the inhabitants of newly conquered provinces lying on opposite sides of the empire. We are familiar from the Bible with the carrying away of the population of Samaria to Mesopotamia and Media, with that of the Jews to Babylonia, and with the replenishment of the population of Samaria by inhabitants of Babylonian towns under Assurbanipal after the overthrow of Shamash-shum-ukin. Such exchanges and resettlements are mentioned as matters of course in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser and Sargon. The districts were not only repopulated in this way, but the new settlers were naturally less able to trouble the Assyrian government. Torn from their native soil, themselves made up of different elements, and not yet blended with the remnants of the old population with which they had no affinity, the new settlers found no firm support except in the Assyrian officials. The tribal organisation and class system which had bound them together in their home, and had made them resist the oppression of the powers, was thus dissolved, and they were now incapable of offering any opposition to the new authorities.

Thus an administration, really capable of civilizing and developing, would certainly have found in these creations of the two great organisers of Assyria ample material from which a new population might be formed, whose interests were inseparably connected with the continuance of the Assyrian Empire. But the administrative arts of a predatory State organised on militarism and hierarchy are not adapted to the production of lasting works of civilization. Assyria wished merely to derive advantage from the new provinces, and could give them nothing in return. The ultimate object of Assyrian administration is the enrichment of the government officials, from the lowest tax-collector to the governor himself; each pays tribute to his superior; the governor finally has to pay it to the court. What a province "received," if that was ever the case, bore no proportion to that which

was taken from it. The inevitable end of this was widespread destitution and desolation. When the mother country, as a result of an iniquitous distribution of the ownership of the soil, had no more vitality, but lived on the impoverishment of the subject States, the transference of its administrative arts to these could only have the same consequences.

If Assyria granted to her vassal States no compensatory advantages for the burdens imposed on them, she had conceived her obligations toward the newly acquired provinces equally little in the spirit of *do ut des*. The governor (*shaknu*) who ruled a province was also much the same as the former prince of the country, only the administration, which had formerly been in the hands of fellow-countrymen of the subject people, was now in the hands of Assyrian officials. The material position of the people was not essentially changed by this. We need not assume that the Assyrian lords had extorted more from the subjects than the former native princes; at least, that is hardly possible where the old civilized States are concerned. The governor, who had taken the place of the feudal prince, had assumed his entire rights and responsibilities. His administration offered more security to the great king, because he, in a land which was still strange to him, had to rely on the support which Assyria gave him; whereas the native prince, on the contrary, was adverse to that, both from tradition and from national feeling. In other respects the position of the two was unchanged. The *shaknu* was obliged to meet the requirements of his province out of its revenues, and to fulfil his obligations toward the court. He had to furnish for campaigns a detachment of troops, which he was compelled to keep up out of the resources of his province; but for the security of his own territory, unless its loss seriously threatened the empire, he had, out of his own personal resources, to provide means and troops. The king had his own army, "the royal army," for the support of which he was responsible, and therefore he was at pains to let this duty devolve, if possible, on his officials; the governor had also his own, which had to guard the safety of the province, a part of which was to be added to the royal army in event of war. The position of the governor was therefore very independent. He was an imperial officer, and still a reigning prince. It is obvious that he must have had many temptations to seek his advantage elsewhere than in Assyria by joining a new conqueror, or by declaring his independence in times of her downfall, for there was no organic tie between empire and province.

If, therefore, the Assyrian "Empire," which had no united population, and whose administration in no way promoted the cohesion of the separate divisions of the empire, disappeared after the fall of Nineveh without leaving a trace, and without an attempt at reconstruction, we cannot feel any surprise. All that held it together was an army of mercenaries and an official class; when these were destroyed the empire also perished. We can easily comprehend that no one came forward to revive the two institutions, which had only served to impoverish the subjects.

Assyria subdued the Nearer East with such an army of mercenaries, and necessarily there was no selection of recruits; any were taken who could be found. We may assume without further remark that the adjoining barbarian countries furnished the supply of men in the first instance, just as the Germanic tribes did for later Rome, the Normans and English for Byzantium, etc. When a State was conquered, the king as a rule drafted part of the conquered army into his troops. This is

particularly the case where, as in the Syrian States, the existence of the mercenary system may be presupposed.

Among the various sections of the army the war-chariot was the heaviest, the most dreaded, and the most honourable weapon (the king in battle is always represented in a war-chariot). It is familiar from pictures (*vide* the illustration at p. 103), drawn by two horses, and holding a driver and a fighting man. It is still uncertain where this method of fighting had its origin. We know nothing yet as to the military system in Babylonia of the earliest period, except what the "stele of the vultures" teaches us; this seems to show that in the time of the kings of Lagash a closed phalanx with shield and lance was chief element (*vide* plate at p. 10). This is closely connected with the question as to the time when men became familiar with the horse, and where its original home was. In the Babylonia of 3000 B. C. there is no discovered trace of it (of course, with the present scanty sources of information this is not conclusive); in the Kassite period horses and war-chariots played a prominent part, as in the contemporary Egypt. Had they been introduced by the "Canaanitic" immigration, or owing to influences from the North brought to bear through "Hittite" and similar conquests? At any rate, the Greek epic teaches us that in Asia Minor, at a time which corresponds approximately to the last period of the Assyrian Empire, war-chariots were the chief weapon.

The cavalry was unimportant in comparison. The nobles drove to battle in their war-chariots, but the cavalry, which was never so very numerous, seemed at the time with which we are more intimately acquainted to have been a disparaged arm of the service; it was apparently only used for skirmishes and pursuit. The riding without proper saddle and without stirrups prevented any effective troops being formed from them. The chief strength lay in the heavy armed, who carried lances and short swords, and were protected by shields, armour, and helmets. The archers stood by their side as the light-armed troops.

The siege methods were developed proportionately to the numerous wars. The ordinary fortifications did not as a rule long resist the Assyrian attacks. A mound (the Roman "agger") was built up to the walls of the town, on which the heavy battering-rams could be positioned, and the brick buildings could not long resist their shock. This device failed against stronger masonry. Damascus, with its walls of stone, could not be taken by Salmanassar II, and we do not yet know whether Tiglath-Pileser stormed it. At the siege of Tyre, which Alexander was the first to capture, the attempt was made to cut the town off from the land and the water by constructing an earthwork; but no result was accomplished, owing to want of a sufficient naval force.

The arming of the troops was naturally the concern of the person required to keep them up, namely, of the king or governor. The building of a palace, which was the consummation of an Assyrian reign, included the erection of an arsenal which must be stocked with weapons. The maintenance of the army does not seem to have been provided for by a payment in money raised by a definite tax or out of the total revenues of the king, but still shows traces of the nature of its historical origin.

Originally the duty to bear arms depended on possession of real property. This may have still applied to the noble vassal, but it had been replaced, after the decay of the peasant class, and owing to its inability to perform military duties,

by a tax, a "*militare*," or military impost, which the small owner had to pay instead of tendering his services. This was assigned to the mercenaries, and indeed, as it appears (according to Kohler-Peiser), the individual mercenary was assigned a peasant, who had to pay him his taxes. Larger pieces of land may have had to bear correspondingly larger burdens; probably at a later period other sources of revenue than land and soil were burdened in similar fashion. The king, when he cannot provide sufficiently for the army, tries to place the burden of supporting liberally bodies of troops on high officials, who naturally are not willing to pay the king's troops as their own; thus all sorts of diverting janissary disturbances can arise. Even in the period of prosperity indications can be found which show on a small scale the result which must inevitably follow on a large scale if once Assur, which is closely surrounded and limited to its old sphere, has no longer any provinces to impoverish and plunder.

The most complete and productive excavations up to the present have been carried out in Assyria, and we are therefore better informed on many points there than in Babylonia. The first place may be given to our knowledge of architecture and pictorial art, of which important examples have been discovered in the palaces of Nimrud (Kalchi) and Kuyundshik (Nineveh). These familiarise us with the art of the builders and sculptors of the ninth century B. C. (Assarnasirpal in Kalchi), and of those of the eighth century (Tiglath-Pileser III in Kalchi, Sargon in Dur-Sharrukin, Sennacherib and Assurbanipal in Nineveh, Assarhaddon in Kalchi).

It is a constantly recurring phenomenon in the East that a powerful and wealthy monarch finds a satisfaction to his pride in the erection of colossal buildings, and above all in rearing a palace destined for himself. There may be in this, besides the sincere desire for a splendid abode which may outwardly express his grandeur, a trace of Cæsarean madness. Political reasons also combine to influence the change of the royal residences, and finally the king may wish to have a place of sepulchre for himself and his family, for it is necessary to rest as well as to live beneath the protection of the household gods, if the shade of the dead man is not to wander about restless and homeless.

We have clearly seen that we cannot speak of an Assyrian civilization, but that any divergence from Babylonia must rather be considered to be due to Mesopotamian influence. It is true that no monuments of Mesopotamian civilization from the pre-Assyrian age are as yet known to us beyond the sculptures of Arban (pp. 42, 83); these are at once distinguishable as a preliminary stage of Assyrian art. Even in Harran, where the precise position of old ruins seems to be clear through some remains which are exposed, no investigation has been possible hitherto. The meaning of the lion statue seen there must remain undecided. It probably belongs to the Assyrian age; for Salmanassar II and Assurbanipal restored the primitive sanctuary of Sin, and it is not reasonable to conjecture that memorials of an earlier age are to be found on the upper strata of the soil. Just as the history of Mesopotamia points to the right bank of the Euphrates, to Syria and Asia Minor, and as the fact that the Babylonians give the common name of Suri to these countries (cf. above, p. 10) attests their homogeneousness for long periods, so the civilization of Mesopotamia will have to be regarded some day in the light of the forms of civilization which have met it to the west of the Euphrates. Here, again, we are faced by a vast void. Under the most favourable circumstances the most ancient sculptures of Sendschirli might belong to a period which will per-

mit comparisons, in the earliest periods which come under consideration, between Syria and Mesopotamia; but even the barbarian productions appeared at least in times which followed on a complete annihilation of the most ancient civilization.

All our knowledge, therefore, of monuments of art from Mesopotamia and Assyria is recent; it only starts from the end of the combined development of several thousand years, which has seen many vicissitudes. But even then the Babylonian origin is unmistakeable; the material of the vast buildings is the same brick which ancient Babylonia employed. Assyria, too, was unacquainted with blocks and columns of stone, although the vicinity of the mountains would have furnished ample materials for them. The Assyrians built with clay bricks after the Babylonian model, and employed as supports cedar trunks fetched from the Amanus and Libanon. Their country was more favourably situated as regards stone for sculpture than Babylonia, where Gudea was obliged to obtain the slabs for his statues from Arabia and Palestine. The mountains to the north of Nineveh supplied the sorts of marble and alabaster with which the brick buildings could be faced, and the colossal figure of Arban shows that a pre-Assyrian age was acquainted with the gigantic bulls which guarded the palace doors and city gates. Babylonia has not yet furnished such products of art; but the warning must be reiterated that the "argumentum ex silentio" is misleading in the present state of our knowledge.

The ample store at hand of materials for facing, and the ease with which the soft alabaster could be worked, gave Assyrian buildings their peculiar characteristics. Where we have to imagine to ourselves in Babylonia the enamelled tiles covered with patterns and pictures, here the walls of the palace are covered by slabs of alabaster, with written and pictorial descriptions of the achievements of its founder. One or two rows of pictorial representations and the commemorative inscriptions of the king in question usually run round the walls. These inscriptions form the chief source of our information. The sculptures are, as yet, the only available commentary on what could hardly ever be gathered from inscriptions. These monuments do not show the pleasure felt by the Egyptian in scenes from domestic life (it must be admitted that we have not any tombs or buildings of non-royal personages), they only represent incidents worthy of a king of Assur. Nine-tenths of them are devoted to the glories of the campaigns and the rest to the buildings of the king, for a king of Assur was hardly acquainted with anything else. It was only the highly developed skill of the latest period under Assurbanipal which attempted anything else; but pictures like that of the monarch feasting with his consort are exceptions which disappear before the long series of battle scenes. There we see the king driving out in his war-chariot, the camp life, the battle, the pursuit of the enemy, the capture of the towns. Each campaign is separately depicted, and the separate scenes are explained by inscriptions (*vide* the plate, "Battle of Assurbanipal against Teumman of Elam," p. 10). The splendid exploits of the king in building are also duly extolled. We see how the terraces on which the palaces stand are raised by the employment of enormous numbers of men, how the colossal stone figures, moved on rollers and drawn by ropes, are transported by means of levers, but we do not learn anything of domestic life. In Assyria only the army and its exploits are a fit subject for the consideration of the king; even the gods recede into the background, and the more so as the period advances. We may at the same time learn isolated

details from the life of the civilian, but that is only so far as these are connected with war or building. A few genre sketches of camp life may be reckoned under this head, and also the insight into the life of the slaves and the methods employed which is afforded us by the representation of the building operations. We have already seen how great weights were moved. The earth is carried on the backs of long rows of slaves; an overseer walks behind every six or seven rows and lets his whip fall across the shoulders of the laggards.

Art shows a progressive development, especially in the execution of details. It is possible to trace accurately the progress from the sculptures in the palace of Assurnasirpal to those of the new Assyrian Empire. While the former still show comparatively stiff figures and notably fail to represent large masses in a battle, a far greater freedom and variety in conception and execution is traceable later. The scenes from the wars of Assurbanipal (see the above-mentioned plate, "Battle of Assurbanipal," p. 103) show the climax of Assyrian skill. The epoch of art with which we are here acquainted puts before us a faithful picture of the corresponding age of Assyrian history. This royal Assyrian art — we know nothing of any other — grows in exact proportion to the power and the wealth which was won. We cannot decide whether there was an art for wider sections of the population, and whether this latter had any share in this development. If mercenaries fought the Assyrian battles and Phœnician shipwrights built their fleet, the artists also were probably collected from every country. The expression "Assyrian art" is therefore used only in the same limited sense in which we may or may not speak of an "Assyrian people" (cf. p. 64).

No materials yet exist by which to ascertain the development which, through nearly two thousand years, can be traced from the art products of Telloh (cf. above, pp. 7, 11) to this Assyrian art. The former admittedly stand on a higher stage of conception, if not of execution. If it is inherent in the nature of art to aim at an ideal, then possibly the statues of a Gudea originated in a conception which might have raised itself to a level of art equal to that attained by Greece. We are not in a position to say whether we have here to deal with a remnant of an already disappearing Sumerian heritage, or whether the "Babylonian Semites," whose work we must regard it to be, were thus quite differently constituted from their brothers who followed later. The first is *a priori* the more obvious conjecture, but we have no means of deciding. We have here exactly the same phenomenon as in Egypt after the old empire. Is the conventional stiff art of the later period a result of the Semitic spirit which made itself felt by the "Canaanitic" immigration, and in both countries destroyed the germs of the freer development, which had been hitherto preserved by the older population? One point is clear, however: The first vague efforts to attain an ideal of beauty which, whether as the remains or the beginning of a development, are seen in the productions of art at Lagash, were abandoned in favour of a stereotyped art workmanship, which only aimed at an exact copy of outward forms. We may more certainly regard it as a result of Semitic art, since the same spirit is evident in all we know of Semitic life. It is the complete want of the imagination which dreams of a more beautiful world. All that the Semite devises is an enlargement and an intensification of the existing world; he can only dream of an exaggeration and distortion on a gigantic scale of all the splendours that surround him. He has remained a child whose imagination sees bliss in the limitless accumulation of material delights, and has no

inkling of spiritual contentment or of the glories of life in another and a better world.

The reason why the Assyro-Babylonian art, in spite of all delicacy of *technique*, could not advance to an idealisation has been thought to lie in the fact that it never took as its subject the nude human figure. In the first place, that is not quite correct; we actually possess small Babylonian statuettes of Istar (Venus) and the torso of a large female statue (presumably also Istar) from the time of the Assyrian king Assur-bel-kala (p. 52). It is, on the other hand, the Semitic spirit which expresses itself in the idea that the nude human form is something mean. That again is a practical proof of an unripe childish spirit, to which the Semite, even in theory, has never risen superior. The glory of this world finds outward expression in trappings of costly stuffs; his fancy cannot rise above this world; therefore he represents his ideal of beauty by infinitely delicate reproduction of costly apparel. It is the child who knows of nothing more glorious than to be "king," and to whom a double allowance of sugar seems bliss.

It is the same childish spirit which in its reverence for what is old and hereditary holds fast to it, and from clinging to the past does not give fair trial to the claims of the present. Art, so far indeed as it represents deities (and that faithfully reproduces the nature of the religion), must depict dignified forms in a traditional way. The consequence of this is that even the developed *technique* of the Assyrian age creates statues of deities which clearly show their evolution from the primitive and rough stone pillar which the nomads worshipped. Thus the god of the Semites, notwithstanding all the refinement of ideas which a refined life of civilization brought with it, always remains the old god of the nomads, the creation of the Bedouin spirit with its ideals of virtue.

5. THE NEW BABYLONIAN CHALDÆAN EMPIRE

A. NEBUCHADNEZZAR

AT the death of Assurbanipal we find in Babylon a Chaldæan, Nabopolassar, on the throne (cf. above, p. 29). We do not know which of the petty Chaldæan principalities was his native country. It is very probable that he wore the crown of Bel, at first with the approbation, or at least with the consent, of Assyria. During the first period he avoided any open rupture with Assur-itil-ili, that is to say, he recognised his protectorate. He possessed at first only Babylon; the remaining parts of Babylonia remained Assyrian. We have no information as to the separate steps in his advancement to power. It is only certain that Babylon did not venture on any action against Assyria on her own resources, but concealed her plans until the alliance with Media was formed. As the royal house of Assyria was related by marriage with that of the Ashkuza (cf. p. 71), Nabopolassar's son was obliged to marry a Median princess.

We have seen that Nabopolassar after 609 was in possession of Mesopotamia, and that the downfall of Assyria was chiefly the work of the Medes (p. 76). When matters had come to this pitch, he was already old or sick: his son Nebuchadnezzar (II) was already holding the reins of government. He was assigned, therefore, the duty of subjugating the western provinces, a task which in itself would have hardly presented any difficulties, since the Assyrian governors, after the fall of Nineveh,

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could not hold their own in the provinces where the Assyrian rule was universally detested. It was therefore to be expected of these in the first place that they would submit to the new lord, and any attempts by isolated States to assert their independence were from the first hopeless.

In the meanwhile it had become necessary to recover these provinces from another lord than the fallen Assyrian. Necho II of Egypt rightly judged from circumstances that the opportune moment was come to win back the provinces which had been lost since the days of Thutmosis and Amenophis. While the Medes were encamped before Nineveh and Nabopolassar occupied Mesopotamia he advanced into Palestine, where he met only isolated cases of resistance (for example, that of Josiah at Migdol, 609 or 608), and gradually without great difficulty occupied all Palestine and Syria. He had his chief camp for some time at Ribla, in the north of Beka'a, and from that position directed the affairs in Jerusalem. In the year 605 he came as far as Karchemish, and was therefore on the point of crossing the Euphrates and thus the boundary of the district, which, since the fall of Nineveh in the interval, was already occupied by Babylonia. Here Nebuchadnezzar, as leader of the Babylonian army, met him and defeated him, so that Necho was forced to relinquish every attempt to establish himself in Syria or Palestine, and retired before the advancing Babylonian army into Egypt. Nebuchadnezzar received, without great opposition, the homage of the governors and princes, and occupied the territory as far as the Egyptian frontier (see the inserted map, "Assyria after 745, New Babylonian Empire, and Media"). Thus this king, the last among the Babylonian monarchs who met with success, accomplished on his first appearance what had been vainly attempted for so many centuries. The West was once more subject to Babylon, as in the palmy days of Babylonian power and civilization.

This result had not been obtained by a new awakening of the national strength of Babylonia. Even here Babylon, as for centuries past, was in the hands of conquerors who availed themselves of the old fame of the metropolis of culture in order to adorn their power with the historical title. After those centuries of struggle between Assyrians and Chaldæans for the crown of Bel, the advantage had in the end rested with the often repulsed but still indefatigable intruders. Nebuchadnezzar, before whom even Palestine now trembled, was a Chaldæan. For this reason the representatives of this last Babylonian dynasty are called in the contemporary accounts of the Bible by the name of Chaldæans.

Toward the end of 605, when Nebuchadnezzar was still occupied in Palestine he received the news of Nabopolassar's death and of the outbreak of riots which were intended to bring a Babylonian to the throne. With rapid decision he made forced marches by the shortest road through the desert to Babylon, and entered it at the right moment in order to conduct the procession of Bel on the New Year's festival in the prescribed method (cf. above, p. 26), and thus to proclaim himself king of Babylon (604–562). His name has become not undeservedly famous by the mere fact that he put an end to the independence of Judah, but his long reign really signified a last spell of prosperity and power for Babylonia.

The outward proof of this is given by the immense building operations, about which many of his numerous inscriptions tell us. The whole of Babylon was rebuilt by him, partly in continuation of works begun by his father Nabopolassar, and fortified on a scale which excited the wonder of his age. He it was who

erected the "Median wall," a line of defence which ran from the Euphrates near Sippar to the Tigris, somewhere by Opis; this was intended to dam up the water in order, should need occur, to transform all the country higher up into a swamp, and thus to render it impossible for an army to advance in the district between the two rivers. A similar construction below Babylon corresponded to this work, so that no attack was possible from that side either. Nebuchadnezzar was also the constructor of the celebrated terraces, the "hanging gardens of Semiramis," and he rebuilt the famous temples in all the larger towns.

Contrary to the custom of the Assyrian kings, who relate at length their own campaigns as a preface to every report of some building, no mention of the kind is made in Babylon, and notably not by Nebuchadnezzar, on such occasions. It follows therefore that we have practically no accounts by Nebuchadnezzar of his campaigns. Beside the expeditions in Palestine, we only know of his thirteen years' ineffectual siege of Tyre (for more particulars see below, p. 168), and one or two wars with Egypt. A small fragment of a hymn records one such war in 568 against Amasis. We do not yet know whether Nebuchadnezzar ever really invaded Egypt, as Ezekiel prophesied. He did not, in any case, permanently subdue Egypt, even if the possibility of victories like those of Assarhaddon and Assurbanipal were not excluded.

B. The Relations of New Babylonia toward Media

The West was the only field for expansion which Babylonia still could command. The East and North, where we formerly found the kings of Assyria fighting, are out of the question. Elam and Urarthu do not exist. There the one great Median Empire rules from Elam to the Halys, the boundary stream of Lydia. The existence of Babylonia depends on its relations toward this Indo-Germanic barbarian empire, which now really sways the destinies of Nearer Asia. Babylon stands in almost the same relations to it as Italy did to the German Empire of the Middle Ages. So long as Nebuchadnezzar lived, the relations appear to have been friendly. The Medes had in reality by the overthrow of Assyria brought the dynasty of Nabopolassar for the first time into power in its country. It was due in a large degree to the good will of Cyaxares that they gave over these districts to it; and it almost would seem as if the marriage alliance with this barbarian royal house had been of greater importance to Nebuchadnezzar than such marriages usually are when diplomacy is more highly developed. Herodotus tells us of Nebuchadnezzar's intervention in Median affairs on one occasion when there was war between Media and Lydia, the third great power (in the course of this war the eclipse of the sun occurred which Thales predicted). Nebuchadnezzar is said to have acted as mediator between the powers, together with a certain Syennesis of Cilicia, by whom he was probably advised.

But the young dynasty which had won its fame in the person of Nebuchadnezzar practically disappeared with him. After his death his son Avil-Marduk (the Evil-Merodach of the Bible) became king; he only reigned two years (561 and 560), when he was deposed because "he was unjust and ruled tyrannically." Since this verdict is given by Berossus, a priest of Bel, an historian writing in the Seleucid era, and almost identically by Nabunaid, we must see in it a verdict of the priestly class, whose claims Nebuchadnezzar, with all his temple building, had

never quite satisfied. We know nothing else of Avil-Marduk, except that he treated with kindness Joachin of Judah, who had been brought to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar. He was murdered, and his brother-in-law, Nergal-shar-ussur (Neriglissar), was raised to the throne in his stead (559–554). No attempt was yet made to go outside the Chaldæan royal family. It is not clear whether Neriglissar himself was a Chaldæan. We know very little of him, too; but good services in the defence of the country are ascribed to him by Nabunaid. Did the Medes now interfere in favour of the dethroned royal house? His successor was his son Labashi-Marduk, a minor; he was deposed after but nine months because, as the above-mentioned sources both agree in reporting, "he showed evil tendencies." The real cause is apparent in the choice of the successor, a Babylonian, who approved himself a man after the priests' hearts, for he was indefatigable in building temples and establishing benefices.

Nabunaid, this last king of Babylon (555–538), is a strange figure. He looked on unperturbed while the land was occupied first by the Medes, and then by the Persians, being fully engrossed in the excavation of old sites of temples and in the arrangement of the chronology of their founders. Reports as to his discovery of old documents are very valuable to us, but neither they nor his eagerly prosecuted restorations of the temples were of any use to his tottering throne. The Medes do not seem to have looked on passively at the overthrow of the dynasty which was allied to them by marriage and friendship. Perhaps Neriglassar had already been obliged to act on the defensive; but now, when the rupture with Babylon was sealed, they invaded Mesopotamia. Even then, at the outset of his reign, Nabunaid showed himself in his true colours. While Harran, the old city of Sin, the heart of Mesopotamia, was being invested by the Medes, he did nothing but dream that the gods would set Harran free. And indeed they granted him his wish, for Astyages was overthrown by Cyrus, and Mesopotamia had peace for some years. But a far more formidable opponent the conqueror of the Medes soon proved to be. Meantime, however, Nabunaid hastened to rebuild the temple of Sin at Harran with grateful heart; for this end he tithed and taxed his subjects "from Gaza, the border of Egypt, the Mediterranean, and Syria, up to the Persian Sea."

C. The Overthrow of New Babylonia by the Persians

Meanwhile the Persian Cyrus secured the foundations of his power. He subjugated the Lydian Empire, in addition to the countries already possessed by the Medes, so that the only great power which could have lent any support to Babylonia was now helpless to do so. Then Cyrus proceeded against Babylonia, which was hemmed in on all sides. Nabunaid himself did not move, but lived in retirement, or was kept prisoner by a hostile party in his palace. His son Bel-shar-ussur (Belshazzar) was regent and commander-in-chief; the Bible makes him the last king of Babylon.

Cyrus first occupied Mesopotamia, having crossed the Tigris from Arbela, namely, south of the ruins of Kalchi. In the next year (546) he first advanced from Elam into South Babylonia. Nabunaid ordered the gods of the great towns Ur, Uruk, etc., to be brought to Babylon, and felt himself secure under their protection. We have no accounts of the next five years, but in the year 539 we find

Babylonia surrounded on every side. The respite may be explained by the effectiveness of the defence by inundation, for which purpose the Median wall of Nebuchadnezzar and the supplementary works below Babylon were constructed. All that time Cyrus was unable to advance into the region of Babylon either from Mesopotamia or from South Babylonia. The country, therefore, all round, like Holland under similar circumstances in later times, had been changed into a swamp, within which the "kingdom of Babylon" lay, large enough to maintain itself so long as an army did not invade it (cf. above, p. 33). A reminiscence of this is preserved in Herodotus' account that Cyrus was occupied for two years in diverting the course of the Diyala, in order to make his army familiar with the process of draining canals; a knowledge which was of good service to him at the siege of Babylon, where he changed the channel of the Euphrates. The real object was not this, but the construction of a means of crossing into the district protected by inundations; for the mouth of the Diyala is near Opis, where the Median wall ends (*vide* the map on p. 87). This theory is confirmed by the fact that the Babylonian army under Belshazzar met him there, between Opis and Sippar, after this passage had been effected; it was defeated (539), and no more opposition was offered. Babylon surrendered to an Assyrian army under Ugbaru (Gobryas); the great fortifications of Nebuchadnezzar were not defended; the Persians, as the Assyrians before them were received as preservers. Cyrus was proclaimed king when he entered four months later; and one of the first acts of his reign was to win the hearts of the priesthoods of Babylonia by sending back the gods from Babylon to their towns.

This concludes Babylonian history (539 B. C.). Babylon had become a Persian province. The ancient glory, indeed, which so shortly before its setting had shone forth unexpectedly, was not yet forgotten for ever. Several attempts were made to recover independence, but these revolts were always quickly quelled. In the provinces the inhabitants naturally adopted the same attitude toward the Persians as toward Nebuchadnezzar in his day. Nabunaid, who had never taken any steps to defend them, was merely supplanted by Cyrus, and in South Babylonia, which had been abandoned by Nabunaid, and from which he had actually taken away the gods, the people certainly looked upon Cyrus in reality as a sort of saviour. The latter was also shrewd enough to use his power in such a way as to hold the reins of government more loosely in the provinces. He not only restored to the Babylonian towns their gods, but showed the same favour to many provinces which had long been confiscated, at the same time giving them self-government, for example, to Judah, and possibly Sidon also. These provinces, therefore, to which his reign seems really to have granted greater freedom of action in internal matters, as well as a less burdensome incidence of taxation, could not fail to see in Cyrus a liberator from the yoke of Babylon.

A new epoch in the history of our civilization now opens. Persia, before the capture of Babylon, had already occupied Asia Minor, and had thus come into touch with the Greek civilization. The conflict, which has become definitive for the development of Western humanity, no longer has the Asiatic soil as its scene. The Persian Empire, it is true, as heir of Babylon, still possesses to a certain degree a superior civilization as compared with the Greeks. But this civilization is tottering with age, because it is no longer supported by fresh national life. It is easily outstripped by the vigorous vitality of the Greek spirit.

6. ELAM

THROUGHOUT the whole of Babylonian history we have been able to trace a struggle with Elam, the neighbouring State on the East, which has often led to the dominion of the Elamites over Babylonia, and temporarily even to the subjugation of wider districts, until the power of Elam was finally broken by Assurbanipal. But just as Babylonia, which had become Chaldæan, finally triumphed again over Assyria, so Elam in the end became the seat of the power which ruled the whole Nearer East; but then it was no longer Elamitic, but had been conquered by the Indo-Germanic Persians. As Nebuchadnezzar once again restored the old sphere of the Babylonian power, at least toward the West, so Elam under the Persians became the seat of sovereignty for all the countries which once had been subject to the most successful Elamitic conquerors, and for a still wider circle.

A. THE COUNTRY OF ELAM AND ITS CAPITAL, SUSA

THE real country of Elam is the region with Susa for its centre, which in the north is separated from Media by the chain of the Zagrus, and is watered by the Kercha and the Karun. In the south the Persian Gulf forms the natural boundary; this was adjoined, in antiquity, on the north by a large lagoon into which the Euphrates, Tigris, and Karun flowed with different embouchures. This has now been filled up by the rivers and forms the marshy country on the edge of which Basra lies (*vide* the maps, pp. 9, 87). It was called by the Assyrians Nârmarrâti, "the bitter water." On its northern shore lay Dur-Jakin, the capital of Merodach-Baladan, the prince of the "sea country," which surrounded the shores of this lagoon, and which, from its perpetual contact with Elam, has already frequently occupied our attention. In the direction of Babylonia the further natural boundary is the mountain range on the Median borders which shuts off the river valley, the Dschebel Hamrin with its eastern spurs. Toward the East we cannot fix a frontier for the pre-Persian Elam, with which we are now concerned, as we have at present practically no Elamitic sources, and from those of Babylonian Assyria we can in the nature of things only obtain information as to the relations with the West. The district of Susiana stretched in Persian times almost up to the Schapur; a line drawn thence in a northerly direction to the Zagrus represents roughly the extent of this Persian province. This may, perhaps, have been regarded by the Elamitic kings also as their peculiar territory. But precisely as Babylonia considered the country of Mesopotamia to belong to it, so the district which was most closely connected with Elam, and therefore belonged politically to its real domain (not merely to the subjugated part), extended still further; for even in the seaport of Bushire Elamitic kings raised buildings, and inscriptions by them have been found. There are at present no means of ascertaining how far the Elamitic sovereignty extended its conquests in this direction. We may reasonably assume that kings whose armies had penetrated as far as the Mediterranean Sea would not have stopped at the frontiers of their native land in an easterly direction; the Elamitic armies, in the times when the empire flourished, may have traversed countries which on this side correspond to the expanse of the later Persian Empire.

The position of Elam to the sphere of Babylonian civilization is thus decided from the first. As the first firmly organised State against which all the masses of nations pressing onward from the great steppes of Central and Eastern Asia must have struck, it was for the civilized region of the Euphrates the "buffer" which warded off the barbarians from it, or, if conquered itself, it received them and civilized them first before they extended their conquests to the West. We can perhaps discover some traces of this last rôle in the different Elamitic conquests; at present there is a total lack of records for this, as for all eastern wars of Elam. Again, how far in its turn it transmitted the civilization of Babylon, and whether it maintained relations with India, where indeed influences of Babylonian culture are traceable, are questions to which we have at present no clue, since the remains of Elamitic civilization are as yet unknown to us.

The only Elamitic inscriptions that we have are the bricks of some kings of Susa, and a few scarcely more comprehensive inscriptions on stone, also from Susa, which Loftus discovered, some bricks with the same inscriptions from Bushire, excavated by F. C. Andreas, and two longer royal inscriptions which were found by Layard at Mal-Amir and Kul Fira'un in the Zagrus on the upper course of the Karun. Loftus, and recently Dieulafoy, have excavated at Susa; the extensive works of the latter have not yet reached the Elamitic strata, but have mainly brought only Persian remains to light. The inscriptions confirm what we must deduce from the course of history, that we meet in Elam a civilization developed under Babylonian influence and borrowed from Babylonia, which, however, for its part had impressed its character to a large extent on what it borrowed. The inscriptions are written in an alphabet modelled on the Babylonian, and what is more significant, they are composed in the Elamitic language. This language, into the structure of which we thus gain an insight, is not closely allied to any of those otherwise known to us, if we except the language of the second translation of the inscriptions of the Achæmenidæ. The few examples which we possess do not, therefore, enable us to decipher much more of the sense of the inscriptions than what is presented by the clearly recognisable proper names, as well as by the obvious contents of such texts and a comparison with the second Achæmenid language. This is not much more for historical purposes than what its mere existence alone would prove. But one point is brought out the more distinctly, that the land which has produced these records must conceal as testimony of its history of thirty centuries countless sources, the discovery of which would give us ample explanations of its history, and would build a bridge by which we could arrive at some knowledge of the hitherto totally inaccessible and mysterious East.

Excavations have up to the present been undertaken only in Susa by Loftus, and on a larger scale by Dieulafoy, but no monuments of the Elamitic age have been brought to light by them beyond the above-mentioned bricks and a few uncovered inscriptions. The rich results of the most recent labours of the French government are not yet available. Fragments have also been found in the plains in Dorak, Ahram, and the above-mentioned Bushire. In addition to this there are the inscriptions, also already alluded to, of Mal-Amir, which were set up by the self-styled "kings of the Hapirts," an Elamitic people; this is all that shows that any settlements in the district of Elam were really Elamitic. We have as yet no clue at all to many ruined sites of large towns; for instance, as to Susan, which

lay a little north of Mal-Amir (occasionally in earlier times mistaken for Susa); the numerous cities, called by the Assyrians "royal cities," are equally difficult to locate. For information as to these and as to the political division of Elam, we are indebted to the accounts by Assurbanipal of his own wars (cf. pp. 76, 105). We can distinguish three or four parts of Elam with their chief towns: Madaktu in the west, then Susa, further on Bubilu in the east, and finally, adjoining the Persian Gulf, in a northern situation in the Zagrus, Chidalu, which is expressly described as a mountain province.

The capital of the country was at all times, so far as we can see, Susa (Shushan, cf. above, p. 18), which is to be regarded as the centre of Elam, properly so called, the heart of the empire. Here was the sanctuary of the "Goddess of Susa," the Shushinak, in a holy grove which might not be trodden by the foot of the profane; it must have been the common centre for the different provinces and tribes. The kings of Elam resided in Susa, which was, therefore, for the empire in question, that which Assur and Nineveh had been for the Assyrian Empire. Elam, too, must have owed its rise as a State to the subjugation of many towns and tribes, one of which, the Hapirti, we have just seen was governed by separate kings; but this conquest by the kings of the common ancestral sanctuary, Susa, dates back certainly far before the time when our restricted knowledge begins. The "kings of Elam" who subdued Babylonia were even then sovereigns over a united State.

Although we cannot positively determine the date of the few inscriptions at Susa known to us (cf. below, p. 107), yet it is clear that the language in which they are composed is the same as that spoken by the first Elamitic conquerors of Babylonia in the thirtieth century B. C., and by still earlier ones. The names which they contain are the same, and belong to the same language as those of the first conquerors of the third millennium B. C., and of the last kings of Elam. This proves that these "Elamites" have been of as great importance in the history of the State of Elam as the "Babylonian Semites" in that of Babylonia. Obviously in the period of two thousand years for which these names are authenticated, Elam, not less than Babylonia, had been inundated by other peoples of various ethnic affinities. The fact that, notwithstanding all this, the language was preserved proves the same conclusion as the corresponding occurrence in Babylonia. It was this people which imprinted its own intellectual stamp on a previously existing civilization, — perhaps in the first place supported by Babylonia, — and so created the Elamitic civilization, which we find in the written employment of the language and in the organisation of a great State, which became dangerous to Babylon itself. If we reflect to what remote antiquity we must go back for the Sumerian civilization, if we further consider that an empire of Elam meets us even before the historically attested Elamitic conquests, we must look for the beginnings of Elamitic civilization in a period removed by so many thousand years that it is impossible at present to calculate the date.

We have a difficult task to find the ethnic affinity of this people, and to classify its language under a larger group. We are acquainted, indeed, with the language of the few inscriptions at Susa, we possess the nearly kindred language of the second class of inscriptions of the Achæmenidæ, which perhaps represents the dialect of the province of Anzan, adjoining on the west and north, in the direction of Media, and finally the dialect of the Hapirti of Mal-Amir. We can further see

from proper names that nationalities of the same group[1] of languages were settled in the Median Highlands and in Media. But it is impossible to ascertain any affinity with one of the other groups of nations or languages known to us, especially until fuller remains of the language are discovered. The relation of the Elamitic to the Kassitic must remain undecided. On the whole, distant affinities are possible, and, in fact, may be assumed. Yet we cannot from a few words make any comparison of the language which extends to more than dialects of the same language. We must therefore rest satisfied with this Elamitic-(proto) Median group of languages and nations until, some day, the archæological treasures are excavated which the soil of Elam conceals.

B. The Earliest Times

We owe almost all our knowledge of Elamitic history to the records of the Babylonians and Assyrians; it therefore merely chronicles the intercourse with these countries. There was only one road by which to invade Babylonia, since the region round the Nâr Marrâti was entirely impassable owing to the swamps caused by the water from the rivers; namely, through the passes of the mountain chain of Media and Elam, which led to the plain near Dur-ilu. We have consequently noticed several times (cf. above, pp. 7, 27, 74, etc.) that Dur-ilu was the town where the Elamites entered Babylonian territory, and that North Babylonia was the first object of their invasions. Of the more distant large towns, Nippur usually was exposed to their attack, and Uruk, if they penetrated farther toward the South (cf. the map, "Babylonia, Assyria, and Adjacent Countries up to 1100 B. C.," p. 9).

Uruk, known at the period of the "town kingships" as the seat of a separate kingdom, was the centre of a particular sovereignty certainly down to the times of the "kingdom of Sumer and Akkad;" for we have inscriptions of "kings of Uruk and Ammanu," who may have been contemporary with those of the first dynasty of Ur, or even later, but in any case belong approximately to the same period. Later hymns tell of great distress in Nippur, and in this very Uruk, caused by the Elamites; and one of the first historically authenticated accounts relates a conquest of Uruk by Elamites. These conditions (namely, Uruk, one of the principal towns of Babylonia, the seat of a monarchy, and oppressed and dominated by the Elamites), presuppose the existence of the Babylonian hero-legend. Gilgamesh (cf. above, pp. 39, 40), the chief figure of the great epic, which by its episode, recounting the Babylonian story of the flood, arouses wider interest, is the hero of Uruk, the "builder" of the town, and its liberator from the yoke of Chumbaba, king of Elam.

While the Babylonian account assumes for the most ancient times the identical conditions which we have already partly ascertained in the Assyrian time, the separate historical narratives prove to us the existence of the same recurrence of offensive and defensive wars even in the earliest periods. A king of Kish, Urumush, consecrated votive offerings to the temples of Sippar and Nippur from the booty which he had won in campaigns against Elam and the tribe of the Bara'she dwelling

[1] Names of peoples (plurals) end in p, thus Habirtip, Madap (Medes), etc. Similarly the name of the borderland of Media, Babylonia, and Elam, Ellipi (p. 66), is probably to be understood as "the Elli." This is only proved for the Lullubi (pi), or Lulumi (m=v, v=b), settled in the mountains on the Median frontier, who are also called Lullu.

away toward Media; the writing and language of these inscriptions correspond with the Sin period of Sargon and Naram (cf. above, p. 10). Gudea, the Patesi of Lagash, boasts of victorious wars with Anshan, the western boundary of Elam; and a short inscription by a governor of Dur-ilu, Muttabil, is preserved for us, which records victories over the hordes (?) of Anshan and the above-mentioned Bara'she. These are two isolated fragments of tradition which are sufficient to prove that the general conditions of that remote antiquity present the same picture as that which we should have naturally drawn for ourselves, judging from later times. A great Babylonian civilization could not have existed without coming into touch with its neighbours.

The first authenticated account of the succeeding period deals with a conquest of Babylonia by the Elamitic king Kutur-nachundi. Assurbanipal, to whom we owe it, states that the latter, sixteen hundred and thirty-five years before his time, therefore about 2280, had carried away the image of Nana, the goddess of Uruk, from her temple to Elam. Kutur-nachundi had pillaged Babylonia and oppressed it in every way. We have here to do with a time which has served as a type for the conditions which are described in the Gilgamesh epic, although it need not have been the first of all such epochs in Elam. We have already heard in Babylonian history (p. 18) of the tablet carried away from Uruk and rediscovered by Kurigalzu in Susa; this may have been taken away by Kudur-nachundi on that occasion. The account of Assurbanipal refers us to the age of the first monarchs of the "first dynasty of Babylon" in Northern Babylonia (p. 12), and of the dynasty of Larsa in the South. It cannot be fixed after Hammurabi (d. 2213 B. C.; cf. pp. 13, 18); before this Rim-Sin, himself an Elamite (cf. p. 12), reigned in the South. We must therefore go back still further and bear in mind that such chronological statements can only be considered as approximate. The beginning of the dynasty of Larsa or the end of that of Isin might be the date (about 2400 B. C.). These events perhaps contributed toward the change of dynasty.

However this may be, this much is certain, Elam was at that time suzerain of South Babylonia and then (cf. below) of North Babylonia, and would thus have ruled the whole Nearer East as far as the Mediterranean Sea, all of which had been wrested from Babylonia. This state of affairs meets us soon in a clearer and more distinctly attested form during the reign of Rim-Sin, the last king of Larsa and Sumer-Akkad. He had been appointed king by his father, Kutur-Mabuk, and the sovereignty over the West was clearly assigned to him. Rim-Sin reigned in his father's name; his vassal was the king of Babylon, Hammurabi; thus Elam is the suzerain of the countries as far as the Mediterranean Sea, which about this very time were occupied by the "Canaanites." We do not know what form was taken by the relations maintained in the interval between Kutur-nachundi and Rim-Sin. It is possible that meantime even the kings of "Sumer and Akkad" were contributaries to Elam; for this condition of dependency clearly never went beyond a liability to pay tribute, except in the cases where the suzerain attempted to secure his position by appointing his own son. The formation of "provinces" did not come within the scope of a half barbarian State like Elam.

In default of anything better, we can refer for this period to an account which is only intelligible in this light. That is the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, with its noteworthy narrative of a campaign by the kings of Elam, Babylon, and other countries against Palestine, and of the wonderful rescue of Lot by Abraham. We

can now satisfactorily determine that we have before us here an account which has been derived from Babylonian chronicles or legends. It is stated there that, at the time of the kings Hammurabi of Babylon, Eri-Aku (that is, Rim-Sin) of Larsa and Tideal, of the "king of the world" (Mesopotamia), the king of Elam, Kutur-Lagamar (Kedor-Laomer; he was in the original account the only one who conducted the campaign), undertook an expedition to the West. The connection of this account with the legend of the destruction of Sodom and with the story of Abraham brings the narrative into conformity with that of the Babylonian chronicles. Kutur-Lagamar might have been the king of Elam, then Kutur-Mabuk, father of Rim-Sin, seems only to have been king of the Elamitic district Jamutbal, which adjoins Babylonia, and therefore was a vassal king of the Elamite (cf., for example, Chidalu at the time of Assurbanipal).

These are the scanty facts at present known to us of this expansion of the power of Elam. We see that it is a precursor, by some two thousand years, of the Persian power which ruled the East from Susa; accordingly the Elamitic kings, who fought with Assyria for the possession of Babylonia, undertook no unprecedented task, but could appeal to a tradition of former power.

The names of this period are, as already pointed out, the same as those of the last kings of Elam, and belong to the people which we must regard as most influencing Elam. If we are to draw conclusions from analogy, we find that barbaric races show the greatest power of expansion and strength when they have not been permanently settled, and have not lost their warlike vigour through the achievements of civilization. We might therefore see in these conquests of Elam the final appearance of the migration just completed by this people, the "Elamites," just as the flood of the "Canaanitic" migration brought its nations to Babylonia. And this would be in strict conformity with the theory that other strata of population settled down in Elam. At the very least we must assume that the Elamites already settled there were either strengthened or overtaken by a new immigration, the masses of which were "Elamitised," and then as "Elamites" pressed onward, just as the Chaldæans advanced as rulers of Babylon and bearers of Babylonian names.

(*a*) *The Kings of the Native Inscriptions. Elam's Relations to Babylonia before the Assyrian Age.* — The succeeding period, that of the second dynasty of Babylon and of the commencing Kassitic supremacy, is obscure for Babylonia and still more so for Elam. We may avail ourselves of this interruption to enumerate here the kings known from Elamitic inscriptions, who partly belong to the same time, since they reigned one after another. It is not implied by this that they ought in reality to be inserted here. We have up to the present no definite data for their order. All that we can say is that they cannot belong to the last period of Elamitic history from 747 B. C. downward, since we can arrange the list of Elamitic kings for this period by means of the Babylonian and Assyrian accounts. The expedient of determining the date of the inscriptions by the shape of the writing is very untrustworthy, especially since we can only employ as a standard the Babylonian script, that is to say, a foreign style. According to this we should fix on a period after the Hammurabi dynasty, and possibly not too late, but we must do so with all reservations. The names of these kings are, Chumban-numena and his son Untash-gal, who follow each other. Another group of successors is, Challudush-

Inshushinak, his son Shutruk-Nachchunte, and his two sons, Kutir-nachchunte and Shilchak-Inshushinak. The inscriptions are mainly inscriptions as to building. Let one serve as an example. "I am Kutir-Nachchunte, son of Shutruk-Nachchunte, the mighty, king of Anzan Shushunka. Chumban-numena built the temple of the divinity Kiririsha in Liyan of old. I levelled it to the ground and built it up afresh. The name of my wife (or mother), Nachchunte-upir, and her children were recorded, and according to our wish I consecrated it to the divinity Kirisha as a sanctuary."

The next question is that of the relation of the Kassites to Elam. Since the Kassites migrated into Babylonia over the mountains of the Median border, that is to say, they came through the passes by which the Elamites themselves made their inroads, they may have left traces in Elam also. We may indeed assume the most obvious fact that they were a later group of the same family of peoples to which the Elamites themselves belonged. There is no evidence one way or the other as to the affinity of their language with the Elamitic. The remnants of the Kashshu settled in the mountains, where they were attacked by Nebuchadnezzar I (p. 20), and again by Sennacherib (p. 27); in Alexander's time they are mentioned as Kossæans (cf. Vol. IV, p. 129). A tribe of the Kissians is mentioned in Elam, near Susa; it is possible that remnants of those Kassites who had settled in Elam are to be seen in them, but this cannot of course be proved. It is difficult to imagine that Elam had not seen any Kassitic conquest (which must have followed out its own course, apart from the Babylonian); but hitherto we have no trace of it. Such victories would be more difficult to prove, since a Kassitic name is easily distinguishable from a Babylonian; whereas the Elamitic bear a stamp resembling the Kassitic names, — a fact which also points to the affinity of the races.

There are two imaginable theories. If Tashshi-gurumash, father of Kakrime (p. 19), was king of Elam, then his son stood in the same relation toward him as Rim-sin toward Kutur-Mabuk (cf. above, p. 12). This would presuppose, as a result of the whole migration, a gigantic Kassitic empire, a counterpart of the empire of the Mongols (cf. p. 14).

The other alternative is, that if the Elamites were capable of any adequate resistance, the conquest of Elam by Kassites need not yet have led to a Kassitic supremacy. In any case no union with Babylonia, under Kassitic kings, was thus effected. Agum Kakrime does not mention Elam, and later we find, under the Kassites, Elam at war with Babylonia.

Kurigalzu, the great grandson of Assur-uballit, waged war with Elam. It is clearly shown by the accounts that Elam once again was the aggressor; at the beginning it oppressed Babylonia, but then it was defeated, first on Babylonian soil, until there actually was a siege of Susa (cf. the remarks on the inscription brought back by Karigalzu, p. 18). Churbatila was king of Elam, according to the account of the Babylonian chronicle, to which we are indebted for information as to this war. It is also possible that Babylon, before this victory, was in a position similar to that of Nebuchadnezzar I later (cf. p. 20); even Kurigalzu calls himself in his inscriptions not king, but merely governor of Babylon. [Was the statue of Marduk in Elam at the beginning of his reign, and had it been fetched back by him thence, and in that case was the inscription itself also brought?]

For the next mention we are also indebted to the same Babylonian chronicle. During the reign of Bel-nadin-shum I (p. 18), Kidin-chutrutash, king of Elam,

invaded Babylonia, captured Nippur and Dur-ilu, devastated the open country, and carried away the inhabitants as prisoners; this was the time when Tukulti-Ninib conquered Babylonia (p. 49). We thus have the scene presented to us which is so familiar from the later Assyrian age, that is, Babylonia the prey of Elam or Assur. Kidin-chutrutash, like Tukulti-Ninib, must have considered himself the protector of Babylon. The invasion was soon afterward renewed "after that Ramman-shum-iddin was returned," as the chronicle says. We shall be forced to imagine that Ramman-shum-iddin, who maintained friendly relations with Assyria and governed under Tukulti-Ninib, was attacked by Kidin-chutrutash and dethroned, and that the Assyrian could not help him, because a rebellion broke out in Assyria at the same time (p. 50); that is the same spectacle which we see later under Sennacherib with Assur-nadin-shum (pp. 28, 68). Babylonia had once more, to suffer grievously under this invasion. Once again the country was laid waste and this time in particular Isin was pillaged (cf. p. 18); even the old royal city is mentioned fondly together with Nippur in hymns of lamentation and penitential psalms, as being sacked by Elam. An account by Nebuchadnezzar, dating from the first period of his Elamitic wars, alludes to these events; it says that the king of Elam, whose name is not given there, put an end to the reign of Ramman-shum-iddin and made his son Kutur-nachundi king over Babylonia (he must therefore have been the feudal lord of Ramman-shum-ussur, who thus would have reigned under Elamitic suzerainty). Kutur-nachundi is said to have impoverished and harassed the land. One of his successors made a new expedition into Babylonia, which, under Merodach-Baladan I, had actually wrested back Mesopotamia and freed itself from Elam, and dethroned Bel-nadin-achi, the last king of the Kassitic dynasty (cf. p. 19). Since he was the successor of the Zamama-shum-iddin (p. 50) who fell — about 1200 — in battle against the Assyrians, we may assume that he sided with Assyria against Elam. Once more, then, Elam had defeated Assyria in the fluctuating contest.

The Pashe dynasty in Babylon then followed, and with Nebuchadnezzar I begins a new independence of Babylonia, which had once more proved superior to Assyria; this was the last era of Babylonian prosperity. The statue of Marduk had been brought to Elam (cf. p. 20), under one of Nebuchadnezzar's predecessors, probably under the Bel-nadin-achi whom he mentions. The Babylonian was therefore without the lord of the land, who only could confer the crown on the king. After his successes in the West, Nebuchadnezzar proceeded to break down the supremacy of Elam, and, if possible, to win back his god. We have fragments of numerous songs written on these wars, as well as two records of enfeoffment, which enumerate the services of men who have distinguished themselves in these struggles. One of these songs is that which has been already mentioned, telling of the dethronement of Ramman-shum-iddin and Bel-nadin-achi, and of the misery brought on the land (cf. above, p. 18). Its verses describe in the style of a heroic poem the first conflict with Elam, which does not appear to have had a prosperous ending. Two others treat of the expedition, the result of which was the restoration of the statue. One of the two records of enfeoffment also expressly mentions the recovery of Marduk from Susa; the other describes the war with Elam, and reports that during it the king of Elam, whose name is not given, died. The recovery of the statue would, in the first place, presuppose a capture of Susa. It is, however, conceivable that on the change of sovereign the new king lost no time in

concluding peace, and surrendered the statue; it would almost appear to have been so, for in the songs of victory (cf. p. 20) there is no mention of the capture of Susa. In any case Nebuchadnezzar had shown himself an independent and well-matched opponent of Elam, and by the recovery of his god he had destroyed the outward token of his vassalage. He now could once more style himself with all right and justice king of Babylon.

The success of Assyria after Nebuchadnezzar, under Tiglath-Pileser I, was only temporary (cf. pp. 20 and 51). Babylonia remained for some time still in the possession of Mesopotamia, and was therefore certainly able to free herself from any Elamitic tutelage. We are entirely without any accounts. We saw that among the successors of the Pashe dynasty an Elamite was reckoned as a distinct dynasty (cf. p. 21); we must therefore fix a new advance of Elam for that period (about 1000 B. C.), when Babylonia and Mesopotamia were exposed to every kind of devastation, and even Assyria could not protect herself against the plundering hordes of the Aramæans and Suti (cf. above, p. 53).

(*b*) *The Struggle of Elam and Assyria for Babylonia; Elam as the Support of the Chaldæans.* — If we judge by later times we may reasonably suppose that in the ensuing period, when Chaldæan princes for the most part sat on the throne of Babylon (Nabu-shum-ishkun and others; cf. p. 22), Elam also exercised an important influence. It does not seem indeed to have been at first able to interfere. We cannot ascertain what the cause was, whether internal disorders or a shock from the East, or both, in any event Salmanassar II, when he entered Babylonia (p. 23), found no resistance offered by Elam. His successor, Shamshi-Ramman, (cf. also p. 59), recognises Elam in a manner which does not correspond to its former or its later position as a great power. After this we hear nothing more. A period of weakness is also implied by the fact that Salmanassar, as protector of Babylon, received presents from Bactria and India, especially Bactrian camels and Indian elephants. We must gather from this that attempts had been made by this old civilized country, which had been long cut off from Babylonia by the power of Elam, to come into renewed touch with the lord of Babylonia (as perhaps in more ancient times). A fresh access of power by Elam had nipped these attempts in the bud. [Thus the Far East remained outside the horizon of the Western peoples (cf. p. 41) until in the Persian age Elam became involved with the Persians against the West, and Alexander once more restored the communication by his victories over Persia and her allies.] When Tiglath-Pileser appeared on the scene the power of Elam had revived; Bactria was still under Elamitic dominion, and the Chaldæans thenceforth, as formerly, found support in the Elamitic kings of Susa, who again alternated with the Assyrians in being the patrons or feudal lords of Babylonia. It is only a momentary gleam which is thrown on the relations to the East by the Indian or Bactrian embassy; but it is sufficient to make us recognise that Elam (as a consequence of its position and civilization) really was the connecting link between the civilized countries of Nearer and Farther Asia, and the predecessor of the eastern half of the Persian Empire.

The Middle Assyrian Empire did not touch Elamitic territory before Tiglath-Pileser III; the nearest approach was made by Rammannirari III, who reckoned Ellipi among his tributary States (cf. p. 59). We may conclude in any case from all this that Elam in the ninth and the first half of the eighth century B. C. had not

yet encroached upon the West. After the accession of Nabonassar (747) and Tiglath-Pileser III (745) we have continuous accounts of Elamitic history. The Babylonian Chronicle, which begins with this period (cf. pp. 28, 59), expresses very clearly in its monosyllabic fashion the actual conditions of Babylonia, since it continuously records the kings of Elam and of Assyria and their relations to Babylonia. It only notes facts, and never draws the slightest general inference from them. But the conclusion which results from the preponderance of these notices has been already shown to us by the Assyrian accounts; the ensuing period is a struggle between Elam and Assyria for Babylonia. There are two parties, an Assyrian, which sees the patron of Babylon in the king of Assur, and a Chaldæan-Elamitic, which sees him in the king of Elam; and the chronicle takes account of both by recording the reigns of both.

In 743 B. C. it is said Ummanigash or Chumbanigash became king of Elam; his father, according to an account by Assurbanipal, was called Umbadara, and had also been his predecessor on the throne. He reigned until 717, when his death is announced. Tiglath-Pileser, who exercised his rights as protector over Babylon after 745, does not allude to him, not even when in 729 he drove out the Chaldæan Ukin-zir (cf. p. 26). We are inclined to assume that Chumbanigash had at least favoured the latter, although he was not in a position to vigorously interfere in his behalf. Even under Salmanassar, who indeed reigned in Babylon unopposed, nothing transpires as to him. On the other hand, at the death of the latter he entered the lists in support of his *protégé* Merodach-Baladan, who under his suzerainty became king of Babylon; and when Sargon tried at once to eject him, Chumbanigash advanced into Babylonia and compelled Sargon at Dur-ilu to abandon the territory of Babylon and South Babylonia (cf. above, p. 26).

In 717–699 followed Ishtar-chundu, as the chronicle has adapted his name, or Shutur-nachundi, as Sargon more correctly calls him. When Sargon in 710 once more attacked Merodach-Baladan, he commenced by separating the two confederates. He first turned against Elam, conquered the countries on the Lower Uknu (Kercha), took the border fortresses erected there by Shutur-nachundi, and occupied the border countries of Lachiri, Pillatu, etc. Merodach-Baladan hastily sent presents to Elam, and advanced with his army to the province of Jatbur on the Uknu (adjacent to the districts occupied by Sargon); but the Elamite "accepted his present, yet forbade him to advance farther" and to enter Elamitic territory. This is a strange situation. Did he really abandon his vassal in order that war might not reach his land, or had Merodach-Baladan perhaps previously tried to set himself free from him? In any case he no longer ventured to advance into Babylonia, and avoided the contest with Assyria. Sargon was able to secure the frontier districts which he occupied, and to place them partly under Assyrian administration. Soon afterward in the disputes for the throne in Ellipi (p. 66), when Nibe, one of the two brothers, sought help from Shutur-nachundi, and the latter had instated him in Elam, he did not venture to take any steps in support of his *protégé* when Sargon brought back his candidate, Ispabara, thither. The battle at Dur-ilu must certainly have taught Elam a stern lesson, and the army of Sargon became as formidable as that of Tiglath-Pileser's.

Merodach-Baladan, after his expulsion from Bit-Jakin, had found as a fugitive an asylum in Elam (p. 27); he was welcome there now that he had no army. When Sargon was dead he was brought back to Babylon by an Elamitic army (703),

but was, however, immediately expelled by Sennacherib. In the battle of Kish it was the Elamitic troops especially who fought for him. Once more he found refuge in Elam, and once more found assistance there, when he advanced from Bit-Jakin to Babylon and forced Bel-ibni to join him and thus to recognise the protectorate of Elam. They were once again driven out by Sennacherib (700). These failures of Shutur-nachundi possibly contributed toward playing the power into the hands of his brother Challudush, who rebelled in the following year, took his brother prisoner, and mounted the throne himself (699–693). His reign at least shows emphatically a more vigorous action against Assyria and successes in Babylonia, which balanced those of Sennacherib. In 694 the latter made a descent on the Elamitic provinces situated on the great lagoon of the Euphrates, and colonised by fugitive Chaldæans from the sea country (p. 27), while at the same time Challudush invaded North Babylonia, capturing and plundering Nippur. Sennacherib's son, Assur-nadin-shum, was brought prisoner to Elam (p. 68) and Nergal-ushezib placed on the throne at Babylon. Elam had thus become liege lord of North Babylonia, while the South was still in the hands of Assyria.

Nergal-ushezib maintained his power in Babylon precisely as long as his protector reigned. The latter must have found it difficult in the next one and a half years to interfere again on his behalf, for the Assyrians invaded his territory from South Babylonia and took him prisoner, without any Elamitic army appearing to help him. An explanation may be possibly found in the statement by the Babylonian chronicle, that almost simultaneously a rebellion broke out in Elam in which Challudush experienced the treatment which he himself had shown to his brother. Kutur-nachundi, the third of the name known to us, was raised to the throne as head of the rebellion, but did not retain the power more than ten months (692). He had been only a short time on the throne when the Assyrians invaded Elam by land, that is, from North Babylonia. Kutur-nachundi was in Madaktu, the town which commands the western part of Elam, but ventured on no resistance and withdrew to Chidalu, the province and town in the Zagrus. Since he thus simply abandoned Susa, we must suppose that he was not acknowledged there. He may have been prince of Madaktu in the same way as there were particular princes of Chidalu, and was therefore forced to relinquish any attempts at occupying Susa, the capital of the empire. It is thus explained why, although he had just proclaimed himself king by a rebellion, he had been unable to raise an army with which to face the Assyrians. These ravaged the western provinces, and retook some border districts which had once been held by Sargon and subsequently recovered by Elam under Challudush.

This failure could not serve to strengthen the power of the new king. He thus fell a victim, only three months after his flight from Madaktu, to another rebellion, by which Umman-menanu was raised to the throne. His reign signifies a new era of successes for Elam, and thus of insecurity for the Assyrian possessions in Babylonia. Even while the Assyrian army was in Elam, Mushezib-Marduk had usurped the sovereignty in Babylon (p. 27) and hastened to make sure of the protection of Elam. North Babylonia was once again, as under Challudush, lost for Assyria. Sennacherib in 691 attempted to win it back, but Umman-menanu was strong enough to perform his promises made to Babylon. He appeared in North Babylonia and in the battle of Chalule, victory was at least so far on his side that Sennacherib was forced to retire to Assyria. It is also important in estimating

the situation to notice that the fall of Babylon did not take place until 689 when Umman-menanu had been struck by apoplexy and was therefore incapacitated from marching to the defence of Babylonia. The Babylonian chronicle expresses that in its laconic style by placing the notice of the capture of Babylon between the announcement of the illness and death of Umman-menanu, thus: "On the 15th Nisan (689) Umman-menanu, king of Elam, was struck by apoplexy; his mouth was affected and he was incapable of speech. On the 1st Kislev the city (Babylon) was taken. On the 17th Adar Umman-menanu died."

His successor was Chumbachaldash I (689–681). He reigned during the last eight years of Sennacherib, when, according to the expression of the chronicle, "there was no king" in Babylon (p. 28). We have no accounts of Sennacherib at this time, and the chronicle merely states that a few months before his murder (681) Chumbachaldash died of fever.

He was followed by Chumbachaldash II (681–676), whose reign falls in the first six years of Assarhaddon. Nothing is at first said of complications with Assyria; indeed, in the attitude adopted toward Nabu-zir-kitti-lishir, king of the "sea country" (p. 69), we may well see an effort to obtain friendly relations with Assyria and an express repudiation of any claims on Babylonia. This may perhaps be the explanation of a statement in the Babylonian chronicle that in 680 the gods of Dur-ilu and of (the Babylonian) Dur-sharrukin (not to be confused with Sargon's capital, p. 66) had come into their towns. This can hardly refer to anything else (especially since Dur-ilu is mentioned) than the statues of the gods which had been brought to Elam, presumably by Challudush, and were now sent back by Chumbachaldash. But the friendly relations did not last long. Only six years afterward (674) the chronicle announces as laconically as ever, "the king of Elam invaded Sippar and caused a massacre." No details are told us (cf. p. 69). Assarhaddon is naturally as silent as Sennacherib was over a similar disaster eighteen years before. We thus know nothing of any relations having been formed with Babylonian rebels. Soon afterward Chumbachaldash died "without being sick, in his own palace." In this way Assyria was again freed of a dangerous rival.

Urtaki, the brother and successor of the deceased, seems from the very first to have been equally anxious for a good understanding with Assarhaddon, who was certainly glad, for his part, to have a peaceful neighbour there. The Babylonian chronicle now reports for the next year the arrival of the statues of the gods of Agade, the sister city to Sippar, from Elam. This plainly refers to those which had been carried away by Chumbachaldash in the preceding year, and were now surrendered to cement the friendship. The famine reported by Assurbanipal (p. 69), during which permission was granted by Assyria that distressed Elamites should seek a refuge on Assyrian soil in order then to send back this "property," is the only other event which we know in this period. The institution of the frontier guard which Assarhaddon attempted by winning over the Gambuli was a proof that in other respects he not merely trusted to the good will of Elam, but also was anxious to effectually secure peace. The peace lasted during Assarhaddon's lifetime. By the reconstruction of a kingdom of Babylon, the most favourable opportunity was presented to the Elamites of once more realising their old intentions on Babylonia. Urtaki advanced into North Babylonia, so that in concert with the sheik of the Gambuli, who was therefore dissatisfied with the rôle assigned to him, and with a Babylonian prince he might march on Baby-

THE BATTLE OF ASSURBANIPAL AGAINST TEUMMAN OF ELAM

(From a fragment of the Relief in the British Museum, London)

EXPLANATION OF THE FRAGMENT OF THE RELIEF OVERLEAF

Left: Elamites flying down a hill. The pursuing Assyrians on the left [illegible] Elamite war-chariot, in which a man [illegible], raising his hands to beg for mercy; to the left of it, archers fighting, farther to the right a fallen Elamite horseman. *Middle zone*: Elamite war-chariots retreating, pursued by Assyrians. *Upper zone, right*, the heads of the slain are being collected and recorded by scribes; to the left of them a chariot in full career down the hill, filled with Assyrians, one of whom holds a head in his hand. Above it is an inundated inscription in four lines: "The head of Teumman king of Elam, which one of my soldiers [has struck off] in battle." — In the battle I ordered to be [sent] in all speed to Assyria as [tidings of victory]." — From Assurbanipal's accounts of the expedition against Elam: "On my seventh campaign Umbadara [go]t Teumman, king of Elam, who on account of Ummanigash, Ummanappa, Tammaritu, the sons of Urtaku, king of Elam, and on account of Kudurru and Pa[u], the sons of Ummanaldasi, the brother of Urtaku, the king of Elam, had sent [to] Assyria to demand their surrender. And since I refused to give up these persons who had fled to me and had served my feet, he had sent me every month presumptuous messages by Undadara and Nabu-natkasiru, since he was in Elam without [the continuance in] his troops. I trusted in Assur, who gave me courage: I did not yield to the slanderous word; I did not give ear to [his] lying [messages]. Teumman meditated evil, but Assur (the supreme god) [layed] all alone against him [the secrets of the omen-tablet]. This [was] the end of the reign of Teumman and the overthrow of his land. . . . As the time [approached] for fighting, his lip was distorted, his eyes rolled and were filled with blood. [. . .] Nabu-[shumiskun], who [Assur and Istar had sent on him], he did not regard, but summoned his troops. In the month Ab, the month of the appearance of the [Pleiades], on the 8th day of the [full moon], the daughter of Bel [(i.e., Istar of Arbela)], when [I, in order to serve her goddesship], was staying at Arbela, the following tidings were brought me of the start of the Elamite, how he had marched out to defy my gods: 'Teumman hath said, since Istar robbed a King of his sceptre, "I will not cease until I have fought with Him."' On account of these proud words of Teumman I turned to the princess Istar, stayed before her, threw myself down at her feet, prayed to her divinity, while my tears ran: 'Queen of Arbela, Ishtar Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, the creature of thy hands, [When] thy father [spoke to me] restore the temples of Assyria and complete the cult of Babylon, I was concerned for thy temples, I went [to Nineveh (thy go-ahead)]. But he, Teumman the king of Elam, . . . (Obv. 10–). But now to thee, O queen of queens, goddess of the battle, queen of the combat, queen of the gods, thou who dost intercede before Assur, thy father . . . (Obv. 15–). [Teumman] has levied his troops, prepared himself for battle, made ready his weapons in order to march to Assyria. Wherefore to thee, O mistress of [the hosts of the battle, the . . . sorceress] [go] to the fight, let the evil storms rage over him.' Istar heard my urgent supplication: 'Fear not, my child,' she said, and entered [. . .] to thy hands which thou hast raised to me, to thy eyes which are filled with tears, have I granted favour.

"In the midst of the night, when I had made my prayer to her, a soothsayer slept and saw a vision; a mighty apparition did Istar show to him and he recounted it to me: 'Istar, who dwelleth in Arbela, entered; her quiver hung on her right side, and on her left she held a bow in her hand, and drew a sharp sword for the battle. Thou didst stand before her and she spoke to thee like a mother. She, the noblest of the goddesses, spoke to thee and promised: "If thou art eager to fight, why hesitatest thou [to meet thy foe, thither will I go with thee]." But thou didst say to her, "Whither thou goest, O queen of queens, thither will I go with thee." Then spoke she to thee, "Here shalt thou remain. With food eat meat, drink wine, make music, honour my divinity, while I go and perform thy cause and fulfil the desire of thy heart. Thy face shall not pale, nor thy feet tremble, nor the strength grow weak in battle." She took thee to her bosom, clasped thy wrists from [her countenance flashed a fiery indignation, to consume] thy foes she went forth, and turned against Teumman, king of Elam, with whom she was wroth.' In Elul, the month of the goddesses, the feast of Assur the noble, — the month of Sin, the light of heaven and earth, — I trusted myself to the oracle of the goddess Nanaya, Sin, the moon-deity, and to the command of Istar, my sovereign, the mistress, and called up the valiant warriors, who, at the bidding of Assur, Sin and Istar, rushed into the battle. I marched against Teumman, king of Elam, who had formed a strong camp against me. But when he heard that I had marched into Dur-ilu (the town of North Babylonia where the road to Elam begins) fear seized him. He was afraid and went back to Susa. . . . (Obv. 45–). . . . the Ulai he had made his line of defence. . . . Trusting in Assur and Marduk, the great gods who give me courage, and in the sign signed among him at the town Tullia, I blocked the Ulai with the slain; I filled the country round Susa with their corpses as with briers and weeds. The head of Teumman, king of Elam, I hewed off in the midst of his troops. The fear of Assur and Istar brought Elam low, it submitted to my yoke. Ummanigash, who had fled and had embraced my feet, I placed upon his throne."

lon itself. Nothing is said of any measures of defence by Shamash-shum-ukin; Assurbanipal as protector of Babylon, just as, earlier, in the reverse case, the Elamites Chumbanigash and Umman-menanu advanced against Urtaki, and compelled him to evacuate Babylonia. He did not march against Elam, from which we may argue that the border districts once occupied by Sargon and Sennacherib had long since been abandoned (cf. p. 74).

Urtaki died soon afterward (certainly before 665). His death furnished Assyria with a motive for interfering in Elamitic affairs. This is the beginning of the series of wars which were destined to lead to the destruction of Elam. Urtaki did not die a natural death; Assurbanipal's inscriptions are so full of expressions about the misery of his violent death that they do not state the method of it. He was deposed by his brother Teumman (we can therefore easily conjecture the details); and the latter was bound to act like many Oriental rulers in the same position,—he was bound to kill all the sons of his brothers in order not to meet the same fate some day from their hands. "He placed himself like a fiend upon the throne," Assurbanipal writes. The sons of his two predecessors and brothers, Chumbachaldash and Urtaki, with sixty other members of the royal house and an escort of adherents to their party, successfully made their escape to Assyria, where they implored Assurbanipal to protect them and restore them to their home. Teumman demanded the surrender of the fugitives, and, when this was refused, became more peremptory, sending every month insolent letters (a serious breach of the laws of diplomatic courtesy between rival courts), and continued his preparations for an invasion of Babylonia. He appears at this time to have had an epileptic attack, which seemed to Assurbanipal a divine warning; but it did not deter the Elamite from carrying out his threats and from advancing against Assyrian territory. It is not clear how far he came. Assurbanipal was now compelled to take serious measures himself. Judging by the display of indignation, omens, and prayers which he exhibited on this occasion, we feel that it was a very difficult task for him to put an army in the field against Elam. But at last there was no other alternative, and he hastily occupied Dur-ilu in order thus to bar the road to Babylonia.

Teumman does not appear to have calculated on any opposition; for now he did not venture to defend his frontier, but retreated before the Assyrian army to Susa. Assurbanipal advanced as far as the Ulai, as the Karun and its tributaries were called by the Assyrians (the river in question is the Shawur, on the eastern bank of which Susa lay), and defeated the Elamitic army, which here met him in the open field at Tullis before the walls of Susa (see the inserted plate, "The Battle of Assurbanipal against Teumman of Elam"); Teumman fell in the rout.

Assurbanipal was now able to instate one of the fugitive princes, Ummanigash, as the Assyrian reproduction of the name Chumbanigash (II) runs, one of the sons of Urtaki, in Susa. Ishtar-nachundi, that is, Shutruk-nachundi, who had reigned in Chidalu as an independent king, and in whom we certainly must see a son of Teumman, also met his death in the battle. Tammaritu, another son of Urtaki, was appointed in his stead by Assurbanipal, to whom such a state of affairs could not but be welcome, according to the principle, "*divide et impera.*" But the same relation existed between himself and his brother in Babylon.

Elam was thus subject to Assyrian influence; a success which Assyria had never yet attained, but also a position the yoke of which the new king must have

wished to shake off. When, therefore, Shamash-shum-ukin, who revolted from his brother, began to acquire allies and sent "presents" to Chumbanigash, that is, besought and acknowledged his protectorship, the latter was soon prepared to become a protector instead of a "protected," and to restore the influence of Elam on Babylonia. Assurbanipal vainly demanded the surrender of the agents of Shamash-shum-ukin; the Elamite granted the help requested and marched to Babylonia. But at the right moment for Assurbanipal a rebellion broke out in the rear of the army. Tamaritu,[1] a son of Chumbanigash, a fourth brother of Chumbachaldash II, Urtaki, and Teumman, proclaimed himself king, and Chumbanigash met the fate of his predecessors; he was murdered with his family. Assurbanipal had, however, no further advantage from this at the time; for even Tammaritu, according to Elamitic tradition, considered that to be ruler of Babylon was far more desirable than to be ruled by Assyria. He, too, sent an army to the aid of Shamash-shum-ukin, and began, as we shall at once see, to form alliances in South Babylonia. His army was already menacing Nippur, and the tribe of the Yaquba (p. 75) was on the point of joining him when the same fate happened to him as to his predecessor. He, too, fell victim to a rebellion, the opportune outbreak of which suggests the thought that Assurbanipal did not rely only on the prayers to his gods, which were prominent on this occasion, but had helped himself by some other means. Tammaritu was, however, more fortunate than his predecessors; he made good his escape. He fled to Assurbanipal, and was actually welcomed by him.

The new king, Indabigash, was not a member of the royal family (648–647). He immediately set about to establish friendly relations with Assyria, and refrained from interfering in Babylonian affairs. He merely looked on when Shamash-shum-ukin prematurely met his fate (648; cf. p. 29). It was, however, impossible to avoid complications for any length of time, and this time, as so often, the "sea country" was the determining cause. Assurbanipal had despatched an army thither to prevent the advance of an Elamitic army, which Chumbanigash had sent in his time "for the protection of the country," he said. The reigning king, Nabu-bel-shumate, a grandson of Merodach-Baladan, had to submit with the best grace he could to these "protectors," and was forced to join his troops with them. He succeeded, however, in thus getting the power into his hands. He compelled the governor of Ur to join him, and played the Assyrian troops, probably under Tammaritu, into the hands of the Elamites. All this took place about 651–649. After the taking of Babylon, Nabu-bel-shumate, when the Assyrians once more occupied the South, fled, according to the tradition of his house, to Elam, where in the interval Indabigash had become king. The latter had sent back to Assyria the Assyrian troops which had been handed over to his predecessor, but refused

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[1] Not, as usually believed, the son of Urtaki, formerly installed in Chidalu. The family tree is rather as follows:

Chumbachaldash I.

Chumbachaldash II, king, 681–676.	Urtaki, king (c. 670).	Teumman, king (665–655).	Chumbanigash.
Kudurru; Paru.	Chumbanigash II, king, c. 655. Ummanappa; Tammaritu, king in Chidalu after Shutruk-nachundi.	Shutruk-nachundi, king in Chidalu.	Tammaritu, king after Chumbaganish II.

to surrender Nabu-bel-shumate. Assurbanipal thereupon threatened war, and the result was a rebellion, by which Ummanaldash or Chumbachaldash III, son of an otherwise obscure Attametu, was raised to the throne in the reign of Indabigash. But he also refused the surrender of Nabu-bel-shumate and the abandonment of the Elamitic claims to the "sea country." Again there was a rebellion under an Ummanigash or Chumbanigash, son of an otherwise unknown Amedirra. But this time the prayers of Assurbanipal were not so effective as on the three previous occasions, and Ummanigash maintained his position. There was no course left for Assurbanipal if he wished to secure South Babylonia but to abandon prayers and intrigues, and to come to deeds; he advanced into Elam, and occupied the frontier fortress Bit-Imbi. Ummanaldash had hardly yet been able to set his own home affairs in order, and was not, therefore, able to hold the West and Madaktu; he withdrew "into the mountains," that is, to Chidalu.

It seems as if an attack had been made on Elam from the side of the "sea country" also. A king of Bubilu, the eastern part of Elam, by name Umbachabua, who had made himself independent there in the preceding disturbances (an analogous case to what we have seen in Chidalu), abandoned country and capital and retired to an island, where he was safe at any rate from the Assyrians.

Thus the country was in the power of the Assyrians, and Assurbanipal once more instated the fugitive Tammaritu as his vassal there. But hardly was that done and the Assyrian army was on its return, when Tammaritu, who saw his throne in jeopardy, found himself forced to draw the sword against his "benefactors." Assurbanipal, it is true, speaks of a second subjugation of Tammaritu and of a plundering and laying waste of Elam; but, if we may judge by the usual style and method of Assyrian accounts of wars, that is nothing but the plausible periphrasis for a forced retreat. In this way Assyrian diplomacy was for the time outwitted by Elamitic.

Assurbanipal's accounts of the succeeding years are vague. He says that Tammaritu had been deposed; clearly that only happened after the withdrawal of the Assyrians, not before: the new king was put on the throne by Assurbanipal. He was Ummanaldash, or Chumbachaldash II. The latter had returned from Chidalu for the second time, and had either himself driven out Tammaritu or had commanded his followers to do so. In any case Tammaritu fled to Assyria, where, detained in dishonourable captivity, at the court of Assurbanipal he was afterward forced, with his rival and companion in misfortune, Ummanaldash, to enhance the splendour of Assurbanipal's processions.

Ummanaldash, when he had established himself firmly on the throne, drove out the Assyrian garrison from Bit-Imbi; this left Assurbanipal no alternative but to take up arms once more. He occupied Bit-Imbi and the border province of Rashi. Ummanaldash abandoned the West with Madaktu, and entrenched himself behind the Idide, the Ab-i-Diz, near Susa. The Assyrian army long hesitated to attack this strong position, and contented itself at first with scouring the defenceless country and occupying all the fortresses. Finally, after much questioning of the soothsayers, the Assyrians ventured on an attack and met with no resistance. The cause of this is not revealed. Ummanaldash had once more withdrawn to Chidalu, and abandoned Susa as before. The old capital was sacked and pillaged, the sacred grove desecrated, the temple and royal castle plundered and destroyed. Twenty statues of gods and thirty-six statues of kings (cf. Assarhaddon in Mem-

phis, p. 72) were carried away to Assyria, and the tombs of the Elamitic kings were violated. The statue of Nana, which had been carried away from Uruk by Kutur-nachundi sixteen hundred and thirty-five years before, — a fact which we have several times discussed (see pp. 18, 95), — was then brought back to Uruk. An oracle was found which Nana had presumably given then, which ran, "Assurbanipal will bring me back from the hostile Elam." Nana had thus predicted the reign of her liberator sixteen hundred and thirty-five years before, — a contribution to the history of the system of oracles. If the excavations in Susa ever penetrate deeper than now, we shall probably have cause to bewail these ravages of Assurbanipal, since owing to them (as in Babylon in consequence of its destruction by Sennacherib) the supply of monuments of the more ancient period must suffer. At present, however, we owe to this conquest an account of the old centre of civilization, which often dominated a wider world than Babylon itself.

The task of the Assyrian army was thus fulfilled. No attempt was made to form an Assyrian province, for that would have given rise to endless insurrections. The army was withdrawn. Ummanaldash was able to reoccupy his devastated country afresh and to return to Madaktu. But his power of effective resistance was broken. When the surrender of Nabu-bel-shumate was again demanded, he assented to it. We still possess the document in question. But the descendant of Merodach-Baladan freed him from this necessity, since he and his armour-bearer died together by their own hand. Thus Ummanaldash could only send his embalmed body to Nineveh. There Assurbanipal outraged his dead enemy with the insults he would have offered to the living man. Ummanaldash had by this declared his submission. For this reason he found Assyrian support against an opponent who clearly had been pitted against him by the anti-Assyrian party. This was Pa'e, who held his own for a time against him, but could not in the end resist the threats of Assyria and the attack of Ummanaldash, and, like Tammaritu, made his way to Nineveh.

Ummanaldash himself could not long submit to be a vassal of Assyria. He incurred the fate which befell all kings in his position (cf. Palestine, p. 79): he stood between two parties, one of which urged defection from Assyria, and the other, with the help of Assyria, frustrated the results of any such defection. So soon then as his loyalty toward Assurbanipal began to cool, the usual rebellion of the Assyrian party broke out again at the "command" of the Assyrian gods, namely, at Assyrian instigation. Ummanaldash had to seek refuge from this party on a mountain, which was certainly in the vicinity of the Assyrian frontier; there he was carried away prisoner by Assyrian troops and led to Nineveh. Here there were now the three rivals, Tammaritu, Pa'e, and Ummanaldash, together, who were employed by Assurbanipal to enhance, as his servants, the magnificence of his triumphal processions.

This happened somewhere about 635. We learn nothing more of Elam. Assurbanipal does not say who the successor was whom the rebellious subjects had proclaimed king. We are inclined to conclude from this that Elam, through this rebellion, had slipped out of his hands. We have, besides, approached the time when Elam again came forward as an opponent; after the year 626 Babylon was once more in the hands of the Chaldeans.

C. The Transition from Elamitic to Median History

The old game would certainly have begun again had not something else presented itself. It is no longer with the help of Elam that Nabopolassar tries to assert his power in Babylon and acts against Assyria, but with that of the Medes. This is indeed a great change in the situation, and yet it is again only the continuation of the old policy: these Medes have simply taken the place of the Elamites. We can at most insert a period of twenty years between the time when Ummanaldash was brought to Nineveh, and that when Nabopolassar entered into an agreement with the Medes, if he had not indeed been supported by them from the very first. If we take this fact into consideration, the question involuntarily suggests itself whether Ummanigash after all was not the last king of Elam, and whether Assurbanipal's noteworthy silence over the subsequent conditions of Elam is not to be explained from the fact that the land had then fallen into the hands of the Indo-Germans. If we reflect that Assarhaddon had already shown some anxiety in his attitude toward them, that he was not ashamed to enter into alliances with one of these new peoples, the Ashkuza, against the other two, the Cimmerians and Medes (cf. p. 71), it is a probable supposition that Assurbanipal himself may very soon have understood the case; he had himself played the country into the hands of these dangerous antagonists, whose power he had subdued with such great efforts. The result of deposing Ummanigash was that he suddenly had fresh enemies there as neighbours, who soon adopted the policy of their predecessors, and helped their *protégé* in Babylon against Assyria, and made him an equally matched opponent. Just as in Urarthu (cf. p. 65), Assyria had here herself abolished the natural "buffer."

Elam therefore, according to our theory, fell into the hands of the Medes soon after the last notices by Assurbanipal, and was occupied by an Indo-Germanic population. It did not play any prominent part during the brief period of the Median rule. But then it was once more raised by Cyrus to be the seat of empire; and Susa became thus the capital of the East, to which now all eyes were directed. We shall treat this subject more fully in the history of the Medes and Persians, on page 135.

D. Retrospect of the Internal Conditions of Elam

If we have been almost entirely restricted for the political history of Elam to the few details we can extract from the complications with Babylonia and Assyria, this is still more the case with all the internal conditions. So long as no Elamitic sources of information are available in any abundance, we cannot present even a fragmentary picture of the conditions of life in this country, which was influenced by Babylonian civilization. One or two isolated events, to which Assurbanipal by chance alludes, characterise certain features of his time; but how these are related to the earlier periods when the higher achievements of civilization were crushed by new immigrations, how new formations were developed out of the old remnants, how the new strata of population had gone the way of the older ones in order once more to make room, and especially how far the co-operation of the conditions of culture are to be taken into account, — these are questions which cannot be solved from the names of a few kings and the accounts of some campaigns.

On the whole, we must imagine the attainments of the Elamites to be imitated or borrowed from the Babylonian civilization; this is shown by the script, as well as by the few works of art, the style and *technique* of which correspond in every point to the Babylonians. If it were not for some details of dress the sculptures of Mal-Amir, for example, might well be taken for Babylonian. The architecture betrays in material and form a Babylonian origin; an Elamitic fortress is, in the main, built on the same principles as a Babylonian. We do not yet know anything of the building of a temple, where we might expect some adherence to native and traditional conditions and requirements. The principal Elamitic sanctuary at Susa is known to us from Assurbanipal (cf. p. 76). It was, in distinction to Babylonian temples, a sacred grove, the interior of which no unprivileged person might enter; in its dark shades the goddess communicated her oracles. This was undoubtedly a characteristic peculiarity of Elamitic life, which is traceable back to the conditions of more primitive peoples differently constituted from the Semitic sons of the shadeless sun-scorched Arabia; but it is not more than an interesting detail. Nothing can reveal to us the direction in which this peculiarity of the "Elamitic" people points, nor can we ever know to which of the multifarious and heterogeneous ethnic strata such an institution belongs.

Assurbanipal and Elamitic inscriptions give us a series of Elamitic names of deities, but they remain mere names for us. An exception is made, perhaps, by the "Susan" goddess, whose sanctuary we have mentioned above. She was identified by the Elamites and Babylonians with the Nana or Istar of Uruk. It is inevitable with all the multifarious conquests and relations of Elam to Urtuk (pp. 8, 18), that legends of one shrine were interwoven with those of another, and that a dispute as to the antiquity of the two arose, which was decided empirically by making the statues accrue to the victors as spoils (pp. 18, 20). We know nothing of the position of the goddess of Susa to her people more than we would have known of Aphrodite, if all we had left us of Greek mythology were her identification with Venus.

Some allusions in the narrative are difficult and dark. Thus Assurbanipal designates all important places, that is to say all fortified towns, as royal towns, thus departing from the custom in other countries where only the capital is so called. We do not know the meaning of this. Were all fortified places, in contrast to the Babylo-Assyrian laws, property of the king, and were there thus no municipal rights (p. 52) emanating from that ownership of the land by god and temple, which is so characteristic of the Semitic idea? This would point to a great diminution, as compared with the Semitic civilized countries, in the influence of the hierarchy, which, with its large possessions, formed a very prominent factor in the development of the Semitic peoples and States. We have not the slightest trace of the existence of an old hierarchy enjoying equal privileges with the king and the nobles and having its seat in the towns. It is a possible, and indeed almost the only probable explanation, that for this reason an institution foreign to the Babylo-Assyrian system is meant by the expression "royal cities;" but the point certainly cannot be proved.

It is obvious that a nation or nations which, like the Elamites, proceed victoriously onward will have a nobility, because it lies in the nature of things that this class supplies the leaders in the wars. It is also equally clear that the position of the monarchy will be quite changed by this, since it has no longer to reckon

with different powers, resting on distinct classes of the population, but only with this single one. For if we must assume that Elam had no system of towns and priests corresponding to the Babylonian, a whole class would have to be struck out of its national life; that is, a strong citizen class, forming an independent trading and industrial section of the population. Accordingly Elam would have been a predominantly agricultural people which had at its head the corresponding cantonal constitution, with its associations of canton and tribe and its nobility. Such a people has a superabundance of vigour, which it tries to get rid of by conquest. The history of Elam, so far as we know it, would agree with this. On the other hand, an explanation would be furnished why Elam offered to the armies of Assurbanipal such an obstinate but disunited and therefore unsuccessful resistance.

From the few disconnected facts which we can adduce, one stands out conspicuously which, like the sacred grove of Susa, takes us back to another world than that of Nearer Asia. When the Assyrians speak of Elamitic spoil, one thing plays a prominent part in it, which the Nearer East is otherwise unacquainted with, and up to modern times has not used; that is, the baggage wagon. The Assyrian is only acquainted with the chariot as a warlike appliance of war; he loads his baggage on asses or camels. The Elamite has carts drawn by mules, on which he carried his baggage with him as the nomadic Indo-Germans. If we add to this all we know as to the peculiarity of their armament, our knowledge is exhausted. The principal weapon of the Elamites is not spear and sword, but the bow, as is emphasised in Assyrian inscriptions and in the Bible. It is obvious, however, the Babylonian civilization influenced their mode of warfare. Still the bow must have been the original weapon, and it was for the noble Elamite what the sword was for the knight, the badge of the warrior.

If the geographical position of Elam makes us fix our attention on countries and peoples of another kind than those which determined the fortunes of the Nearer East, we might expect information from this source as to the migrations and extension of Babylonian civilization to the East. It is only under the Persians, Alexander, and the Kalifs, that history shows us events which must have been foreshadowed even in the times of the real prosperity of the East. If the trade with India and Eastern Asia is one of the most important factors in the history of the world, Elam also must, in the days of its power, have interfered in the decision of the points at issue, obstructing if unable to assist, but always having an important word in the matter. If in the Persian time, under the full light of history, the Aramaic script wandered to India and farther eastward, and became the mother of the alphabets in those parts, such an event may equally well have happened in earlier millennia. This fact is expressed less clearly, but still distinctly enough, in the recurrence of the Babylonian legend of the Flood among the Indians, to which some day many other points in common will be added.

7. SYRIA

A. The Region and its Name

The tract between the Euphrates, the Armenian mountains, the Taurus, and southward as far as the end of Libanus, that is, as far as Hermon, is roughly what is designated *Syria*. The name has an historical development, and is therefore

applied here with some freedom in a way which suits the various ages. Its origin is now known. The Babylonians from the very first termed the land which runs northward of Mesopotamia to the mountains and westward to Cappadocia, Suri; the name survives even in classical times in that of the Leuco-Syrians in Cappadocia (cf. above, p. 10). When Assyria and the southern part of Syria became Aramæan, the name was then extended to the more southern countries, since Aramæan and Syrian became to a certain extent synonymous.

B. The Hittites

(*a*) *The Chatti.* — Syria, in our sense, had no uniform history. Situated between the civilizations of Babylonia and Egypt, it was exposed to their influences, and its history is completely dominated by them. But yet a third civilization had great power here, in fact the part of its history which is least obscure to us had this for its scene, so that Syria appears up to the present to be the country where we still are best informed as to the otherwise unsolved riddle of the East. We once more call this civilization the "Hittite," after the people, the Chatti, who are the most clearly recognisable representatives of it. Chatti is the name of this people among the Assyrians (in Egyptian, Cheta); the reader must, however, understand that in what follows we designate by this name only this one people, while by the term Hittite a complete ethnic group is meant, to which the Chatti belong. According to our present scanty knowledge, they appear to us to be the most important people of the group; but nothing proves that this was so, in fact *primâ facie* the opposite is more probable. Before any insight into the process of evolution of the Euphratean civilization was possible, an Assyrian civilization was spoken of, but erroneously; and we should be guilty of an equal blunder if we derive the name for this group of peoples from that of the Chatti. These Chatti will hardly have been the first of their race who had forced their way into Syria.

We know nothing of the Syria which is contemporary with the Old Babylonian empires. Since, however, Phœnicia was subject to their influence, Syria must also have received its share of the "Babylo-Semitic" and "Canaanitic" immigration. What sort of nations invaded or tried to invade simultaneously from the North, whence the "Hittites" were advancing, is a question about which we know nothing yet. We do not obtain any elucidation until the time of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, when Egyptian accounts and letters from Tel-Amarna (cf. p. 16) afford us some insight into the conditions. We see from this that in the meantime a non-Semitic population forced its way in, and that other portions of the same race are pressing on behind, and henceforward we can form at least a rough idea of Syrian history. This population is the very one which we wish to call Hittite, and its characteristics meet us most clearly at present in a number of monuments which give representations of such Hittites, or are covered with inscriptions in Hittite writing. The Hittite type does not differ greatly from the Semitic: race, dress, finally *technique*, show that we have to do with representatives of a peculiar civilization distinct from the two great Oriental forms. In dress we find a characteristic feature in the Hittite cue and the shoes, usually with points bending upward (*vide* Figs. 2 and 3 of the plate, "Hittite Antiquities," on p. 115). The writing is also characteristic: a clearly defined hieroglyphic script employing pictures, which has no affinity with the Egyptian or the Babylonian script in any way (*vide* Fig. 1

of the same plate). We possess a number of inscriptions; but hitherto no one has succeeded in deciphering them and in making the language or languages of the Hittites speak to us in their own form. But since the Mitani population and the "Urarthæans" clearly belong to the same group (cf. below, p. 126), we have thus two languages of "Hittite" peoples, although not of that section which employs this picture-writing.

The Hittite civilization was brought to Syria from outside by the conquerors, especially by the Chatti. The question arises, whence? The Chatti were settled, before their invasion, in Cappadocia, that is to say, in Northeast Asia Minor. There we possess in the rock sculptures of Boghas-koi conspicuous monuments of "Hittite" art (cf. Vol. IV, p. 47). Similar monuments are found over the whole region of Asia Minor as far as the west coast, where the "Sesostris" sculptures in the vicinity of Smyrna (Nymphæum on Sipylus) are the best known. We must conclude from this that Asia Minor was the home of this Hittite civilization. Future researches will perhaps throw light on the relation of the Hittites in question to the pre-Indo-Germanic populations of the West, and render it possible to connect them with Etruscans, Iberians, and other types which loom in the mists of primitive history. We cannot, at present, do much more than conjecture that the population of Asia Minor in the second millennium (and in earlier millennia) has been Hittite, and that we must look there for the centre of this civilization, which concerns us only in so far as it spread over the Taurus (cf. below the remarks on Muski and Phrygia). Here again it is impossible to establish any proof of all the mutual connections and affinities of the separate nationalities, but it is unreasonable to suppose that in an organised united movement of nations different races went promiscuously. We have a similar phenomenon presented to us by the Indo-Germanic migration, and we must form a similar idea of the Hittite migration, which in point of fact preceded it. When we speak of Hittite peoples, these can, and must, therefore have shown as great differences, one from the other, as the Indo-Germanic nations, whom we find on the same soil, — the Celts, Greeks, and Armenians. If, therefore, the problem of the Hittite writing is ever solved, we may expect to find different languages in the inscriptions of the different countries (inscriptions have been found in Syria, especially at Hamat, Aleppo, Karchemish, Marash, and Cilicia).

A further question arises as to the relation of the Hittites to the groups of nations who toward the East border on the district which hitherto has been claimed for them, on the peoples of "Anzan," as the Babylonians call them, that is, the Old Median and Elamitic peoples (cf. p. 10). It is conceivable that an affinity existed there, but nothing can be proved on the point. Purely geographical considerations and phenomena like the Turkish and Mongolian migrations make us rather conjecture that we have here to do with another race, which forced its way thither from the East, striking the sphere of expansion of the Hittites. The two would, therefore, come into contact with each other in Eastern Armenia; but all this is conjecture.

The Hittites, at the epoch when our information begins, had already forced their way into Syria and Mesopotamia. In the fifteenth century Mitani possessed the supremacy in Mesopotamia and North Syria, especially Chanigalbat (Melitene), and in Mussri, the tract which lies south of it, reaching away to the Anti-Taurus and the Taurus (cf. p. 43). This is the most ancient Hittite people with which we

are acquainted; it is however to be conjectured that it was by no means the first detachment of the race which penetrated to Syria and across the Euphrates. In the Tel-Amarna letters we find many indications of a non-Hittite population even in the southern district of Syria; the name of a town prince, whose town we must look for in the territory of the Phœnicians, is undoubtedly Hittite (Sura-sar). It cannot be ascertained to what extent we must look for Hittite names among the many, especially in Syrian towns, which have not a Canaanitic sound. This much, however, is clear, that the Hittites by that time had penetrated far into Syria. The destinies of the Mitani occupied our attention in the account of prehistoric Assyria; and there (p. 47) we considered the question of a further advance of these or earlier sections of the migration as far as Babylonia.

Besides this the empire of the Chatti, or Cheta, already existed, being called so uninterruptedly after Thutmosis III. We can accurately determine from its first mention and from the letters of Tushratta that it still had its home in Cappadocia (Pontus), and therefore had not yet crossed the Taurus. We do not know how far it extended to the west (cf. however, p. 113), but we can settle in the Tel-Amarna letters accurately how it began to advance toward Syria. Tushratta himself was attacked by the Chatti and held his own against them. But in Phœnicia it was known how to make their menacing inroads not less alarming to the Pharaoh than the plans of the Babylonians. Aziri, the Amorite, in particular based his attacks against Nuchashshe (district of Aleppo; cf. the map, p. 10) on the invasion of the Chattian king, from whom he professed to wish to rescue the land for the Pharaoh. As it turned out, Sapalul had already invaded Nuchashshe, that is to say, was south of the territory of Mitani. Since he had not yet conquered this, we must assume that he had pressed on over the Taurus through Cilicia (cf. p. 43). Some fragments of the correspondence between him and the Pharaoh appear to be extant. They testify to a strained position. Matters had gone to the monstrous extent of a refusal to show respect, since in the correspondence the king of the Chatti placed his name in front of that of the Pharaoh, instead of after it, the position which is demanded by courtesy. This furnishes the subject of a special letter of the Pharaoh.

The advance of the Chatti, which is thus attested, was favoured in the next period by the impotence of Egypt, while on the other side their rival Mitani was crushed by Assyria. Accordingly Assyria and the Chatti were natural rivals in Syria. So long as Rammanirari I, Salmanassar I, and Tukulti-Ninib asserted their power and kept possession of Mitani, their advance must have still been blocked; indeed under Salmanassar Assyria advanced as far as the borders of the Chattian empire itself (p. 49). However, by the precipitate downfall of the Assyrian power owing to the death of Tukulti-Ninib (about 1270; p. 50) they obtained a free hand in Syria.

We now find them, on the renewed advance of Egypt in the twelfth century B. C., in possession of almost all Syria. It is mentioned under Rameses II that friendship existed between the kings of the Chatti, Sapalul and Mautener, that is, that Egypt had tolerated their advance. Seti I then records wars against the king of the Chatti, when he begins to reconquer the Asiatic provinces; but it is improbable that he had already won victories over him. Rameses II, on his further advance into Palestine, had been forced to fight several battles with the Chatti, and boasts, in particular, of a great victory at Kadesh on the Orontes, one of the towns

which even in the Tel-Amarna period have a prince with a scarcely Semitic name. The battle is more important from its description than from its result. Sixteen years afterward a solemn treaty was concluded between the two powers (the king of the Chatti was now Chetasar), in virtue of which both States mutually acknowledged their respective possessory rights, and pledged themselves to guard their common interests. While Egypt by this agreement claimed Palestine roughly as far as Mount Carmel, Syria was completely conceded to the Chatti, and belonged to them as absolutely as it did, for example, to the Assyrians in the eighth to the seventh centuries. Henceforth the term "land of the Chatti" is adopted by the Assyrians (who, like the Babylonians, originally applied it to North Asia Minor) to designate Syria, and the title remained, and even was extended further to the south, in times when the Chatti had long since disappeared, or only the small remnant of their former greatness, the kingdom of Karchemish, still existed.

The supremacy of the Chatti did not last long; they had not been driven out by Assyria, which did not stand in the way of their advance, but when Tiglath-Pileser again invaded Syria the empire of the Chatti had already lost its power. It had been overthrown by peoples of its own race, those which followed the very same road as the Mitani formerly; we find them in 1100 in the extreme north of Mesopotamia and on the borders of Asia Minor in conflict with Tiglath-Pileser. They must have destroyed the empire of the Chatti in northern Asia Minor, and occupied the most northerly part of Syria as well as the adjacent districts of Asia Minor, invading them from the north. The sole remnant of the Chattian empire was the State of Karchemish on the Euphrates, which may in the first instance have also possessed part of Syria. After this time this State is termed Chattian by the Assyrians; this is the cause of the transference of the term "land of the Chatti" to Syria proper. But soon, being hard pressed on the south by the Aramæans, it lost all its importance, and after the time of Salmanassar II it meets us as an insignificant tributary State of Assyria, or of the other Great Powers which are dominating Syria (Urarthu, before 745), and was then annexed by Sargon under the last king Pisiris (p. 66).

(*b*) *The Later Hittite Immigrations.*—The newly immigrated peoples which thus took the place of the Chatti, and were according to the theory explained above Hittites also, were especially the Kummuch (Kumani), who had already been settled for some time in the district south of Armenia on both banks of the Euphrates, when Tiglath-Pileser mentions them for the first time (cf. p. 54). They then remained permanently settled there, and their name was retained by the district on the right bank up to Hellenistic times (Commagene). In the Assyrian era they were governed by kings of their own, but, like Karchemish, they gradually were brought under the yoke of Assyria, or had to obey the existing rulers of Syria. During the wars of the Assyrians with Urarthu, the princes of Kummuch, being situated exactly between the two powers, naturally vacillated from one to the other. The Hittite population here, as throughout Armenia, was first driven back by the immigrating Indo-Germans.

Besides this older stratum of the Kummuch, the Kaski are mentioned, who dwelt farthest toward northern Asia Minor (roughly speaking, Armenia Minor), and soon disappeared from the Assyrian horizon; it is possible that their name is identical with that of the Colchians. Tiglath-Pileser mentions together with these,

for the first time, the people of the Muski, some bands of whom tried in his time to conquer the territory on the left bank of the Euphrates which had already been earlier occupied by the Kummuch. They were repulsed, and likewise disappear from view, until their name meets us four hundred years later, when Mita of Muski, as sovereign of a Great Power in Asia Minor, waged war with Sargon on the Halys and in Cilicia, and was solicited by Karchemish for help against the Assyrian (p. 65). The fact that the last representative of the Chattian power in Syria did this, proves that the Muski were regarded by him as the successors of the Chatti who once dominated Asia Minor. They must therefore have replaced these in the supremacy on the Halys and further westward; for Mita of Muski is none else then the Midas of Phrygia, who soon after 700 met his death in the wars with the Gummerians (cf. Vol. IV, p. 52).

Melitene itself is a separate State under princes of its own. The inhabitants are closely akin to the Tabal, who adjoin them on the south, and are mainly settled in Cappadocia as far as the Taurus, which separates them from Cilicia. They are split up generally into a number of cantons which are governed by their own princes (cf. pp. 61, 62), their neighbours in Melitene are occasionally included in them, although sometimes we hear of a union under an overking, which amounts to a regular Tabal kingdom. Thus Sargon actually gave his daughter in marriage to Ambaridi, the "king" of the Tabal, and ceded to him, as a dowry, a portion of Cappadocia. He evidently intended by this favour to secure for himself a sort of "buffer State" against Mita-Midas, and thus to bring the Tabal, — who had never been subjugated and were inconvenient neighbours, — if not under the Assyrian, at least under a native yoke. These were considerable nations, which had preserved the bond of national homogeneousness, and in the highlands, a district more remote from influence of Babylonian civilization, were better able to retain their characteristics as well as the organisation of their tribal life. These immigrations also left some traces in the Syrian towns. We can clearly distinguish in them down to the Syrian age a non-Semitic as compared with an Aramaean population. But in them, just as in Karchemish (p. 113), we should on the whole see not so much component parts of this new wave, as rather remains of the conquest by the Chatti or of the "Hittite" immigrations which preceded them. At least no definite people is here named by the Assyrians, but the accounts speak of princes who had long been in possession of the land, bearing both Semitic and non-Semitic, that is, Hittite names.

We must equally reckon among the Hittites the population of Cilicia (called by the Assyrians Cue); for here Hittite inscriptions have been found right up to the Taurus. We must see in this population a wave of the great stream which flowed thither from the Tabal. We can ascertain from the Tel-Amarna letters that the Lucci, also mentioned in Egyptian inscriptions, engaged in piracy on the coast of Asia Minor and as far as Cyprus; this was the people which gave Lycia its name, and from which Lycaonia also derived its name. If we add to this the Leuco-Syrians, who naturally are not "white Syrians," as the popular Greek etymology signifies, but are the Lucci from Suri (Cappadocia), we thus have another branch of the Hittite migration, which refers us to the Chatti. We might include in it the Hittite inhabitants of Cilicia. They would thus form a broader stratum than the Kummuch, Muski, and Tabal, and would have entered into the country almost contemporaneously with the Chatti.

EXPLANATION OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF NEXT PAGE

1. Portion of a Hittite inscription. (Found at Jerabis, the ancient Karchemish, and preserved in the British Museum, London; from Wright's "Empire of the Hittites.")

2. A Hittite Warrior of the Pre-Assyrian Age. (Found at Sendschirli (Samal); now in the department of Western Asia in the Royal Museums at Berlin.)

3. A Hittite King (or God) of more recent date. (From the original in the British Museum.)

If we consider these and the Tabal to compose a western group as compared with the eastern, which is represented by the Mitani and the Urarthu nations, a further subject for our consideration (the Kummuch also belong more to this group), we can find authority for this division in a fact which, in the lack of other accounts, rivets our attention. The eastern group worships as their chief divinity Teisbes, or Teshub (Zeus, the wielder of the thunderbolt), who is made equal to the Semitic Hadad or Ramman. In classical times we find him still represented as Jupiter of Doliche in Commagene with thunderbolt or lightning and the Hittite double axe. The chief deity of the western group on the contrary is Tarchu, or Tarku, whose name meets us in the composition of many proper names.

The Hittite inscriptions which we possess from Syria and Cilicia belong without exception to a period when Assyria was already supreme there, or at least had appeared on the scene, that is to say, the period between Tiglath-Pileser I and Sargon (circa 1100–700 B. C.). In Cilicia we can perhaps go back a little farther. We do not know whether the Mitanean population adopted on occasion the Hittite script. That possibility is in no way excluded by the use of the cuneiform script for letters. Even the Chatti when in communication with Egypt wrote in cuneiform characters, just as the Egyptians themselves employed them (p. 16). No argument against the use of their own script for their private purposes can be adduced from this. The most ancient Hittite sculptures on Syrian soil have been brought to light by the excavations of Sendshirli in Amq (*vide* Fig. 2 of the inserted plate, "Hittite Antiquities"). They belong to the pre-Assyrian age, the most ancient of them probably to the second millennium; there in Sendshirli we assume at all events only an old Hittite population, springing at latest from the Chatti; Aramæans forced their way there later.

The result of this development of conditions is that Syrians and Aramæans are synonymous for us, although this is true only in later times (cf. p. 52). In reality the Aramæans did not immigrate into Syria first, but only became predominant there after they had already spread over Babylonia and Mesopotamia. The reason of this is not far to seek; the Hittite migrations had only been able to advance successfully so long as no State powerful enough to offer a vigorous resistance was formed in the valley of the Euphrates. Mitani and Kassites (cf. pp. 43, 45) had advanced from two sides on the civilized country; the more distant waves of the Hittites (Chatti and Kummuch) had been equally helped by the weakness of Babylonia and Assyria. Contemporaneously with this stream, the flood of the Aramæan migration spread from the south over the Euphrates valley and Syria, meeting with no resistance from the Kassites who had settled on the river banks, but forced to fight in Syria with the Chatti and their successors in occupation. Thus districts which appear to us at a subsequent period as completely Aramæan can only have been occupied comparatively late by Aramæans. Damascus, Aleppo, and the towns of Northern Syria thus became Aramæan last of all, when Mesopotamia and Babylonia had long since been inundated by Aramæans. A town, such as Pethor on the Euphrates, until then Hittite like Karchemish, was only occupied by Aramæans under Assur-irbi; Karchemish had always resisted them, and the more northerly districts of "Suri," like Commagene, had never been conquered at all by Aramæans but had remained, until their annexation by Assyria, under the government of Hittite princes and tribes, — a state of things which does not exclude the possibility of an advance by sections of the Aramæan population.

The picture which Syria presents to us of the Aramæan migration about 1500 B. C. is as follows: The old Canaanitic population was driven out or subjugated by the Hittites, and now the Aramæans were advancing against these latter. Since Hittites (Chatti) still possessed in the twelfth century Cœle-Syria (as far as Kadesh), the advance of the Aramæans into Syria was not, like that of the Arabians, immediately connected with the Syrian *hinterland*; that is, with the occupation of the countries of Damascus, Hamat, and Aleppo. They first went in a more easterly direction along the Euphrates, and, having seized Mesopotamia, they crossed the Euphrates and advanced toward the West, that is, toward Central Syria. Tiglath-Pileser I drove Aramæans on the heights of Karchemish over the river, where they occupied places of retreat on the right bank. The Hittite towns of Syria with exception of Damascus (cf. p. 118) were not occupied by them until later. It was only, therefore, in the Assyrian time that Aramaic supplanted the old Canaanitic language. In the inscriptions of Sendshirli from the time of Tiglath-Pileser III we have perhaps the first attempts at Aramaic writing in these districts. Further to the north the Aramæan migration came into contact with the last wave of the Hittites, the Kummuch, etc., and thus was hindered from any further advance. On their side they again prevented the advance of these latter into the regions once occupied by the Chatti as far down as Cœle-Syria. The action of Assyria after Assurnasirpal (p. 54) prevented the Aramæans from occupying the large cities and thus completing the subjugation of the countries already overrun by them. When that happened, the power of the Hittites to resist had certainly been broken, as is shown, for example, by the above-mentioned occupation of Pethor by Aramæans. But now everything was subdued by Assyria, and the supremacy rested with the Hittites, so far as all was not Assyrian. The political supremacy is no proof indeed that the population was not becoming Aramæan; this tendency could increase unhindered by peaceful methods.

This interference of Assyria explains the fact that we do not meet Aramæan States, that is, those where Aramæans ruled (a point which is most clearly shown in our authorities by the names of the princes), in the old seats of civilization of Central Syria; we must disregard those settled in the open country, since they could not have any influence on the history. The only considerable Aramæan State which had for its home one of the centres of civilization was Damascus; this, the farthest from Assyria of all those which we have mentioned, was the last to be attacked by the Assyrians (cf. below, p. 118).

When Assurnasirpal undertook his Phœnician expedition (877), Amq, the tableland north of the lake of Antiochia as far as the spurs of the Taurus, was united under one government, the kingdom of Patin (cf. p. 55). This is called in the Bible Paddan-Aram, and therefore regarded as Aramæan; the document which so calls it is the late Priestly Code. Nothing more need be expressed by this, than that the population here was at a later period Aramæan. It does not seem probable that Aramæan princes ruled here in the time of Assurnasirpal, that the kingdom was therefore Aramæan; the names of the princes are indeed non-Semitic, therefore "Hittite" probably, so that we must see in this State a creation of the Hittite conquest. We can determine from the Assyrian inscriptions the names of several kings; these are, Lubarna (or Libûrna, variously written), in the time of Assurnasirpal; then Sapalulme, Kalparunda, Lubarna II (d. 833, under Salmanassar II), Surri (832), Sasi (after 832). The centre of the State is Amq, with

its capital, Kinalia. The whole State has, like all these creations of Hittite time, a feudal constitution based on the system of cantons and tribes, the separate princes of which are respectively independent, or subject according to the power of the suzerain. When, therefore, subsequently Tiglath-Pileser appeared here, the princes of the separate districts acted independently, and the kingdom of Patin apparently ended. We find, therefore, in its place the following separate States in particular: Marqasi (the present Marash), Gurgum, Unki (=Amq, the former capital of the kingdom), Sam'al, Ja'udi; they were gradually annexed by Assyria (cf. pp. 62, 63).

The inhabitants of these countries, which in size may be compared with the smallest of the German petty principalities, while their kings were, as regards the Assyrian kings, merely large "immediate" landowners, became in the meantime strongly tinged with Aramæan influences, although this does not prove that the Aramæans were rulers. Indeed, the names of the princes are scarcely Semitic (Panammu, Karal; the only Semitic name, Azrija'u of Ja'udi, is hardly Aramæan, but Canaanitic, and therefore belongs to the pre-Hittite stratum), but have actual analogies in Cilician proper names, and are therefore still Hittite. On the other hand, the spread of the Aramæan language is noticeable, for now the custom of writing in Hittite is abandoned, and the use of Aramaic and of alphabetical writing begins. It is also illustrative of the composition of the population, and of the persistence of an old Canaanitic strain, that even yet Canaanitic is written in the "Phœnician" style, as a small fragment found a mile or two west of Sendshirli proves.

The evidences for Aramæan script and language of this period are derived from the excavations of the "*deutsche Orientkomité*" in Sendshirli at Amq, the capital of the small country Sam'al. These documents were drawn up by Barrekab, the vassal of Tiglath-Pileser III, the son of the Panammu mentioned by Tiglath-Pileser 738–733, who died, according to his son's inscription, 732 or 731, in the camp of Damascus, to which place he had followed the army (cf. the explanation of the plate facing p. 115). A somewhat older monument comes from Gerdshin, a place five miles east of Sendshirli, and was erected by Panammu the elder, "king" of the neighbouring district Ja'udi. The inscriptions are the most ancient texts in Aramaic which we at present possess, and show by an unskilful employment of the language, and the want of any uniform orthography, that we have here the first attempts made in these regions at writing Aramaic. It follows from this that Aramaic was now spoken there, and that thus Aramæans had established a dominion by peaceful measures which they could not have done by force.

To the east of this district lies Aleppo, which is not mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions as the seat of a separate State. When Salmanassar II came there on his first expedition against Damascus (854), he sacrificed to Hadad (Ramman), but he tells us nothing as to the political position of the town; we might suppose that it then had its own government, and was therefore a relic of the Canaanitic-Hittite power. In the Tel-Amarna period we find in this country the State of Nuchashshe, which has a constitution similar to Patin. Its suzerain writes to Amenophis III that his grandfather had been appointed by Thutmosis III; he himself was being hard pressed by the Chatti. Aziri the Amorite speaks of kings of Nuchashshe; the land is governed, therefore, by various cantonal princes.

To the south of this, Hamat commands the country between the territories of Aleppo and of Damascus. In the Tel-Amarna letters the towns Ni, Katna, Kadesh

are named in its place. We must see in the first two the more considerable towns of the country, Apamea and Hœms (Emesa) or their predecessors. They are occupied by a Canaanitic and Hittite (pre-Chattian) population; we have already become familiar with Kadesh as the home of the Chatti in the twelfth century. Here, too, the Aramæans were unable to make any conquests. We therefore find in the kingdom of Hamat, which soon afterward comprised the whole country, a State which depends on a mixture of Canaanites and Hittites. When Salmanassar in 854 marched against Damascus, amongst his "allies," in reality his vassals, were Bir-idri and Irchulini, king of Hamat (p. 57). Just as the other vassals, he broke away from Damascus on the change of dynasty under Hazael, and appears to have joined Assyria, since after that time no more is heard of Hamat. We meet Hamat again under Tiglath-Pileser III as an Assyrian vassal State, but under Sargon in the rebellion of Ja'ubidi it lost its independence.

(*c*) *Damascus.* — The territory of Damascus, the last great city toward the desert, adjoined that of Hamat on the south. At the period of the Tel-Amarna letters it plays no more important a part than Hamat, although it is mentioned as still secured to the Egyptians (see the map, p. 9). It then suddenly appears before us, contemporaneously with the kingdom of David, as the seat of another kingdom, which had arisen during the impotence of the great nations. From the very first it was in the possession of Aramæans, for the kings of Damascus were Aramæans, and this State is always expressly designated as Aramæan. This is the only case where the Aramæans, generally speaking, were ever rulers of a considerable State based on an old centre of civilization, and where we can speak of any encroachment of the Aramæans on the political field of world history.

Damascus owed this advantage to its situation, which long protected it from the attacks of Assyria. On the other hand it lay the nearest of all the centres of civilization to the steppe; and its importance consisted then, as now, in its peculiar position as the starting point of the caravan route through the Syrian desert. Damascus was thus the emporium of the Arabian and Babylonian trade with Syria and Palestine. It was therefore the great city in Syria which was first exposed to the attacks of the Aramæans invading from the steppe, and thus first fell into their hands. Even among the Tel-Amarna letters a short despatch to the Egyptian court speaks of a menacing advance of Aramæan hordes; it is not clear from what place it comes, but the writers must have been settled somewhere in the Syrian territory. The advance of the Aramæans and their successes in this place are further proofs to us of the fact that to the south of Damascus in the time of Saul and David there was a small Aramæan State in Soba (Aram-ssoba), and also, stretching right up to Israelitish territory, the State of Geshur, where Absalom lived in banishment. These did not have any duration or importance. It is from the first a probable conjecture to associate the rise of Damascus under such circumstances with its occupation by Aramæans. According to this view the empire of Damascus would rank from first to last as a creation of the Aramæans, and may, from the standpoint of political development, be considered all the more as the focus of Aramæan history.

The first mentions of the empire are found in the Bible. According to these, in the time of Solomon, Rezon, son of El-jada (this name, a translation from Aramaic into Hebrew, perhaps originally read Tab-el), threw off the yoke of his

lord Hadad-ezer, king of Soba, seized Damascus, and thence, like David from Hebron, increased his power. Soba thus must have been hitherto a centre of the Aramæans, who had pressed on against Syria. This occupation of Damascus would accordingly be the next stage in their advance, as well as their greatest success in these parts. This Rezon is said to have been continually at war with Solomon. Galilee and the district east of Jordan are henceforth a constant object of contention between Damascus and Israel (cf. on this point the history of Israel). The Bible also mentions the next kings of Damascus; the tradition is uncertain, however, and the names are corrupt. It is most probable that we have next two more kings, the first of whom is called by the Bible Hezion, and may have well been named Hazael; he was followed by Tab-Rimmon (or Tab-el). Nothing beyond their names is known of these two.

After their successor Bir-idri, the Ben-hadad of the biblical narrative, our accounts are more copious. Damascus under him (circa 885–844) comes into prominence as the leading State in Syria. In the year 854 Bir-idri was attacked by Salmanassar II. On this occasion the latter enumerates the States dependent on Damascus which had been forced to supply troops as follows: Hamat, Israel (under Ahab, Moab and Judah are included as being dependent on Israel, and Edom, in its turn dependent on Judah), the North Phœnician States to the north of Gebal (this is not included, but Arvad is), Ammon, Arabian bands (mentioned here for the first time) under their leader Gindibu (Gundub), Cue (Cilicia), in fact a list of vassals which represents an empire such as cannot be shown to have ever existed there before. The battle at Karkar did not result in any success for Salmanassar. Equally fruitless were his attempts in the next expeditions to defeat this vanguard of Syria. But so long as Damascus was not subdued, Assyria could not get a firm footing there. While this was the case, it was impossible for any States in those regions to side with Assyria, even if they wished, for they were always exposed to the attacks of Damascus so soon as the Assyrian army had withdrawn. We can trace this in Israel (we have beyond this no accounts by the side of the Assyrian). The issue now always turns on the question (cf. p. 79) whether Assyria or Damascus should be supported; and this question continued to influence the policy until Damascus was taken by Tiglath-Pileser.

We must regard the vast power of Damascus, which we now first notice, as due to Bir-idri. Even in later years he and his successor Hazael were taken by the Israelites as types of the greatness of Damascus. Amos (i. 4) mentions the palaces of Benhadad as signs of the flourishing power of the State, which then for the last time was interfering in the history of Israel. Damascus is not alluded to before Salmanassar. But we may perhaps gather from the silence of Assurnasirpal in his way to Patin, and on the road which he then took, that the empire of Bir-idri already existed then, and that the Assyrian had avoided any collision with it. For this reason he did not extend his movements beyond Patin, and did not march further southward into Phœnicia; he mentions no tributary Phœnician States, with the exception of Arvad, beyond those which Salmanassar does not enumerate as vassals of Damascus. It is possible that here also critical conditions may have existed, in any case he avoided an attack on the *hinterland*, or even a demand for tribute from it; this accounts also for the silence as to Israel (then perhaps under Omri), which was tributary to Damascus, while, for example, Tyre pays tribute to Assyria.

The Bible tells us (II Kings viii) of the death of Bir-idri in one of the narratives of the prophet Elisha, but in a way which does not make it clear what part his successor Hazael played in the matter. This change of monarchy (cf. p. 57) is clearly connected with the fall of the Omrids, that is, of the great Jahve movement in Israel and Judah, which had brought Jehu to the throne. Since Jehu quickly submitted to Assyria, it may be concluded that Assyria had a hand in the whole great revolution, and tried to subdue the opponent, who could not have been defeated by weapons, by a rebellion in his own country (cf. Elam in Assurbanipal's time, pp. 74 and 103). But Hazael may also, perhaps, have courted Assyria in order to secure his throne, but so soon as he once was king of Damascus his interests demanded resistance to Assyria and an attempt to recover his old power. We therefore find him at once (842) at war with Salmanassar. But a vast difference now exists, and shows how Assyrian diplomacy had carried out its task. While under Bir-idri the vassal princes are always mentioned, Hazael now stands alone; and while hitherto the Assyrians had always been repulsed, they advanced this time right into the territory of Damascus itself, and Hazael could only defend himself in the capital. The other strong places were naturally not captured; Salmanassar was obliged to be content to lay waste the open country in the true Assyrian fashion. The expedition of 839 met with equally small success, and after that Assyria renounced for the time any further efforts to reach her goal there. A disastrous time now dawned for the States (Israel among the number) which meanwhile had joined Assyria, for Hazael began to subjugate them once more. Their position was the more unenviable since a renewed submission to the old lord implied a defection from the new lord, whose vengeance was then to be dreaded. They were thus placed between two fires (cf. p. 79). Israelitish history shows us the distress to which this State was reduced, and Scripture has preserved the recollection of it when it makes Elisha on the occasion mentioned bewail the evil which Hazael would bring upon Israel.

The successor of Hazael must have been Mari', who is familiar to us from the inscriptions of Ramman-nirari III; the Bible (II Kings xiii, 25) appears to mention him also under the name Benhadad (II). He had been again attacked by Assyria (806 or 805 [?]; cf. p. 59), and had submitted after a siege of Damascus. Through this the other vassals of Assyria at least enjoyed peace, among them Israel (as to the "Saviour," II Kings xiii, 5, cf. under "Israel," p. 204). The decadence of the Assyrian power after Ramman-nirari had given Damascus once more a free hand. In 773 we have evidence of a new expedition under Salmanassar III; then nothing more transpires as to Damascus until Tiglath-Pileser III appears in order to resume and to conclude the struggle.

We must see the successor of Mari' in Tab-el, whom the Bible (Isaiah vii, 6) names as the father of Rezin; nothing further is known of him. With his son and successor Rezin we have once more sources of information. We find him in 738 on the first appearance of Tiglath-Pileser III still among the tribute payers. But soon afterward he revolted, and at the same time, by contriving the rebellion in Samaria, which caused the fall of Pekahiah, the son of Menahem, who was loyal to Assyria, he raised his partisan Pekah to the throne (cf. p. 63). We then find the two together before the gates of Jerusalem (Isaiah vii) in order to overthrow Ahaz, who adhered to Assyria, and hoped with its aid to gain Israel (735). But in the very next year Tiglath-Pileser appeared in Palestine, subjugated Philistia,

overthrew Pekah in Samaria (733), and besieged and captured Damascus in 732. Rezin lost his throne and his life, and Damascus became an Assyrian province.

This virtually completed the subjugation of Syria, since no further serious resistance was possible. The rebellion of Ja'ubidi of Hamat, which hitherto had supported Assyria, was easily suppressed by Sargon. Syria after that time was ruled by Assyrian governors or feudal lords, who were unable to follow out any independent policy.

C. Retrospect of the Conditions of Syrian Civilization

There never was a Syrian civilization in the sense in which we speak of a Babylonian or Egyptian culture. History has shown us how Syria, lying between the two great zones of civilization, was almost always subject to their influences. Even the third civilization, which was effective there, and which made its first appearance at the precise moment when the mists lying over the past ages began to lift, that of the Hittites in Asia Minor, evidently exercised great influence there, and left most of the monuments still extant from the period now under consideration. But we are still very far from arriving at a point where we can derive from this a clear idea of the course of internal development, or of the relation of the three civilizations in their reciprocal action. Such investigations, as was the case with the political history, would present far greater difficulties than in the region of the Euphratean States, since a system of petty States has always prevailed in Syria, which renders it hard for the historian to acquire a comprehensive view, even if he could be sufficiently acquainted with the necessary details. Here, therefore, we must content ourselves (probably for some long time yet) with ascertaining isolated facts of which chance has informed us. At the same time, quite otherwise from what has happened in the Euphrates valley, we possess in the Hittite monuments on Syrian soil the productions of a civilization which is still less known to us in Asia Minor, its home, than it is here. What we can roughly determine to be Hittite here is a further development on foreign soil; the development, namely, of a civilization whose nature is still less comprehensible to us than that of its Syrian branch.

The explorer looks with longing eyes at the Hittite hieroglyphs, in which an increasing number of inscriptions are being found; but all labour and all ingenuity have hitherto proved fruitless. The materials are as yet, comparatively speaking, insufficient to furnish a key to the knowledge which a more copious supply of specimens will assuredly disclose to the future. We can certainly demonstrate that the system of writing employs the same fundamental notions as the cuneiform characters and the hieroglyphs, the main principle being the employment of distinct signs for the syllable and for ordinary ideas; but a simple *a priori* conjecture might have deduced that from the mere number of the written characters. Only their outward forms, therefore, are clear to us as yet, and these show, apart from their shape, a fundamental distinction from the Egyptian and Babylonian (cf. above, p. 84). While the Egyptians or Babylonians scratch or cut the writing into the material, the Hittite inscriptions which we hitherto possess are, to a large proportion, executed in high relief on the stone (see Fig. 1 of the plate, p. 116). It is idle to wish to draw conclusions as to the origin of this custom from the comparatively late documents which have been found on a foreign soil; but if the incised

cuneiform writing is the true reproduction of what was originally scratched on the clay, the reverse usage must point to a different origin. It is indeed a point to be considered that we have as yet only to do with monuments; simple documents, corresponding to the Babylonian clay tablets and our written papers, with which, however, the writing originates, are wanting. It is worthy of note that the style of the older Aramæan inscriptions on Syrian soil (Sendshirli; cf. p. 117) meets us in those of the eighth century, while on the other hand the oldest inscription found on Canaanitic soil — the stone of King Mesa of Moab, the contemporary of Omri — is scratched in. If we are to recognise in the latter the influence of Babylonia-Assyria, it is thus clear that the Hittite custom continued to operate in a district once occupied by the Cheta.

Granted that the Hittite culture thus undoubtedly exercised an influence which for a time matched the influences of the other bank of the Euphrates, this will have shown itself in many achievements of civilized life which are as yet unknown to us. We possess perhaps an important testimony of this in the *mina* of Karchemish, which was distinguished by the Assyrians from the national one. It is not indeed established whether that was a weight adopted from the Hittites. But if it was the case, this alone would show a far-reaching influence of the Hittite spirit upon trade and business transactions; indeed, even on the conditions of the tenure of the soil. From this it would result that not only a dominant section of the Syrian population represented the Hittite strain, but that in reality a population had developed which preserved its national characteristics, and under the changed conditions of life in their new home continued to develop independently. If an art which existed there only for the powerful and ruling classes, and was only fostered for them, had comparatively little to do with the subordinate sections of the people, the universal adoption and recognition even by the later Assyrian rulers of the Hittite weights and measures show that the population of Syria in all its classes must have been Hittite, or permeated with Hittite customs. This would besides tally in every respect with what we can ascertain as to the religious conditions (p. 125).

We have not regarded the conquest by the Cheta to be the first appearance of "Hittite" peoples in Syria, but must assume that, both with them and after them, other kindred nations settled there. The conquest of Syria, which we begin to see in the Tel-Amarna letters, is one by a great State, which has its seat and possesses a basis in the central point of its civilization and power, that is, in Asia Minor. It is thus nothing else than the Assyrian conquest two centuries later; just as this would not have given Syria an Assyrian population, so that of the Cheta-Chatti would not have made the country "Chattian" down to the plain of the Orontes. The real result was only a military occupation of the country and its impoverishment by officials. If we therefore can settle that the population even of the ninth and later centuries contained an admixture of Hittite and not merely Chattian elements, we must see in it equally the result of occurrences which preceded and followed this conquest. Out of the countless waves of this great immigration that of the Cheta represents only one, possibly the most far-reaching in its effects, but not for that reason the most lasting. Similar migrations of homogeneous tribes which inundated the empire of the Cheta in its original homes and gave it a new population, must have also affected the Syrian conquests of the Cheta. So soon as no foreign power any more held in subjection

the separate countries which were ruled by their native princes or governors, the immediate result followed that these hitherto dependent countries constituted so many small "kingdoms" which were at war with each other. The result of the Cheta conquest was a *Hittitising* of the country in so far that the country was opened to the advancing tribes.

The same conditions prevailed when the Aramæans a little later advanced from the South. The result of this contest between the two great movements which here crossed each other's path was a mainly Aramæan population in the South, a mixed population in the centre, roughly in Amq (Sendshirli), and a predominantly Hittite one in the North. It was organised in separate petty States, which remained independent until conquered by Assyria, a power as strong as that of the Chatti.

Such conditions could not develop any true Syro-Hittite culture. The state of things was too precarious, and revolutions followed too rapidly to allow anything peculiar to the Syrian soil to be formed which might be compared with the Babylonian civilization. All, therefore, that we possess of the productions of "Hittite" art is very rude. Of course an unimportant provincial town like Sam'al (=Sendshirli), to which we owe the oldest sculptures, cannot be regarded as determining the extent of Hittite achievements on Syrian soil. These extremely primitive sculptures, used by a later age simply as material for their "art," which did not stand much higher, are the productions of a provincial art, working with insufficient means. It would be an error to draw from this any hard and fast conclusions as to Hittite art in its own home and in more favourably situated Syrian States. It is further to be noticed that these monuments, the most ancient which the Syrian soil has hitherto given up, are indeed Hittite, but might well belong to a period prior to the conquest by the Cheta.

We must not pass a general verdict on Hittite art from these crude productions. It is hardly probable that it would have exercised so great an influence in Syria had it not been more thoroughly developed in its home. These groping attempts would not have been able to withstand the influences of Mesopotamia and Babylon had not the Hittite races derived support and instruction from a highly developed culture in Asia Minor. If a Hittite art prevailed in Syria down to the time of the New Assyrian Empire, and therefore only ended with the close of all independence of the Syrian petty States and with the change in the composition of the population effected by the Assyrian conquest, that points to the development of a parent civilization which would hold its own with that of Mesopotamia and Babylonia.

Granted that, after all, we cannot regard the Syro-Hittite art as a criterion of Hittite art generally, it naturally did not remain stationary in the five to eight centuries of its existence, but developed still further and advanced to higher forms (how far this was due to support from the mother country must remain a moot point) the more firmly the migrated nations settled in the country. The soil of Sendshirli itself has yielded up the productions of a higher culture; a later age remodelled the ancient rude stone colossi. We have still to regard the productions of this epoch as purely Hittite, although post-Chattian (cf. Fig. 2 of the plate, "Hittite Antiquities," p. 115). What, then, is found at Sendshirli is no longer Hittite, but already belongs to the Aramæan period; for in Amq we are emphatically on the soil where Hittites and Aramæans blended together.

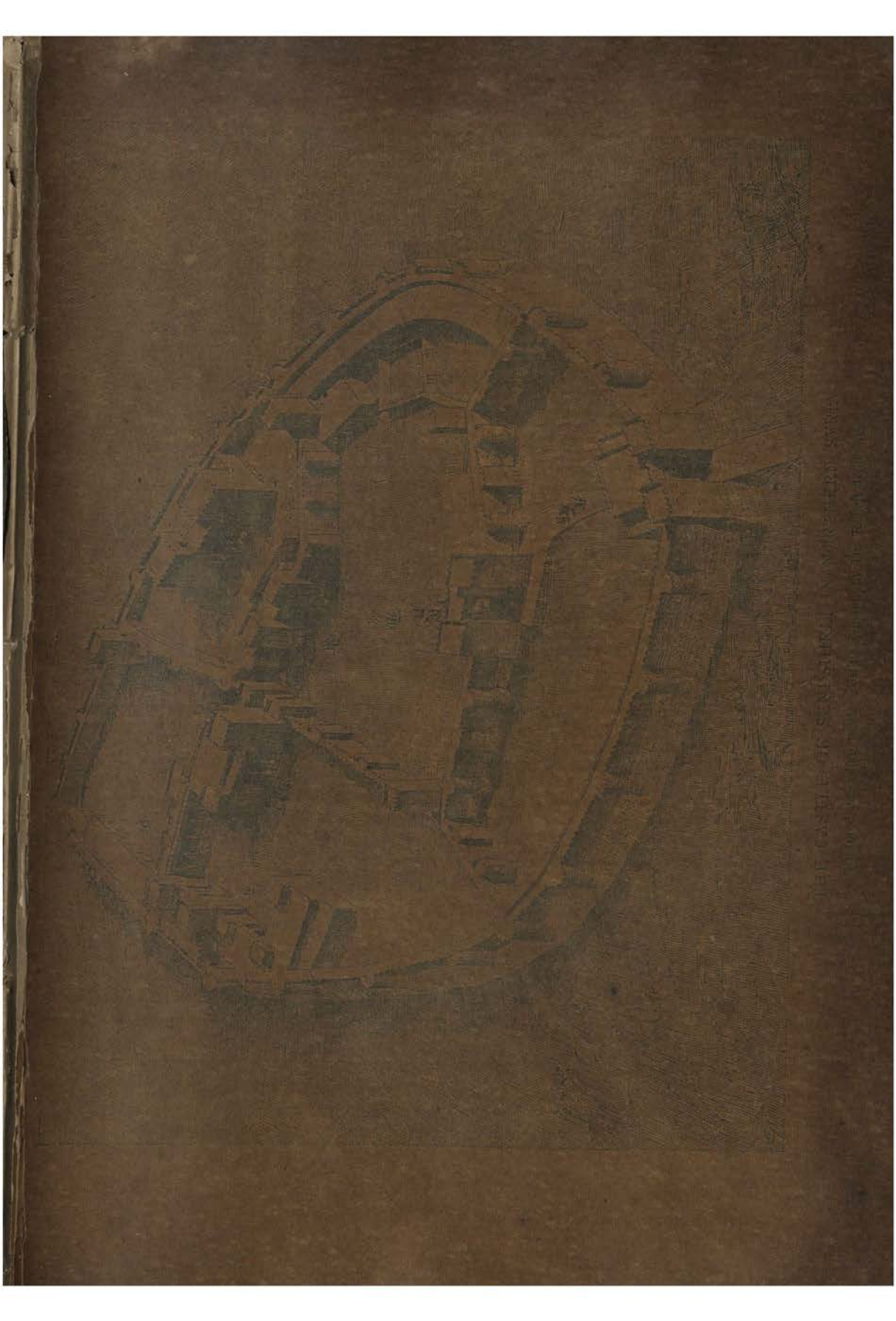
We must expect a genuine Syro-Hittite art in Karchemish, which remained for the longest period the most flourishing seat of the Hittites. Indeed a large number of monuments have been discovered there, but not sufficient to enable us to pass judgment on Hittite art. They are for the most part fragments on which all that is preserved is the inscription (*vide* Fig. 1 of plate, p. 115). Only the lower portion of a statue, probably of a god, is preserved. It showed in front the statue in relief, while the half-cylindrical reverse bears the inscription. The execution is stiff, but that was probably the case in similar productions of Assyria (cf. p. 85). A stele with the representation of a king or a god (*vide* Fig. 3 of the plate, p. 115) is the only well-preserved specimen of this sort; but it is not known where it was found, and the want of an inscription makes any comparison with the other monuments very difficult.

We can shortly summarize the productions of Aramæan skill. The veil of ignorance suits them well. The only specimens to be considered are the sculptures of the last period of Sam'al-Sendshirli, the statue of the god Hadad, the statue of Panammu, and the reliefs of the palace erected by his son Bar-cur (cf. the explanation of the inserted plate). Just as the execution of the writing in high relief imitates the Hittites, there is again hardly anything original to be found; if it were not that Aramaic inscriptions were cut on them, they would be included with the rest as merely Hittite. We have nothing else that is Aramæan; nothing actually from a soil which was more purely Aramæan than the Sam'al of the eighth century. Nothing points to the conclusion that the Aramæans would have ever shown capacity to produce independent results in culture and intellectual achievements. Just as the Arabians lived on the powers of Byzantium and Persia, so they lived on those of the Babylonians, Assyrians, and "Hittites."

Sendshirli, the only ruined place in Syria which has hitherto been thoroughly excavated, has given us information as to the architecture, since it has transmitted to us the form of a Migdal, a castle. This, from being the centre and place of refuge of an originally open settlement, became later the nucleus of a walled city (*vide* the inserted plate, "The Castle of Sendshirli in North Syria"). The influence of Babylon is noticeable (cf. p. 35) in the choice of the material, the brick. Further comparisons based on our knowledge would have the same results as if we were to compare a small mediæval town in Germany east of the Elbe with an old Roman fortress. It would be premature to form from this any opinion on the construction of the rich and powerful Syrian towns, the *foci* of the different conditions of civilization: Karchemish, Hierapolis (Mabbog, Membidsh), Aleppo, Hamath, Damascus, etc.

It can be seen without further explanation that, under the prevailing circumstances, there can be no idea of forming a picture for ourselves of any intellectual life in Ancient Syria. In this respect also the inhabitants were obviously subject to the influence of the civilized countries and the national tendencies then prevailing. We might accordingly have ventured to hope to have received some information from the times of the Hittite influence onward, as to religion especially; but the Hittite inscriptions are still quite silent for us, they do not once disclose to us the names of any Hittite divinities revered in Syria.

We have under these circumstances only one valuable authority which reveals any facts about Syrian cults; this is the small treatise, passing under Lucian's name and apparently composed by a Syrian, on the cult of the "Syrian goddess"



EXPLANATION OF THE PICTURE OVERLEAF.

The ruins of the castle stand on the hill of Sendschirli, now an unimportant Kurd [illegible] near the eastern foot of the northerly Amanus (Giaur-Dagh) in North Syria, which is surrounded by the almost level and partly ploughed domain of the town in the form of a circle, some [illegible] hundred yards in diameter. The fortification consists of a double ring, the walls of which are separated from each other by a space of eight yards. Three gateways which are built out so [illegible] rarely afford an approach from the southwest and northeast, down the valley to the mountain [illegible] and up the valley. Each of the two walls was strengthened for defensive purposes by one hundred towers, of which seventy-seven in the outer ring have been excavated. The inner castle-wall, [illegible] its style, belongs to the thirteenth and the outer to the eighth century B.C. From the [illegible] main entrance the road leads at first straight on, then it makes a bend to the left, going [illegible] to the gate of the cross-wall. Between the eastern portion of this cross-wall, which [illegible] to the castle wall, and the inner castle wall there are casemates. The upper palace arose on the highest part of the ground, after an older group of buildings had been built over. The lower palace, [illegible] ever, occupied the western portion of the lower plateau; it is divided into an eastern and a western main building and a hall placed between, which fills the north side of the courtyard, and in [illegible] full extent was open toward the south with a colonnade; the date of its construction falls in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727). The walls of the buildings are composed chiefly of [illegible] bricks on a foundation of rubble. The princes of Sam'al, the servants of the great king of Assyria, lived in the lower palace. The inscription was found there, in which Barrekub, the Panamu king of Sam'al, proudly recounts his splendid rebuilding of the palace; his reign falls in the years 731–739. In contrast to the upper palace, which is symbolized of the vigorous strength of the early period about 900, the lower palace typifies the splendour of the later age which was nearing its decline. Assarhaddon brought disastrous ruin on the whole buildings of the castle, from which it could only gradually recover during three centuries and a half. The accompanying sketch of the reconstruction shows us at a glance the chief results of the architectural experience acquired by the early inhabitants of North Syria during a thousand years (1300–300 B.C.).

(From "Die Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli," Berlin, 1895.)

Derketo (as he reproduces the name; Atargate, as it is also called in Greek tradition) of Hierapolis, the modern Membidsh (possibly the Papuch of the Egyptian inscriptions). It is naturally dangerous to form any notion of the system of the Syrian cults in the Hittite or still earlier times from so late an authority. But if we could prove that the Hittite civilization exercised a very lasting influence in Northern and Central Syria, we may be able to recognize in the cult of the Derketo temple its after effects down to the latest times. The system of Galli or eunuch priests which was prevalent here, as in the sanctuaries of Asia Minor, seems to have had its origin in Asia Minor, and would thus have been introduced by the Hittites into Syria, or at least reduced to its existing form. When we again recognised, further to the north, the Teshub of the easterly Hittite group in the Jupiter Dolichenus, the god with the double axe (p. 115), that does not mean that it must be a question of an originally "Hittite" phenomenon. He is identified with the Semitic Hadad. Thus the divinity has been worshipped by different conquerors in different centuries, under different names.

It would be almost still more bold to speak of any Aramæan ideas of faith and religion. A few names of deities of the later tradition compose nearly all that could serve as a basis for this. The Aramæan characteristics are most strongly marked in Southern Syria, owing to the comparatively weaker influence of the Hittites, which the old Canaanitic life of the second Semitic migration had resisted. The ideas of Canaanites and Aramæans may be assumed to be originally identical, and the question is mainly one of different names for the similar religious conceptions. Thus, in view of the traditions of a time which had no longer any comprehension of the old stratification of the peoples and their differences, we are hardly in a position to single out anything as peculiarly Aramaic. If, even at the period of the eighth century B. C., traces of the Canaanitic language can be satisfactorily proved to have existed in the country of Sendshirli (p. 117), we must also regard the few names of gods in the inscriptions there as a Canaanitic, and therefore pre-Aramæan, property which was not touched by the intermediate rule of the Hittites. At the same time, it is of course to be noticed that foreign influence must have made itself felt in great centres of culture sooner than in remote provincial towns. Thus the name of the divinities, El, is clearly common to Canaanites and Aramæans. Rekab is originally Canaanitic (Chabiritic). It is found in Southern Judah (tribe of the Rechabites; cf. below, p. 201). The same holds good of Ja'u, which demands our notice as Judaic and as the original of Jahve. Only Hadad, whose cult is proved to be the most important for Damascus, may be Aramaic; his Canaanitic name is Ramman or Rimmon, the god of weather and fertility, which has been erroneously regarded as Aramaic.

8. ARMENIA

A. The Earliest Times

The highlands, in which the Euphrates and Tigris have their source, and which rise to the north of Mesopotamia and its outlying mountains, were called by the ancient Babylonians Gutium, or Kuti. We know nothing of this district at the time when Babylonia still dominated the whole Euphrates country and Assyria did not exist. But the state of things which was found in later times, when it

received its culture from Assyria, and the latter was forced to subdue these mountain tribes, unless it wished to become their booty, must have already existed in the preceding millennia. Indeed, if we must assume from the permanent connection of Anzan and Suri that the territory of the later Median empire had been the seat of an empire even in the early Babylonian epoch, the mention of the "King of Gutium" in the same tablets of omens (cf. p. 42) proves that even Armenia had then been already united to a certain degree, and had already abandoned its primitive tribal organisation under the influence of Babylonian civilization. The proof is, however, established by the inscription of "a King of the Kuti" (cf. p. 11) in the writing and language of the Sargon and Naram-Sin period, which records a dedication to the temple of the sun-god at Sippar. Armenia stood, therefore, at that time in far closer relations to the Babylonian sphere of culture than Urarthu later to Assyria, and was apparently on a higher stage of civilization than two thousand years afterward.

We do not know what nations or what races then inhabited the mountains on which the Babylonian represents the ark of his Noah (Chasisatra) to have rested. But we see here also that the real prosperity of the Mesopotamian civilization and its widest expansion reach back to an unsuspectedly early period, and that the last millennium, with which we are better acquainted, already marks a great decadence as compared with the earlier height to which it attained.

B. Contact with Assyria

The first distinct information as to these countries is conveyed to us through the inscriptions of the kings of Assyria, from Tiglath-Pileser I onward. Salmanassar I had already advanced in the country between the Euphrates and Tigris toward the highlands, and by planting Assyrian colonies there had formed a secure frontier for Mesopotamia. We must regard the nations which he subjugated there to be "Hittites," as this entire advance is a continuation of the expulsion of the Mitani. The struggle here is, therefore, between Assyria and Hittite nationalities. This view is corroborated by the fact that we find, at the period of Assyrian impotence after Tukulti-Ninib, that the next Hittite wave had spread into the country which lies under Assyrian dominion. These were the Kummuch, against whom Tiglath-Pileser was forced to turn his arms.

The country to the east of this — that is, the region south of Lake Van — was called by the Assyrians the Nairi country. Tiglath-Pileser had made three expeditions against it, making Mesopotamia his starting point, and advanced as far as the sources of the Tigris, where he erected his statue and inscription at the source of the present Schenu-Su. The southern portion of the Nairi country, bounded on the south by the Tigris, was called Kirchi. Chubushkia adjoins it on the east. We must include its inhabitants in the eastern Medo-Elamitic group of nations, so that Hittites did not encroach on the district south of Lake Urumiya. The assumption that their migration as a whole took place from Europe is supported by their settlement to the south and the west of Lake Van. A group advanced also to the east of Lake Van. The petty State of Mussassir, which we find mentioned from the eighth to the ninth century, seems to have had a population of the "Urarthean" Hittite group. There is some disposition to include the kingdom of Man along the western and southern shores of Lake Urumiya in this

group, so that therefore Chubushkia and the country south of Lake Urumiya would be the borderland where the eastern Hittite and the Medo-Elamitic groups of nations came into contact.

So far as we can trace the countries now under consideration, they meet us first in the condition such as would be expected from the then recently effected migration of uncivilized tribes. There are no large States here; if any such had previously existed, they had been destroyed by these or earlier immigrations. The Assyrian kings, therefore, have mostly to do with the individual tribes, especially in Kirchi and Nairi. There is never any idea here of a united principality.

In the period after Tiglath-Pileser I, the tribes which had advanced into these districts from the North naturally obtained wider scope, and destroyed the advantages, in any case not very far-reaching, which the Assyrians had gained. The districts which Salmanassar I had colonised were again seized by the advancing barbarian tribes. Assurnasirpal III was, therefore, obliged to secure for Assyria this district, which was bounded in the south approximately by a line drawn from Amid to Malathia, and to reinforce the old Assyrian colonies. In the ninth century Salmanassar II, when he advanced again on Armenia, and, starting from the Nairi country, which had been subjugated by Assurnasirpal, marched toward the north, struck against the territory of King Arame of Urarthu, whose empire mainly comprised the district north of Lake Van. He was attacked by Assyria on the west and southeast of the lake, on the southern frontier of his country, somewhere on the Arsanias (in the year 857; cf. p. 58).

For some time very little is heard of Urarthu, until toward the end of Salmanassar's reign (833) a new expedition to Urarthu is mentioned, in which Siduri, king of Urarthu, after crossing the Arsanias, is said to have been defeated. Two inscriptions of this Siduri have been found at the foot of the fortress of Van, which record buildings erected by him. He styles himself in them Sarduri, son of Lutipri, king of Nairi. The inscriptions are still composed in Assyrian, and even the titles of the king are copied from the contemporary Assyrian form. Neither he nor any one of his successors styles himself king of Urarthu — that is perhaps merely the designation adopted by the Assyrians from the name of the mother country. We must conclude from this state of things that the sovereignty of this Sarduri (I) signified a revolution in Urarthu. Since the regal title is not given to his father, and on the other hand another king is previously recorded for Urarthu, his reign will thus imply the rise of another tribe among the large number of newly immigrated tribes which were still living in Urarthu under their tribal constitution. Sarduri is the ancestor of the royal family, under which an important empire was developed here, the most recent of all Hittite empires. In it for the last time Hittites opposed the Assyrian Empire with success.

The seat of this empire of Urarthu is the district along Lake Van. With exception of the southern shore, it stretches in an easterly direction as far as Mussassir, the small State southwest of Lake Urumiya, and in a northeast direction right up to Lake Gok-cha, and is therefore watered by the Araxes. We can trace from Sarduri onward the roll of its kings, chiefly from their own inscriptions, up to the Indo-Germanic immigration. Urarthu, the natural opponent of Assyria, thus comes into contact with the Babylonian culture. This Assyrian intervention strikes us at once in the script in which the kings of Urarthu had their inscriptions written. While Sarduri I had them still written in Assyrian, his successors employed the

vernacular, but in an alphabet which had been adapted, not from the Babylonian, but from the Assyrian. They were imitators of the Assyrians even in their titles. It is obvious that any scholars who might have been required were obtained from Assyria. The language of the inscriptions thus lies clearly before our eyes. Nevertheless the attempts to gain an insight into its meaning have not hitherto been successful. It is true that we can understand — as in the case of the Elamitic inscriptions — a portion of the contents, but we are still far from any complete grasp of the construction of the language.

We know little of the new royal family or of its place of origin. We find in later times Thuspa (in Assyria, Thuruspa) in the district of Biaina, the modern Van, as capital of the empire. It does not appear to have been the primary home of the royal family. A somewhat mutilated inscription seems to record that Biaina had a king of its own even under Ispuinis; in any case we are bound to see in him an under-king or feudal lord of a district. We must picture to ourselves generally that the empire was formed by the subjugation of the separate chiefs and princes, and that the kings had been supported in doing so by a strong dynastic, central power. By annexation of the district of Biaina they came into possession of Thuspa. This district cannot have been subdued for the first time by Ispuinis. Sarduri I had already built at Van.

The successor of Sarduri is Ispuinis, a contemporary of Shamshi-Rammân (cf. above, p. 60), whose general, Mutarriss-Assur, encountered him on an expedition to Nairi. Thence the new empire was extended further toward the south, that is, into the regions which the Assyrians had traversed or seized. Ispuinis adopted his son Menuas as co-regent. Owing to this most of the inscriptions of this time are attributable to both; for example, the inscription in the pass of Kelishin, a sort of boundary stone of the district taken from Assyria, in which the above-mentioned fact of the acquisition of the Biaina district and of Thuspa, which henceforth serves as capital, is recorded.

The successor of Menuas is Argistis I, who ventured most for the extension of the empire. He is contemporary with Salmanassar III and Assurdan in Assyria, and the numerous campaigns against Urarthu under the former (p. 60), in combination with the ascertainable condition of the country at a later time, show that it was a question of defensive wars by Assyria against the attacks of Argistis. Records of victories by Argistis were cut in eight large inscriptions on the rocks of the fortress at Van, — the longest Urarthean inscription which we possess. They contain a report of successes against Assyria, and of a conquest of those regions which the Assyrians designated as the Nairi country. There is a further mention of places as far as Melitene, that is, of districts which had already stood in the fixed relations of vassals to Assyria.

For the period anterior to Tiglath-Pileser III, Sarduri II, the son of Argistis, who encroached further toward Syria, was the support of all States in the east and west which attempted to revolt from Assyria. While he extended his influence as far as Arpad, he drove back Urarthu again out of Syria and finally attacked the country itself. Even if this denotes an actual decline of the political power of Urarthu and of all kindred nations which leant on it, yet, regarded from an ethnological standpoint, the result of the Urarthean advance must be noted as an expansion of the kindred tribes and a retrogression of the Semitic population in these countries farthest to the north. The districts between the upper Tigris and

the Euphrates, which Salmanassar I had occupied with Assyrian colonists, were once more lost and their Assyrian population was dispersed, so that under Assarhaddon we find that a final attempt was made to reoccupy them with Assyrians.

His successor, Rusas I, attempted under Sargon a new attack on Assyria, where the revolution and the change of king in 722 seemed to present a favourable opportunity. But he too failed, and in despair he committed suicide in 714. The power of Urarthu was broken by his overthrow. At the same time under Argistis II an attack was made from the north by Indo-Germans. The reports of Assyrian governors on the northern frontier announced in the period between 710–705 that heavy defeats were inflicted on Urarthu by the Indo-Germanic tribes. These wild incomers lived for a time on the borders of Urarthu and in its territory until, pushed on by their neighbours on the east, the Ashkuza, and by other tribes which were pressing on, they moved further to the west and overran the whole of Asia Minor. This took place between 670–660, that is to say, under one of the successors of Argistes II; that is, under Rusas II, Erimenas, or Rusas III (cf. above, p. 74).

Only one episode in the period of Rusas III, the contemporary of Assarhaddon and Assurbanipal, is recorded in detail. This throws a vivid light on the conditions existing in the place where the Assyrian and Urarthean spheres of interest touched, and thus reveals to us a glimpse into the still scantily authenticated history of these regions. This is the frequently mentioned district between the upper Tigris and the Euphrates, which Salmanassar I had occupied with Assyrian colonists and Assurnasirpal had been solicitous to re-secure, but which during the advance of Urarthu had reverted to an Urarthean population or one closely akin to it. In the year 674 Assarhaddon records an expedition which he undertook against the country of Shupria in order to subdue a chief, without doubt of Urarthean stock. The latter, calculating already on the Cimmerians, had attempted in the universal disorder to found an independent State of his own. He was aided by fugitives both from Assyria and Urarthu, whom he assiduously attracted to his country. All the demands of Assarhaddon and of Rusas that he should surrender their subjects were rejected, so that Assarhaddon saw himself finally compelled to take measures against him. Once more the fortresses of the country were occupied with Assyrian colonists in order to construct an Assyrian province. We must no longer think of an actual Assyrian population, but it is always a question of colonists who were transplanted thither from other conquered districts (cf. above, p. 65). A very few years afterward, 668 or 667, the same chief (or another of the same country) once more, in conjunction with Cimmerians, attempted a sudden attack on the new province, but was killed in doing so. It is noteworthy throughout the whole affair how Assyria and Urarthu were for once brought together by common peril. The Urarthean fugitives, who had found an asylum in Shupria and had fallen into the hands of Assarhaddon, were all surrendered by him to Rusas.

The last king of Urarthu was probably Sarduri III, who voluntarily submitted to Assurbanipal, in order to obtain assistance from him against the Indo-Germanic tribes (cf. p. 76). We must regard him as little more than a puppet king, confined to his own town and powerless in the open country. We do not know whether even before this an Indo-Germanic chief had raised himself to the throne of the Urarthean Empire, or whether this empire was only ended by the Medes. If we

reflect, however, on the development of the power of the Ashkuza (p. 71) in the interval, it can hardly be assumed that these allies of Assyria would not have firmly established themselves there before this. The old population began to blend with the Indo-Germanic immigrants, and the Armenian people was thus formed.

9. MEDIA AND THE PERSIANS

A. Ancient Media

The old Babylonian inscriptions do not as yet furnish more information for the most ancient periods of Media than they did for Armenia. The district between Elam and Suri is there called Anzan. The rulers of Lagash record wars with Anzan, and a governor of Durilu announces a victory over the hordes of Anzan. It is not possible to ascertain its eastern frontier, while on the north we may make it extend round Elam. In the old "omens" it is always named together with Suri (p. 10). Inscriptions in the old Babylonian style from the Zagrus show us that Babylonian influence prevailed there in the country of the Lulumæans in the very earliest times; and incidental allusions by the Assyrian kings prove to us that Babylonia once exercised even politically a more widely extended influence there than ever Assyria did in later times. Towns are incidentally mentioned as old Babylonian foundations. The Assyrians had a province of Arpach in the district of the tributaries of the Adhem. It is possible that some Egyptian and Babylonian accounts of earlier times (the second millennium) point to an empire of the same name existing there; but no certain conclusion can be arrived at.

The population is clearly connected with that of Elam. This Medo-Elamitic group, the eastern branches of which are lost for us in the darkness of Central Asia, encountered to the south of Lake Urumiya the Urarthæo-Hittite group, whose most westerly representatives we found in Chubushkia. We do not find that any considerable States were formed here in the Assyrian time, of which we are tolerably well informed. We meet everywhere petty States, such as Parsua, on the eastern shore of Lake Urumiya; Namri, on the borderland toward the Babylonian plain; and other small States, — which were all subject first to Babylonian and subsequently to Assyrian influence. We are acquainted with Ellipi (p. 94, note) on the frontier of Elam. Assyrian border provinces adjoining the great roads of Assyria and Babylonia, which run out from Arbal and Dur-ilu, surrounded Media proper, into which the Assyrians never permanently forced their way (see the maps, pp. 9, 54, 87). Toward the northeast the country is bounded by the "salt desert." Thence poured in the hordes of Central Asia, for whom the Babylonians had the collective name of "Umman-manda" ("Manda hordes"). This term, of course, did not contain the idea of a definite race, but merely that of their uncivilized condition. There were certainly among the Umman-manda, who were mentioned in the three thousand years of Babylonian culture, representatives of heterogeneous races, amongst them the very peoples whom we find in possession of Media. Thus at a later period the Indo-Germanic Medes and Persians bore this designation. If the Babylonian civilization had seen the immigrations of the Turks and Mongols, and it certainly saw many similar migrations, it would have called these conquerors also "Manda hordes."

So far as no great States were formed here, or as no facts can be yet ascertained as to the existence of such, we may leave this welter of nations to itself with the scanty notices of its collisions with the most ancient Babylonia. The most important of the Assyrian attempts at subjugation was treated in the history of Assyria. Media chiefly interests us as the land where the empire was developed, which has been always recognised as the pioneer and precursor of the Persian world empire.

B. The First Indo-Germans

(*a*) *The Appearance of the Medes in Western Asia.* — The Medes are the first Indo-Germans whose appearance we can ascertain in the part of the Nearer East now under consideration. They were also the first who became the ruling people of a large empire, which afterward under the Persians dominated the East as far as Babylonian culture extended, and perhaps still more widely. Median history is thus a prelude to Persian. The appearance, therefore, of the Indo-Germans on the soil of Nearer Asia can be treated in connection with it generally, and all the more because it stands in immediate connection with that of the Medes.

We cannot here occupy ourselves with the question of the home and migrations of the Indo-Germans, so far as they belong to prehistoric times, but merely with the appearance of definite Indo-Germanic nations, within a period which can be verified by history, in the region now under notice. What relation the appearance of the peoples we are now considering bears to the great family of Indo-Germanic nations in space and time is a separate question, and cannot yet be decided with the materials supplied from our sources of information. This much is clear, that the name of the Medes is the first one of those tribes on the soil of Nearer Asia which can be ascertained to be Indo-Germans. A short time after their appearance the Indo-Germanic tribes, of which the Cimmerians are the best known, can be noticed in the districts on Lakes Urumiya and Van, advancing mainly in a direction from north to south. Again, shortly afterward, we find all Asia from the east of Elam as far as Armenia occupied by Indo-Germans. Whether these tribes, which are undoubtedly parts of the great Indo-Germanic family, and can be designated collectively *Iranic*, after the historically most important members of them, came on the whole from the East, and whether in this way the connection with the Indian branch can be established, or whether the immigration started rather from Europe, and in this case what was the historical form of their relation to the people of India, — all this is still obscure.

The Medes, the Madai, appear for the first time in Assyrian inscriptions under Salmanassar II, who, in the year 836 B. C., on an expedition against Media, mentions the Amadai between Namri and Parsua (p. 58), more toward the interior of Media, that is, where later the centre of their homes lay. Henceforth they are repeatedly named by Tiglath-Pileser, Sargon, Sennacherib, and Assarhaddon, each of whom prides himself on having received tribute from their chiefs. Each of them also regularly asserts that no one of his predecessors had entered the territory of these dangerous foes (the title "dangerous" Medes is given them as an *epitheton ornans*). The Assyrians never really occupied their country; but Assyria soon trembled before the Medes. We see from the accounts that it is always a question of separate cantons (Sargon enumerates a large number of such) which stand under their chiefs (never kings), and are also obliged to pay tribute when an

Assyrian army is in the vicinity. In other respects they do not trouble themselves about the Assyrians. There is no sign as yet of a Median empire.

(*b*) *The Cimmerians.*—Before we can prove the appearance of a comprehensive imperial power among the Medes, we must trace the history of the other Indo-Germanic nations who appeared round Lakes Van and Urumiya. As early as the closing years of Sargon's reign the Cimmerians were pressing hard on Urarthu (cf. p. 66), and were overrunning the empire that had been already broken in strength by Assyria. We conjectured (p. 67) that the violent death which Sargon met in some unknown place was perhaps the result of the defeat inflicted on an Assyrian army by the Cimmerians. This disaster re-echoed throughout the whole East, and is recorded for us in a hymn of victory which goes under the name of Isaiah (ch. xiv, 4–21). We can quite realise the movement of the nations in Armenia through the questions put by Assarhaddon to the oracle of the sun-god, which show that Assyria was afraid of the intruders, and with difficulty guarded the frontiers from the new antagonists. Among those specially named are the Cimmerians in the country of Urarthu, the Saparda (p. 133), the Ashkuza in the country of Man on Lake Urumiya, and, further away, the Medes,—all-conquering tribes, which pillage where they can, and are to be bought over by any one who offers them advantages. The exact picture of a migration of nations.

We see, however, even under Assarhaddon, how Assyrian diplomacy was intent on deriving benefits from the aimless policy of the separate tribes, and on playing them off, one against the other. We do not know how far the Cimmerians finally came to an agreement with Urarthu. In any case they adopted from that country the feud with Assyria, while, on the other hand, the Ashkuza in the district of Man, previously friendly to Assyria, allowed themselves to be won over by Assyria, and advanced against the Cimmerians, their neighbours on the west. One of the questions put to the oracle, to which we have alluded, asks whether Bartatua, king of the Ashkuza, ought to be given the daughter of Assarhaddon in marriage as he requests. The policy of the succeeding period shows that his wish must have been granted. Assarhaddon therefore, just as Sargon formerly in Tabal, was anxious to form a bond of union between himself and the barbarian princely house, and thus to turn the enemy into a guard for the frontier. Bartatua's son, Madyas, is mentioned by Herodotus as king of the "Scythians," who advanced to the relief of Nineveh when besieged by Cyaxares. After that time Assyria was allied with the Ashkuza. But the people which Herodotus, or his authority, terms Scythians, and which became dangerous to the Cimmerians (cf. Vol. IV, p. 73), are the Ashkuza in question; they had driven the Cimmerians, the enemies of Assyria, toward the west. Assarhaddon himself claims to have defeated the Cimmerians; but the victory in question was only an insignificant success, since from the first the objective of the Cimmerian advance was Asia Minor more than Assyria.

This was the beginning of the great Cimmerian movement which partly obliterated the States of Asia Minor (Phrygia), partly inundated them. Lydia was overrun, and only the citadel of Sardes could hold out. We now understand why Gyges, who was attacked by the Cimmerians somewhere on the Halys, sought an alliance with Assyria, the provinces of which, both there and in Cilicia, did not lie far from his frontier (p. 74). The Cimmerians then devastated Asia Minor

for a time, until their power broke up and gave way before the newly rallied forces of the civilized nations. One of their leaders (or "king"?), Dygdamis,[1] is known to us from classical history. The Ionian towns had also to suffer from the wild hordes, and the destruction of Magnesia finds an echo in the poems of Archilochus. This Dygdamis, mentioned in an inscription of Assurbanipal, met his death, according to the classical account, in Cilicia, (possibly Homer's Cilicia in the Troad?); he was succeeded by his son Sandakshatra. The Cimmerian storm met the fate of most first waves of a migration of nations; it gradually spent itself in the distant regions, and the remains of it were dispersed by the Lydians. Ardys, the son of Gyges, was able to restore the Lydian Empire. Although the construction of an empire under the rule of Indo-Germanic peoples did not follow, still the old Hittite population of Asia Minor, just as that of Armenia, received through this migration a large admixture of Indo-Germanic elements, and was greatly influenced by it.

Classical tradition tells us of the Treri, a people not yet traceable from inscriptions, which accompanied the Cimmerians on their expedition. The Saparda, who have been already mentioned together with them on Lake Van, must have equally advanced to Asia Minor in conjunction with the Cimmerians, or following their steps. From this time onward we find Saparda in the Bible (Sepharad) just as in the inscriptions of the Perso-Seleucid age, as the name of Central Asia Minor (Phrygia and adjoining countries). We must indeed assume generally that the great Cimmerian advance guard was continually followed by other detachments.

The Ashkuza, by the departure of the Cimmerians and the treaty with Assyria, became masters of the situation in Armenia; in Herodotus they appear as the "Scythians" who drove out the Cimmerians. Of these he tells us that, after a conquest of the Medes, which is to be immediately mentioned, they ruled "Upper Asia" for twenty-eight years, and in their expeditions reached the Egyptian frontier, where Psammetich bought them off. They then withdrew and destroyed Ascalon. We thus have here a repetition by the allies of Assyria of the Cimmerian march which also traversed Assyrian territory (from Cilicia to Palestine). The "power of the Scythians" was, according to Herodotus, broken by the Medes when they besieged Nineveh, and Madyas, son of Bartatua, advanced to the relief of his ally, Sin-shar-ishkun. This army was then destroyed by Cyaxares, and the latter thus became master of the territory conquered by the Scythians; that is, the countries from Lake Urumiya down to the river Halys, which is the boundary of Lydia. This empire of the Ashkuza was thus a precursor of the Median sovereignty, and served to pave the way for their supremacy over "Upper Asia."

(*c*) *The First Contact of the Medes with Assyria.* — The Medes hitherto had inhabited the Median tableland and the regions east of Lake Urumiya in separate districts and tribes, without ever having been really subjugated by the Assyrians. The questions asked of the oracle by Assarhaddon show us this people playing precisely the same part as the Cimmerians and Ashkuza—threatening the Assyrian frontiers and occasionally occupying isolated tracts. They figure distinctly as a third group by the side of the other two. Assyria, by winning over the Ashkuza,

[1] His name, according to the version of the cuneiform inscription (Dugdamme) must read thus. The written records have made Lygdamis out of it, from a recollection of the name of the celebrated tyrant of Naxos.

had obtained a defence not only against the Cimmerians settled to the west, but also in the east against the Medes. These thus became the natural antagonists of the Ashkuza. The constant war against this State, strengthened by the support of Assyria, could not fail to furnish the Medes with a motive for unification, in order that they might not incur the same destiny as the Cimmerians. We must imagine, indeed, that the alliance with Assyria and the marriage connection with the royal house of Assyria elevated Bartatua to the rank of a real king. This unification answers the question why the Ashkuza were the first among the Indo-Germanic immigrants to establish an empire, while the Cimmerians on their march of devastation were never able to obtain a firm footing.

We have not as yet any inscriptions recording these movements. It is well known that Herodotus's narrative connects the first unification of Media with the name of Deioces. One of the authorities for the Median history which Herodotus used has recently been proved to be trustworthy, so that it is conceivable that the royal house of Media actually called its original ancestor Deioces. All else that is told of him bears the stamp of a naïve conception of the evolution of monarchy, and is unhistorical. The fact that Ecbatana was later the capital of the Median Empire leads to the conclusion that we must trace the concentration of the separate tribes to this district. The accounts of the length of the reign of Deioces and his successor are manifestly unhistorical.

This successor, according to the same tradition, was Phraortes. The subjugation of the Persians is attributed to him. The new Median Empire would have accordingly stretched from Persis, including also Elam with Susa, as far as the borders of Ashkuza. Phraortes is said to have undertaken an attack with this force on Assyria, which probably would come under the reigns of the two successors of Assurbanipal. Herodotus (Bk. I, c. 102) says that Assyria on that occasion was deserted by her "allies," and it is possible that the Ashkuza are meant, who then certainly plundered Assyrian provinces. Phraortes is said to have fallen in this expedition.

(*d*) *The Medes in the Light of History.* — The son and successor of Phraortes was Cyaxares. With him we stand on demonstrably certain and historical ground. It was he who destroyed Nineveh, and by the subjugation of the Ashkuza became the real founder of the Median Empire. His war with Assyria shows that even Media (actually under Phraortes, if we may accept the accounts handed down about him), with the institution of some centralised government, had followed the example of the Ashkuza, and sought to join the circle of civilized empires. It had for its part entered into a treaty with Babylon, which had once more become independent under Nabopolassar, and had supported the latter in his resistance to Assyria. We find, therefore, the two from this time onward as allies. Like the two royal houses of Assur and Ashkuza, the Median and the Babylonian dynasties became connected by a marriage between Nebuchadnezzar and the daughter of Cyaxares.

Thus Nabopolassar and Cyaxares had a mutual understanding when they both attacked Assyria in 608 or 607 B. C. Mesopotamia was occupied by an expedition from Babylonia, but Nineveh itself was only invested by Cyaxares, who "wished to avenge his father," as Herodotus says. Madyas, the king of the Ashkuza, then advanced to its aid, but was utterly defeated with his army. Cyaxares

was thus master of the countries as far as the Halys, but Assyria was stripped of her last resource. The wars of the Euphratean countries, as those of Rome later, were now being fought out by Indo-Germanic barbarians. The victory of the Medo-Babylonian alliance was assured. We have discussed the question of the boundaries between the two powers when treating of Assyria on p. 77. Cyaxares received the country north of the Tigris, and his empire (see the map, "Assyria after 745, the New Babylonian Empire and Media," p. 87) now stretched as far as the Halys, a resuscitated empire of "Anzan and Suri."

States like the Median must, so long as they are full of strength and vitality, continue their victorious career. Friendly relations to Lydia under Alyattes, the newly acquired neighbour on the Halys, were therefore impossible to maintain. The war, according to Herodotus (Bk. I, c. 74), was carried on for five years with varying success until, after a battle, when the well-known eclipse which Thales predicted occurred (585), an armistice, and afterward a peace, was concluded as a result of the intervention of Nebuchadnezzar and King Syennesis of Cilicia. Here also the friendly relations were to be cemented by a matrimonial alliance, and Astyages received to wife the daughter of Alyattes.

C. The Persians

(*a*) *The Preliminary Conditions of the Change.* — Western Asia was thus divided among three masters. According to the customary course of events, it was only a question which of the three would put an end to the other two. Strange to say, however, all three, or more correctly the Medes, who as conquerors are alone to be considered, preserved peace with the other two until the man appeared who took the three for himself. It would be inconsistent with the spirit of the ancient East and with the policy of the civilized States if the Median barbarians really observed their treaties with Babylonia and Lydia, and remained loyal to the friendship sealed by marriages. But their relations to Babylonia did not alter until the family of Nabopolassar was dethroned there, and a Babylonian came to the throne (cf. above, p. 89). Astyages, who meanwhile had succeeded Cyaxares, immediately after the accession of Nabunaid (555) advanced into Mesopotamia and besieged Harran. The dreaming Nabunaid could hardly have saved Babylonia; but the rebellion in Media gave him a short respite. Astyages was attacked at home and overthrown by his "vassal" Cyrus; thus the dominion over the Median Empire came to the Persians.

Such a revolution within an empire which comprised the most vigorous but still uncivilized nations is nothing surprising. It is, on the contrary, to be expected so soon as there was a pause in the expansion, as had been the case with Media since the peace with Lydia. States constituted in this fashion can conquer, but cannot keep their conquests; and if the Persian Empire had more stability, that was only because it adapted itself to the existing forms of economy, assimilating the culture of the old civilized empires which it had brought under its yoke.

Although we can easily picture to ourselves the general causes which produced this change, we are unable to obtain from the extant accounts any clear view as to the details of the persons and peoples. The narrative of Herodotus assumes that Phraortes conquered the Persians, and that they, under Cyrus, overthrew the Median dynasty. We know that Medes and Persians were of kindred stocks, and

the equality of both nations in the Persian Empire is proved by the circumstance that the Median rule was acknowledged by the new conquerors; only the dynasty was put aside, and the nobles of both nations made common cause with each other. Darius was certainly a Persian; that is, he was born from the nobility of the Indo-Germanic people, which at the time of the formation of the Median Empire had made its home in Persis, east of Elam. The difficulty consists in obtaining any definite information as to the personality of Cyrus. It appears that the Achæmenid account, as well as that of Herodotus, which is based on it, must have intentionally lied when it represents Cyrus as related to the Achæmenids. The object of such an invention is clear; by this means a legitimate claim to the throne would be proved, and Cyrus and Cambyses were thus considered the rightful kings of Persia. Darius gives the requisite genealogy in his great inscription at Behistun where he names his ancestors Hystaspes, Arsames, Ariaramnes, Teispes, Achæmenes. Cyrus also names this Teispes as his ancestor in an inscription which was written at Babylon soon after its capture. He states his ancestors to be Cambyses and Teispes, but not Achæmenes. Probably no relationship between the two families existed. It had only been invented by the court genealogists in order to represent Darius as the lawful successor of Cambyses. Monuments erected later, with the inscription "I am King Cyrus the Achæmenid," had of course the same object. Cyrus evidently knew nothing of an ancestor Achæmenes.

(*b*) *Cyrus.* — The question now is, who was Cyrus? In his above-mentioned inscription he styles himself King of Anzan, and gives the same title to his father and grandfather. We must judge his inscription by the one which was composed shortly before under Nabunaid, since it was certainly drawn up by the same writers. According to this, Anzan is the old Babylonian title; at any rate Anzan is also mentioned as the name of a separate Median country under Sennacherib. In any case this designation implies that Cyrus was prince of a Median country and, as such, vassal of Astyages, and Nabunaid indeed expressly calls him so. Undoubtedly we ought not to regard him as a prince of the old population, but as a member of the newly immigrated Aryan nobility; whether Persian or Mede must remain a disputed point, but this was immaterial when he once became a prince. It is still undecided to which country he belonged, and how great his territory was. Nabunaid terms him a "petty" vassal of the great Mede; that, however, may only express the contrast between him and the Great King. We might assume that he had possessed those of the provinces belonging to "Anzan" which lay farthest to the east, and, indeed, if we reflect on the later importance of Susiana, it may well have been there or in the immediate vicinity.

But there is still the question left how this rebellion could signify a victory of the Persians, whose country lay far more to the east; for that it really was so is confirmed, not only by the familiar story in Herodotus, but by the later conditions as well as by a remarkable statement in the Babylonian chronicle which deals with the events of this time. This chronicle calls him, up to the capture of Ecbatana and the overthrow of Astyages, "King of Anzan," but then "King of Persia (Parsu)." Cyrus had in fact, as the tradition puts it, made use of the Persians for his own purposes, and had therefore been recognised by them as their leader. Whether the Persians at an earlier period, as Herodotus implies, were already subject to the Median kings, or whether now for the first time they actively took part

in the internal struggles of Media, Cyrus in any case knew how to avail himself of the help of a people not yet brought under the power of the Median Empire against the sovereign whom he wished to dethrone. The chronicle records that Cyaxares had been overthrown by a "rising" of his people and had been given up to Cyrus; and this also agrees to a certain point with the account according to which Astyages fell through a conspiracy. Nabunaid certainly records in his inscriptions successful wars of Cyrus against Astyages. However much the subject is obscure, we can at least take it for proved that Cyrus — whether himself a Persian or not — was only able to overthrow the Median royal house by help of the Persians. The whole revolution has no further significance. Since the Medes themselves had taken part in the conspiracy, their position remained untouched, and they were for the future the governing people by the side of the Persians. No difference existed between Median and Persian nobles; the difference between the two peoples was indeed only that between two German tribes. We might thus compare this change of dynasty with the shifting of the German imperial title from the Saxons to the Salians. It is not surprising that Cyrus now designated himself king of the Persians, since he was bound to give the honor and preference to the people who built up his power and supported his claims. But he was soon destined to be more than this, and he made the Persians and Medes the ruling people of the entire East.

After Astyages in the year 550 had been taken prisoner by Cyrus, the latter's empire extended as far as the Lydian frontier. The question suggests itself, what town then became the royal capital of the new empire in place of Ecbatana. If we consider how the Achæmenids tried to represent themselves as the lawful successors of Cyrus, Susa must have been the capital from the very first. In this way Cyrus would have put himself forward as heir to the old Elamitic claims to the sovereignty of the East.

As ruler of the new Medo-Persian Empire he found the conditions existing in foreign politics which had been produced by the treaty between Alyattes and Media. Persia had to share the sovereignty of the Nearer East with Lydia and Babylonia. But while Nabunaid dug for old records and built temples (p. 89), the Lydian Crœsus recognised the altered state of affairs and the danger which had become threatening; he exerted himself to arm the East against the new enemy. He received abundance of promises but no efficient support, and was defeated before his allies, especially Egypt, had roused themselves to an effort (547 or 546; cf. Vol. IV, p. 53). Even the Greeks of Asia Minor shared the fate of their rulers. Cyrus was thus master of Asia Minor also, and could now turn his attention to the other opponent, who expected more help from his gigantic system of fortifications (cf. above, p. 90) than from his power of action. In the year 539 the Babylonian empire also ceased to exist. Cyrus was thus master of the whole Nearer East, for the provinces had then no more notion of resistance than on the fall of Assyria.

We do not know how far Cyrus's power extended to the East, but we may safely assume that his empire was as extensive as under the Achæmenids, and that accordingly the nationalities as far as the Jaxartes and right up to Gedrosia were his subjects.

We are familiar with the story of his death, which he is said to have met in the year 530, in battle with savage tribes on the eastern frontier of his territory,

the other side of the Jaxartes (in the zone of the "Turkish peoples," where other non-Indo-Germanic tribes roamed).

(*c*) *Cambyses; the Magi and the Nobles.* — Cyrus was succeeded by his son Cambyses, who after the capture of Babylon had already governed there as viceroy. We have still fewer trustworthy facts about him than about his father. The Greek accounts, so far as he is concerned, are entirely influenced by the distorting Achæmenid legend which met us in the Behistun inscription of Darius (p. 136).

Of the events of his reign Herodotus relates only the occupation of Egypt (525), by which he revived the conquests of Assarhaddon (p. 73). The account naturally can be traced to the Egyptian point of view. Cambyses in fact, from his natural disposition, had incurred the bitter enmity of the native priesthood by constantly scoffing at their religious ideas; while, on his return from his unsuccessful campaign in Nubia, he even killed a newly found Apis. According to this he must have been an excitable character who, contrary to the habits and notions of the civilized peoples ruled by him, exhibited the simple intolerance of the primitive man in place of the stately dignity of the Oriental despot, and often vented his caprice on what seemed to him foolishness. It is also stated that Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos and lord of an island realm in the Greek archipelago, submitted to him.

While on Egyptian territory Cambyses received the tidings of the rebellion of the pseudo-Bardija, presumably a "Magus," named Gaumata. We can at present only follow the Achæmenid account of him. Was he really only a Ti'le Kolup, and not after all a true brother of Cambyses? However this may be, Bardija was acknowledged in Persia, Media, and elsewhere. We can fix the date of his reign (522) from a number of dated documents from Babylonia. Cambyses had nothing more than his army with which to oppose him. He set out immediately, but, as Darius records, committed suicide on the way. The reasons and motive for this are obscure; the deed may have been due to mental derangement.

We do not know the proper meaning of the term "Magi," and we cannot therefore reach any standpoint in the untrustworthy Achæmenid account from which to judge what the relations of this monarch were to the people and to the now extinct house of Cyrus. This much is clear, that his sovereignty was everywhere acknowledged (even by Persians and Medes), and found a strong body of supporters among the people. It signifies, therefore, a resistance offered by the mass of the people to the development of affairs, necessitated by the conquest of the great civilized countries, through which the hitherto free nations came under the dominion of a king and a nobility. It is expressly stated that Bardija granted a remission of taxation and took measures to check the pretensions of the priesthood which had been favoured by Cyrus.

We must judge the revolt of the Achæmenids according to this. It is distinctly characterised by tradition as a rising of the nobility, but this does not necessarily imply that the whole class took part in it; the already dominant part may have made its peace with the new king.

Darius and his six confederates surprised Bardija-Gaumata in a castle near Ecbatana, and murdered him. Darius was then proclaimed king, and succeeded in holding his own. His plan, therefore, must from the first have found some

support. Atossa, the sister and wife of Cambyses, whom Bardija had tried to put out of his path, was on his side. She became the wife of Darius, and is the first of the Persian queens who played an important rôle in State affairs.

It has been already satisfactorily proved that Darius was not related to Cyrus and his family. He was no Achæmenid (cf. p. 136). The reason, however, why he and the legend circulated in his name asserted this is clear. He wished to be reckoned the lawful heir of the old royal house. Nor is this surprising, if we consider how Cyrus really was the creator of the great Persian Empire. His personality was well adapted to become the theme of a legend, especially in the East, which has always been ready to deify success. The upstart Darius, however, required, in addition to the support afforded by the nobility, whose interests were bound up with his, a tradition which might win him the reverence of the people. Cyrus must have been for Persian legend what David was for Israelitic; and as the first attempt to restore Judah after the exile required a son of David, so a ruler of the Persian Empire was bound to trace back the justification of his claims to Cyrus, whose house was entitled to wear the crown of the new world-empire.

(*d*) *The Rise of the Persian Nationality in the East.* — Whether Cyrus was a Persian or not (cf. p. 136), in any case he felt himself to be king of the Oriental civilized countries, and showed himself in that character. Even Cambyses, as viceroy of Babylon, must have accommodated himself to that position, however uncongenial to his own nature. The sovereignty of Cyrus and Cambyses seemed calculated to guide the new conquerors into the paths which so many peoples had already trodden, whose nationality had been merged in the Babylonian culture or in the other civilizations of the East. Cyrus adopted to a large extent the existing conditions, and provided only his own people with unencumbered estates, so that a nobility devoted to him arose which must soon have been further developed in the same way as the conquerors of earlier centuries.

This could not fail to produce a contrast to the parts of the empire which, more remote from civilization, were still the recruiting grounds of the conquering strength of the people; namely, the eastern countries, more especially Persis. The nobles of these lands were threatened with a loss of their share in the great prizes. Owing to the preponderance of power which their compeers in the western parts of the empire received from the treasures of civilization, they were faced by the danger of being reduced to a position which would only too soon make them members of the ruled instead of the ruling class. It was this nobility which used the opportunity offered them by the interlude of the pretended dominion of the Magi to seize the sovereignty for themselves. This revolution offered them a pretext for opposing an unlawful government and not the monarchy of a Cyrus, against whose policy their undertaking was really aimed. Their attempt, if examined closely, was a rising of the uncivilized East against the West and its predominant class, which was already reverting to the culture of the ancient East.

Granted that the Persians hitherto had been embodied in the empire under Cyrus, and that their nobles, so far as they adapted themselves to the conditions, had received their share in the booty with their compeers from the other nations, they now made themselves the ruling class. It was by the exploit of the Seven that the new empire came under a really Indo-Germanic rule. Cyrus had adapted himself to the old conditions, but the nature of the conquerors now asserted itself.

This protest of the Indo-Germanic spirit, or the Persian, as we may call it after this victory, against the policy of a Cyrus now finds an outward expression in the employment of the Persian language for official inscriptions, while Cyrus can hardly have allowed anything to be written except in the old accustomed languages. It is further expressed in the promotion of Persepolis to be the royal city by the side of Susa, which Cyrus had selected as the capital of his empire, so closely bound up with old tradition (p. 137). This protest is finally exhibited in the stress laid on the Aryan Ahuramazda (Ormuz) cult as the religion of the ruling people, and as the religion of the empire, in opposition to the policy of a Cyrus, who had allowed the religious ideas and institutions of the western half of the empire to be in the ascendency.

(*e*) *The Avesta.*— The East, which thus had conquered the West, is still completely shrouded from us in darkness. All that we know of it is only learnt at the close of the Persian Empire, on Alexander's expedition. It is the proper home of the Aryans, that is, the country where the tribes with whom we are here concerned found their widest expansion and still further developed their characteristics. The valley of the Indus on the east, and more to the north the ranges which shut off Central Asia, form the natural boundary.

The spiritual side of these Indo-Germanic stocks is to some extent rendered familiar to us by the Avesta. The book, which is extant under this name, was not reduced to its present form until the Sassanids, and was only then first promoted to be the code of a rigid national religion. From its form, which contains old elements (especially the Gathas, or ancient songs), and from its advancement to a canon, it may be compared with the Bible and its importance for Judaism. All that remains to us is only a portion of a lost and larger work, which in its entirety was for the Aryan nations something similar to what the Vedas were for their Indian kinsmen.

The Avesta is the sacred book of the Ahuramazda religion, the official religion of the Persian kings, which naturally did not yet possess the high culture in which the code of the Sassanids knew it. The Achæmenids showed themselves the representatives of the East, as opposed to the West, which accepted the ancient cults, by the fact that they continued in the religion of their fathers, and assigned the first place to that. They and the Persians prayed to Ahuramazda, and the inscriptions of Darius and his successors mention no other gods. In this way they are at one with the Aryan peoples of the East, and feel the contrast with the governed West.

But if the Avesta, in its present form, bears somewhat the same relation to its earlier form that the priestly code bears to Jahvists, or Malachi to Amos, a distinction must be drawn between the home of this Avesta and the old Persia, which had the same religion as that to which the basis of the existing development in the Avesta is traced. The Avesta has come to us in a dialect which is indeed closely allied with that of the old Persian inscriptions, but is still of another country; so for its home we must look further toward the East. The historical events which explain its importance are obscure to us; but the splendour of the Persian Empire where an Aryan people ruled may not have been without some effect on it. The Iranic legend expresses this when it invents an old Bactrian realm which waged incessant wars for many centuries with the peoples of the East, the Turanians. There, under a king "Vistaspa," Zarathustra was the prophet of Ahuramazda.

The name "Vistaspa" is, by a hardly fortuitous coincidence, the same as that of Darius's father. It is certainly significant of the reflected glory and fame of the Persian Empire in the Far East that the father of the head of the Persian dynasty was represented as ruling in the country where the origin of the Avesta was certainly known. This is how the Oriental legend expresses itself when it wishes to state that the region where the religion and its code have been developed is also the home of the people which dominates the Orient. Even if the legend can thus be explained, and if it gives us a possible clue to the existance of an intellectual and cultured life in which the Avesta was developed, nevertheless all details of this development are still obscure, and above all the fact that under the Sassanids it had been adopted in this form as a legal code. The ancient Aryan religion in the West, in its contact with civilization, may have possibly succumbed to its influence, and the opposition to the Parthian administration, which gave free play to these influences, may have been forced to derive its strength also from the East.

(*f*) *Darius.* — The Persian Empire was a creation of Cyrus; the rule of the Persians, that is, of the nobility of the East, still uninfluenced by civilization, was founded in this empire by Darius (in Persian *Dârayavaush*). This new sovereignty was not yet secure in spite of the *coup de main.* Rebellions broke out in all the large countries, which had to be suppressed before the new lord with his fellow-conspirators could enjoy his success. The insurgents everywhere appealed to the ancient empires which had existed in the countries concerned, and tried to prove themselves genuine descendants of the former dynasties. Darius records these insurrections and their suppression in his great Behistun inscription. At Susa a certain Athrina appeared who attempted to gain support from the old Elamitic population, and wished to revive the ancient empire of Elam. He was quickly crushed by a Persian army. Nidintu-Bel asserted himself for a longer period; he was acknowledged in Babylon under the style of Nebuchadnezzar III, and documents dated from his reign have been preserved. A second revolt in Susiana, under Martija, who called himself Ummanis, king of Susa, was stifled at the outset. The most dangerous was the opposition in Media, where Phraortes, probably an actual scion of the old royal house, proclaimed himself king, and was also recognized by the Hyrcanians living to the east of Media and the Parthians. He was taken prisoner by Darius himself, after the Persian armies had fought several times against him without success. Almost at the same time insurrections broke out in Babylon under a second pseudo-Nebuchadnezzar, in Armenia, Margiana (Merv), Persis, in the Far East, where a new pseudo-Bardija arose, and among the Sagarthi. These last insurrections must have expressed the opposition of the Aryan peoples to the newly founded dominion of the Persian nobility, since they now were in almost the same position under the dominion of a Darius, as, shortly before, the latter and his partisans had been under the power of the house of Cyrus.

While the empire was exposed to these shocks, the provincial governors in the West were always greatly tempted to repudiate the new rule and make themselves independent. Oroctes, the satrap of Sardes, made this attempt, but Darius got rid of him by murder. Aryandes, the equally suspected satrap of Egypt, who had, however, been appointed by Cambyses, was soon afterward removed. A demand for

submission seems to have been also sent to Carthage (cf. further on the history of Carthage, p. 177), but without result, although the interests of Carthage in the hostility against the Greek world which was now showing itself forced it to adopt in a certain degree the same policy as Persia.

Herodotus, in whose narrative the official statements of the Persian government find expression, represented Darius as the creator of a completely new and organised administration for the new empire, — being, like Charlemagne, a lawmaker and regulator on his own initiative, — in contradistinction to a fickle despotism which was supposed to have hitherto existed. Up to this time merely "presents" had been made to the king, henceforward a fixed tribute was paid. The Persians indeed merely took over the administration of the Babylonians, and they that of the Assyrians. The tribute was naturally strictly regulated at all times, and Darius made no sweeping alterations in the terms and incidents of dependence. The only difference between the Persian satraps and the Assyrian governors consisted in the far more considerable extent of the separate satrapies, which may have been due partly to the wider expanse of the empire, partly perhaps to the number of noble families sharing in the government. It is quite natural that according to Oriental notions Darius, who obtained this power for the Persians, was also regarded as the creator of the administrative system. Any reforms, however, that he made in the entire method of administration can be mainly referred to the fact that he filled the important posts with his noble adherents in order to give them the promised share in the prizes won by their common effort. The difference from the earlier system consisted in the point that now large satrapies were instituted, while Cyrus had still confined himself to the smaller Assyrian jurisdictions. This and the execution of the requisite measures were due to Darius.

It is also improbable that the position of the population of the empire had changed from what it was earlier. The process of extortion was left indeed by preference to the native authorities, who were responsible for the collection of the taxes. A Persian administration only existed for the affairs of the satrapy, as under the Assyrians,[1] while for the administration of the communities, and thus for the momentous economic questions, everything was left in the hands of the old locally regulated organisations.

From this point onward we have no native accounts of Persian history, but only the Greek narrative, so that we are merely informed of the incidents on the Mediterranean, that is to say, of the wars with Greeks and Egyptians, or with such as indirectly affected these. We are not in a position to ascertain the general facts which modified the history of Persia, but can on the whole only see matters in the light in which they appeared to the Greek observer, but not as they showed themselves in Susa.

When Greece offered a successful resistance to the Persian attempts at conquest, it seems to us to be something marvellous; but we do not know what may have occurred concurrently on other frontiers of the country, and may have prevented Persia from employing her full forces in the West. It must be realised that the struggle was hardly ever carried on with the total forces of Persia, but

[1] Since these had small provinces, the governors of which were immediately responsible to the king, the local administration was equally in Assyrian hands, and was bound occasionally to consider the advantage of the taxpayer, a fact for which we have evidence.

with her most westerly subjects; usually it was only a struggle between Greeks and one or more satraps of Asia Minor, so that we cannot estimate the comparative strength of the forces by those of Greece and of the Persian Empire. This is partially true even of the expedition of Xerxes in 480 B. C., for the decisive blow was struck at Salamis. At sea the Persian Empire had only the smallest part of its forces available, for, like Assyria, it did not possess a fleet, but was dependent for one on Phœnicia and the maritime States of Asia Minor. Greece would doubtless have been a rich prize and would have given Persia a profitable province. But let us also realise to ourselves that at Susa the resistance of the Greeks did not cause any more excitement than some Armenian revolt, in fact, that at the time nothing more was thought of it than of one of the disturbances which were unceasingly occurring on every frontier. At Susa it was impossible to judge Greece according to the importance which it afterward acquired for the history of mankind.

The empire of Darius, according to our view, differed from its predecessors merely in the fact that Persians actually governed it. So long as it was vigorous it sought to conquer, and when it could no longer conquer it was approaching its fall. It existed two centuries in all, and therefore not actually so long as many other similar powers which rose and fell. Darius had hardly placed himself securely on the old seat of power when, in conformity with the nature of his empire, he planned new conquests. At first an advance was made toward the East. In the Behistun inscription "India" is not yet mentioned as a province, although it certainly is in a later one from Persepolis, and in the inscription on Darius's tomb at Naqsh-i-Rustam. This obviously can at most only refer to the country round the Indus.

The next undertaking was the Scythian expedition (circa 515). It must have ended without results, as almost every campaign against nomads; but Darius would hardly have plunged into an adventurous expedition without having received some information as to the task awaiting him. At any rate, the real size of the tract from the mouth of the Danube to the Caucasus can hardly have been known; still it is likely that the people of the Nearer East knew more of barbarian countries than Greek writers would lead us to believe. Darius had seen in the Russian steppes the home of masses of peoples, which finally threatened his own territories, and he regarded an attack as the best means of keeping them off. Herodotus informs us of the course of the expedition. The fleet was furnished by the Asiatic Greeks. The Bosphorus was crossed, presumably on a bridge; so, too, was the Danube. There were no victories to be won over an enemy which would not face a battle. So in the end Darius, after heavy losses through hunger, thirst, and sickness, had to return. It is known that he was saved by Histiæus of Miletus and the other Greek tyrants, who had resisted the proposal of Miltiades that the bridge should be broken down.

Even if the expedition into the regions north of the Danube had resulted in no tangible success, still the frontiers of the empire had been secured and expanded, for Thrace and the district south of the Danube were permanently subjugated. The king of Macedonia also submitted, and the islands of Lemnos and Imbros were conquered. Thus the Greeks in Europe, surrounded on every important side, were the next object of Persian conquest. The complications which led to the commencement of hostilities bear precisely the same character

as those which have often met us in the relations of Oriental empires to their neighbours. As a rule, internal dissensions and the attempts to help banished kings offered a welcome opportunity to lend "assistance," which finally ended with the annexation of the land in question (we may compare the instances from Greek history of Histiæus and others in Asia, down to Themistocles and Cimon in Europe). Intimate relations had always existed, and in Persia information as to Greek affairs was obtained from the best sources. Oriental diplomacy was, at least, a match for Greek acuteness.

A pretext for the attack on Greece was furnished in 500 by the Athenian support of the Ionic revolt (cf. Vol. IV, p. 57), since Athenian troops took part in the expedition which destroyed Sardes. After suppression of the revolt (about 495) and the destruction of Miletus, Mardonius attempted to advance against Greece itself, and actually subdued the northwestern Archipelago, but was checked in his advance by the disaster to his fleet off Mount Athos. A second and a larger fleet was sent two years later under Datis and Artaphernes. This conquered Naxos, destroyed Eretria in Eubœa, which also had supported the Ionic revolt, and landed in Attica, where the army was defeated at Marathon by the Athenians under Miltiades (490). The attempt to reinstate Hippias as tyrant in Athens had miscarried.

Egypt had remained tranquil under Darius, since he, in contrast to Cambyses, appears to have understood how to conciliate the priests. Something was even done by him for the improvement of the country. An inscription of his, which was found during the construction of the Suez Canal, proves that he had constructed or repaired a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea. In the year 486 matters came to a revolt, during which a certain Chabbash styled himself King of Egypt. Darius died during the revolt (485), which was suppressed in 484. According to Herodotus, Egypt was after this more heavily burdened, a fact which is thoroughly in keeping with the customs of Oriental policy. Achæmenes, brother of the new king, became satrap.

(*g*) *Xerxes and his Successors.* — Under Xerxes (485–465) a revolution broke out at Babylon, which still regretted the loss of its old independence. The name of Shamash-irba, who was then proclaimed "King of Babylon," is recorded in inscriptions. The city must have been captured by storm, so that we may connect with this the long siege, to which Herodotus has attached the legend of Zopyrus, so frequently recurring throughout the East. The capture must have occurred after the return of Xerxes from Greece. It is expressly recorded that he then destroyed the great terraced tower of the temple of Marduk. The privileged position of Babylon had been hitherto respected by the Persian kings. It had voluntarily surrendered to Cyrus, but Darius had, after various rebellions, left its old constitution. He had (according to Herodotus, Bk. I, c. 183) wished to carry off the statue of Marduk, but had not, however, ventured on this action. Xerxes was the first to do so. This signifies, as we know, the abandonment of the claim to a distinct kingdom; in fact, Xerxes and his successors henceforth no longer styled themselves "King of Babylon," while Darius had still borne this title.

The Greek campaign was the execution of a scheme already planned by Darius as vengeance for Marathon. We are not able on the basis of our present authorities to take up a standpoint which will be fair to the Persians. All that the Greek

accounts, carried away by the unexpected and great success, tell us distinctly shows in so many points an extravagance of glorification, that it cannot serve as the foundation for a more sober criticism. If, after stripping off all exaggerations, we still think that the Persian army numbered at least a million, the strong objection certainly remains unanswered, how it could have been possible to provide for the commissariat of such a multitude (a difficulty hardly to be surmounted with railroads) on the march through partly uncivilized countries. Again, the composition of the army can hardly be correctly stated in our account. It may well have been motley enough; but Xerxes was certainly not so foolish as to drag with him a train of inadequately armed men, mere hindrances to his advance. From want of native records we have no very exact knowledge on the point; but are we to suppose that the mercenary armies of Assyria and Babylonia were forgotten? By whom, then, were the Asiatic Greeks and the Lydians conquered? The victory of the Greeks on land is explained by the superior attacking power of the Greek heavy-armed soldiers, as opposed to the Oriental method of fighting and equipment which was not adapted to a regular hand-to-hand battle. At sea the Persian fleet was indisputably superior in numbers, although the relative size of the two fleets could not have been exactly what the Greeks narrated; but this advantage was counterbalanced by the want of a skilful commander. The ships were furnished entirely by the tributary States, the Phœnicians, and the maritime States of Asia Minor, to whom no competent commander-in-chief from headquarters could be assigned; and the manning the ships with land troops could not fail to give the experienced Greek sailors the advantage from the first.

The Greeks have established their fame, and mankind has at all times had cause to rejoice in the turn of fortune at Salamis and Platæa. But their deeds and their successes are not so entirely unparalleled in the history of the East; even the insignificant little island of Tyre was never conquered by the arms of the great Assyro-Babylonian Empire. Still, their glory was great. It is idle for us to attempt to form an estimate of Xerxes and his rôle from Greek accounts: we must wait for Persian records to speak on the point. The Greek legend cannot, however, be blamed if it wished to represent the justly hated oppressor as the foolish despot; but the thought that may underlie it is shown, for example, by the anecdote of the sacrifice of the nine boys and girls on the Strymon. Xerxes was neither more nor less capable of doing this than the representative of a modern civilized State.

The end of the Greek expedition marks the turning point in the history of Persia. States built up on conquests must advance, or they recede. With 479 the retrogression of the Persian Empire begins. It must always be remembered in this connection that we have no information as to the occurrences on the other borders of the empire; we may, however, reasonably assume that under Cyrus and Darius the Persian supremacy in the Far East was more securely established than we find it in the time of Alexander. Victorious Greece at once crossed over to the attack. The European Greeks must, it is true, have been first encouraged by the insular Greeks to pursue the Persians, but after that they annihilated the Persian fleet at Mycale. The islands and the Thracian coast were now almost entirely recovered from the Persians. Henceforth Persia never made any serious attacks on Greece; but it had, indeed, to defend itself against the aggression of the latter, until it finally succumbed to Hellenism.

The war of aggrandisement by Greece was at first continued under the leadership of Sparta, in Cyprus to begin with, and then under the walls of Byzantium. After the capture of this latter town, in which a number of noble Persians were taken prisoners, Xerxes attempted to get the better of the Greeks in the way in which the Orientals have so often got the better of many an unconquered people: he made overtures to the man who seemed to him the representative of the Greek people, since he commanded the Greek army, — Pausanias. But this latter conducted his negotiations so imprudently that no result followed except danger to himself. Sparta then as a land power withdrew from the war, which thereupon must have become a naval war. The command, therefore, came to Athens (476). The European coast was gradually wrested from the Persians. Cimon liberated the Greek towns on the Carian and Lycian coasts. The Persian fleet was completely destroyed on the Eurymedon in Pamphylia, and a victory was gained on land also. Soon after this eighty ships were captured from the Persians off Cyprus, so that these now had been forced to yield to the Greeks in their own waters.

Xerxes was murdered about this time (465). This was the result of one of the private palace intrigues, and the accounts, as usual, do not enable us to be clear about its deeper causes. Artaxerxes, the youngest of the sons of Xerxes, was raised to the throne, his elder brother Darius being put out of the way at the time. The king-maker was Artabanus, the captain of the body guard (see the inserted illustration, "The Body Guard of the Persian Kings"), who was soon afterward himself removed by Artaxerxes.

Artaxerxes Macrocheir ("Longhand") reigned from 465 to 424. From this point onward we have no longer a tolerably connected account of Persian history even from the Greek standpoint, and therefore are chiefly dependent on the narration of isolated occurrences. During this reign Themistocles came to the court of Persia, and knew how to pose before the king as the man by whose help Greece might be subjugated.

Soon after the commencement of this reign the second rebellion in Egypt broke out under Inarus, the son of Psammetich, a Libyan prince, who called in the help of the Athenians (circa 460). These had undertaken a renewed attack on Cyprus, whence they sailed to Egypt, drove back the Persians with their partisans into the citadel of Memphis, and besieged them there. Persia tried, in the first place by diplomatic negotiations with Sparta, to compel the Athenians to withdraw. When that method proved ineffectual, a strong army was sent out under Megabyzus, and Egypt was conquered. The Athenian auxiliaries were annihilated, and a similar fate befell a subsequent detachment of fifty ships. Inarus fell into the hands of the Persians, and was crucified; his son, however, was taken into favour, and received back the province of his father. Amyrtæus, who had also called in the Athenians, and had obtained a detachment of sixty ships from Cimon in Cyprus, which, however, soon returned without success, maintained his position in the swamps of the Delta. Cimon fell in Cyprus at the siege of Citium, the stronghold of the Phœnicians on the island. The siege was in consequence raised, but another victory both by sea and land was won (449).

The peace between Athens and Persia must have been concluded soon afterward. It is a moot point whether this "peace of Cimon" was really solemnly ratified, or whether the war had gradually died out and the actual strength of the

THE BODY GUARD OF THE PERSIAN KINGS

(A frieze on the walls of the three Verandas of the *Apadana* (audience-hall) of Darius Hysdaspis, on the citadel of Susa.)

The surface of the frieze, which is six feet high, represents the Susan division of the Guard of Darius, the "Ten Thousand Immortals." The brown guards are marching in single file. They wear the prescribed full-dress uniform; gold rings in the ears and round the wrists, laced shoes and bare legs; on their heads the Susan turban of plaited reeds in place of the Persian *kidaris*. They are dressed in a shirt, coat, and short jerkin; the shirt has wide sleeves, which hang down through the sleeves of the coat which are slashed to the elbow. The coats, which are of rich patterns with embroidered borders, are alternately yellow and white; the shirts are dark purple and yellow. Their equipment consists of bow, quiver, and short spear, with a silver pomegranate at its lower extremity. (One thousand of the guards carried spears with golden pomegranates.)

The frieze, like all the front surfaces of the *Apadana* building, is composed of glazed and coloured tiles, on which the figures are executed in quite flat and plain relief. Since the tiles were manufactured wholesale, the design of all the figures is identical; there is only a difference in the colouring of the glaze. There are traces on the frieze of inscriptions which contain the names of Darius and Otanes (*Utâna Thukhraja-putra*). Mdme. Jane Dieulafoy, in January 1886, found thousands of these glazed tiles used to fill up the foundations of the new building erected by Artaxerxes Mnemon on the site of the *Apadana* of Darius, which was burnt down in the year 440. The portion of the frieze represented in the picture was constructed in 1891 out of the best preserved tiles, and is now in the Louvre.

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THE BODY GUARD OF THE PERSIAN KINGS.

(After Marcel Dieulafoy, L'Acropole de Suse; painted by M. Kühnert.)

two sides had been considered. Athens, at any rate, renounced by it her claims on Egypt and Cyprus. On the other hand, the coast of Asia Minor and the Greek towns on the Black Sea were free. Notwithstanding the peace, there were constant small complications and *coups de main*. Thus Samos was lost to the Athenian confederacy in 440, when a party of the nobles with Persian help took possession of the island. It was, however, reconquered. In the same way Colophon was played into the hands of the Persians by the Persian party, but it also was retaken by Athens. At the outset of the Peloponnesian war, the Spartans as well as the Athenians tried to obtain Persian subsidies, but unsuccessfully.

In the empire itself Megabyzus, the conqueror of Egypt, revolted against Artaxerxes in Syria; but in the end this rebellion also was quelled by peaceful means. The accounts now begin to record the political interference of the ladies of the palace; but not much reliance can be placed on the gossip of Ctesias, the Greek physician at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Xerxes II, son of Artaxerxes, was murdered by one of his half-brothers after a reign of only a month and a half (424), and this latter in his turn was ousted after six months by his brother Ochus, satrap of Hyrcania. Ochus assumed the name of Darius II, and was surnamed Nothus, as being the half-blood son of Artaxerxes; he reigned from 424 to 405. Ctesias marks out from the very beginning his sister and wife, Parysatis, as the chief promoter of all intrigues. It is clearly proved that she had a share in the rebellion of Cyrus against his brother. His brother Arsites and a son of Megabyzus in Syria rose against Darius. Arsites was taken prisoner owing to the corruption of his Greek mercenaries, and was put to death at the instigation of Parysatis. The third Egyptian revolt broke out in 410. By this effort Egypt was freed for more than sixty years from the Persian supremacy. The satrap Pissuthnes revolted in Sardes; he was crushed by Tissaphernes. His son Amorges, supported by the Athenians, held his own in Caria.

After the disaster to the Athenians in Sicily (413), a favourable opportunity was presented to Tissaphernes to reconquer the Ionic towns. He, as well as his rival, Pharnabazus, the satrap of Northern Asia Minor (Phrygia), jointly called in the Spartans in order to deprive the Athenians of the towns on the coast. But the interests of the Persians and Spartans were far too distinct to render possible any course of energetic joint action. The Athenians finally left off with so distinct an advantage that Pharnabazus was compelled to renounce his readiness to escort Athenian envoys to the court in order to negotiate a treaty there.

At this same time, however, a revolution occurred. Tissaphernes was removed from his satrapy, and only retained the towns on the coast. In his place Cyrus, the younger son of Darius Nothus, was appointed to be satrap of Lydia, Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia, and carried out a vigorous policy toward the Athenians and strongly supported the Spartans. At the same time, Lysander received the supreme command, and he soon concluded the war with the gold of his ally.

We are told of an insurrection of the Medes in the heart of the empire during the year 410. Ctesias also records a revolt of Terituches, whose sister Stateira was married to Arsicas, the eldest son of the king. After his fall, enmity rankled between the queen mother Parysatis and Stateira. In the year 405 Darius Nothus died, and his son Arsicas mounted the throne as Artaxerxes II Mnemon. Cyrus, summoned by his mother, whose favourite he was, came too late. He was arrested at the advice of Tissaphernes, but released at the instance of Parysatis and sent

back to his satrapy, in order to make the preparations that were to be anticipated. Cyrus's first move was to seize the towns of his opponent Tissaphernes, a war of one satrap against another. He then collected an army of Greek mercenaries, and marched with it (401), secretly supported by the Spartans, into the heart of the empire in order to depose his brother. This is the well-known march described in the "Anabasis" of Xenophon. The inability of the empire to resist a Greek army was now plainly revealed. The thirteen thousand Greek mercenaries defeated the immense army of the king at Cunaxa, in the province of Babylon. But Cyrus fell in the battle, and the throne of Artaxerxes was saved. On former occasions the Greeks in the employ of Persia would have then imparted fresh strength to the helpless colossus, but now they had seen into the real nature of the dreaded foe, and were completely disillusioned. They knew now that in the heart of the empire whole districts and tribes, especially in the mountains, did not acknowledge the Persian suzerainty. The open quarrels of the satraps showed distinctly enough the commencing dissolution, and offered welcome opportunities to the advance of the restless Greeks.

The palace intrigues at court were only intensified by the death of Cyrus, since Parysatis could not be reconciled to the loss of her beloved son, and contrived gradually to remove out of her path all those concerned in it, and among them the momentarily triumphant Stateira, who was poisoned. Artaxerxes II, it is true, then banished his mother, but soon called her back again. The satrapies of Cyrus were given to his rival Tissaphernes, who had conducted the defence during the great rebellion. Sparta, from the support given to Cyrus, was already hostile to him; so when he demanded the fulfilment of the conditions on which help had been furnished by Persia in the shape of a surrender of the Greek towns of Asia Minor, the result was war (401), which Sparta carried on in Asia Minor especially by help of the survivors of the Ten Thousand. The two parties were, generally speaking, pulled to and fro, while the two Persian satraps, Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, tried each to shift the responsibility for the war on the other. It was conducted in a more military fashion after 396, under the supreme command of the Spartan king, Agesilaus, who won a great victory at Sardes in 394, although no decisive results were obtained from it. In the meanwhile Parysatis had succeeded in bringing the hated Tissaphernes into disfavour at court; he was replaced by Tithraustes and afterward executed. The struggle was prolonged by the wiles of the two satraps and by negotiations, until Agesilaus was recalled to Europe.

In the meanwhile the tide had changed to the disadvantage of Sparta. The Athenian, Conon, had fled to Euagoras in Cyprus after the defeat at Ægospotami, and had induced Pharnabazus to fit out a fleet for him in order to be able to carry on war against Sparta by sea. At first being hindered by remissness in payment of the subsidies, he went himself to the court, secured the conferment of supreme command of the fleet to Pharnabazus, which meant to himself in reality, and defeated the Spartans at Cnidus (394). The result of the victory was the overthrow of the Spartan naval power and the restoration of the Athenian under the protection of Pharnabazus. Athens held her own by the help of Persia, and Persia could not play any part on the sea without Athenian guidance. On land Sparta continued for a long time to be the chief military power. During the never-ending plots and schemes at the Persian court, Tiribazus, the satrap of Sardes, who

adopted the policy of Tissaphernes, was able once more to come to the front and to bring Conon into disfavour. The latter fled to Euagoras in Cyprus, where he soon afterward died. But Struthas, who again supported Athens, was finally appointed satrap in Sardes. Thus there were incessant disputes, intrigues, and counter-intrigues, until at last it was settled by the "peace of Antalcidas" in 387, that the Asiatic towns belonged to Persia, but that the islands and all other Greek States should be autonomous. The peace was published in the form of a decree of the Great King, who was considered and named as the guarantor of its provisions, and who undertook to execute all its conditions to the full.

Cyprus was expressly acknowledged in the treaty to be Persian territory. In reality it was practically independent, since Euagoras had united the Greek elements throughout the island in a common war against the Phœnicians, and was king of the island. His loyalty to the supreme feudal lord must soon have appeared doubtful. An attack was therefore made on him in 390. He offered a stout resistance, being openly aided by Athens, until, after the peace of Antalcidas, Persia took more rigorous measures to bring him to submission, as he was daily becoming more dangerous and commanded the sea as far as Egypt, and had actually firmly established himself at Tyre (cf. below, p. 160). He was defeated, but was able to obtain favourable terms of peace. Not long after he was murdered. Cyprus, under his successors, broke up again into different small States.

In the expedition of Artaxerxes against the Kadusi, a nation of mountaineers southwest of the Caspian Sea, his large army met a reverse which was like that of Salamis; he was surrounded and had to pay ransom. Egypt, really independent, still resisted Persian attempts at subjugation. A more vigorous attack was made, when Pharnabazus (376) was placed at the head of a larger army. Chabrias, the Athenian general, who had hitherto commanded the Greek mercenaries in Egypt, was recalled at the suggestion of Pharnabazus, who himself advanced into Egypt with an army of mercenaries under Iphicrates. He did not, however, accomplish much in the end, since regard for the continual change of feeling at court rendered any vigorous conduct of the campaign impossible. The results of the instability of Artaxerxes were seen toward the end of his reign in a series of revolts, of which that of Ariobarzanes in the Hellespontine satrapy and that of Datames in Cappadocia were the most formidable. Mausolus also, the prince of Caria, maintained a loyalty which was not always above suspicion. At last even Tachus, the king of Egypt, assumed the aggressive, since he adopted the old policy of the Pharaohs of the conquest of Syria. He advanced as far as Phœnicia, being supported by an army of Greek mercenaries under Chabrias, and by the Spartans under the veteran Agesilaus. But when his nephew Nectanebus had himself been proclaimed king in Egypt he was forced to take refuge with the Persians; and he became utterly powerless and inactive.

(*h*) *The Last Rally of Persia.*—When Artaxerxes's death was imminent his son Ochus, favoured by Atossa, whom, though his own sister, Artaxerxes had married at the instance of Parysatis (for marriage with a sister, daughter, and even mother can be found in the history of the royal house of Persia; cf. p. 232), had contrived to remove his brothers out of his path and to secure the throne for himself (359). The reign of this energetic Artaxerxes III Ochus (358–338) marks a last rally of Persia. His actions show that he did not hesitate to carry out his ends after

the methods of a true Oriental monarch by unscrupulous bloodshed and merciless wars.

He had first to deal with the revolts in the empire. Our accounts of them are vague and incomplete, but it is so far clear that the king was more successful than his predecessor. Artabazus, the satrap of the Hellespontine province, and Orontes on the coast of Asia Minor could not hold their own, notwithstanding occasional help given by the Greeks. In Greece there appears to have been alarm at the energy of the Great King from the very first, and it was debated whether the aggressive ought not to be assumed against him. Demosthenes was compelled to warn the Greeks against breaking with him without good cause (in the "De Symmoriis," 354 B. C.).

In Egypt, at first, even under his rule no success was gained, and the revolt, as formerly was the case under Tachus, spread once more to Palestine. We have very little information about the causes, but the revolt of Sidon and of the nine kings of Cyprus, as well as an allusion to a chastisement of Jerusalem, prove that we here meet with phenomena similar to those presented by the revolts of Palestine against Assyria, which were supported by Egyptian help. Sidon was especially conspicuous this time. Ochus finally took over the chief command himself, and advanced into Syria with a powerful army, in which some ten thousand Greek mercenaries were included.

Sidon received aid from Rhodes under Mentor, but when the Persian marched against them, Mentor and Tennes, king of Sidon, entered into negotiations. The details are obscure. Sidon was surrendered and a terrible punishment inflicted on it. The remaining Phœnicians then submitted. There must also have been wars in Judæa. Egypt finally, after having resisted for so long, was subjugated and became once more a Persian province (344). Very severe measures were adopted toward it, and Ochus seems to have outraged Egyptian sentiments in the brutal fashion of a Cambyses. Cyprus also was again subjugated under the command of Idrieus, the prince of Caria.

The power, however, was already dawning which was fated to crush Persia. It was seen in Susa that Philip of Macedon must become dangerous so soon as he had realised his object of the conquest of Greece. An alliance was therefore made with Athens in order to take measures against him. The capture of Perinthus by Philip was prevented by the joint action of Athens and Persia. But the battle of Chæronea (B. C. 338) coincided almost exactly with the death of Artaxerxes. This made Philip master of Greece, and created conditions by which the Greek world and Hellenism were impelled to attack Persia in Asia.

Artaxerxes is said to have been murdered by Bagoas, who placed Arses, the youngest of the king's sons, on the throne, only to slay him in turn when he seemed to be contemplating action against his major-domo (336). In the meanwhile a Macedonian army had advanced into Asia Minor, but its further progress was checked by the murder of Philip.

(*i*) *The End of the Persian Empire.* — After the death of Arses, Bagoas placed a distant relation of the murdered man, Codomannus, a great-grandson of Darius Nothus, on the throne. He reigned from 336 to 330, under the title of Darius III Codomannus. But this time the king-maker did not escape his fate; he was soon put out of the way by Darius. Darius was the last king of Persia.

We cannot form any notion of his character from the records; at any rate, he was not in a position to do anything to prevent the fall of the empire. A vigorous nature might, perhaps, have been able to raise an efficient mercenary army and resist Alexander, but Darius did not do that. The great empire became the booty of Hellenism. The disruption had begun, as we have seen, soon after the defeat at Salamis; a proof, indeed, of the nature of the much-lauded "organisation" by the first Darius. Even at that time Persia would have been unable to offer any further resistance to a serious attack. The Ten Thousand of Xenophon would in themselves have been enough to overthrow the Persian monarchy if they had a competent general; now, when at last a powerful antagonist, with a definite aim before him, appeared on the scene, the booty fell without trouble into his hands. It was a great success, which Alexander enjoyed, but it was not a great exploit to overthrow the empire already tottering to its fall. The history of the Ancient East has shown us numerous examples of similar conquests. All the many revolutions which have brought to the East its various populations are on a level with the Hellenistic conquests, although the glory of their leaders is not sung so loudly as that of the representative of the foremost civilized people in the western world. The result of this conquest was not then decisive; the East was indeed conquered by the arms of the Greeks, but it resisted its civilization, and it finally drove out the conquerors once more.

The events of the conquests of Alexander the Great do not belong to the history of Persia (cf. Vol. IV, p. 111, etc.). We now receive all our information from Greek sources, so that we are not qualified to draw any correct picture of the aspect which matters may have presented viewed from the Persian standpoint. Alexander, after the battle on the Granicus (B. C. 334), did not at first find any resistance, and the hopes of the Persians were really placed on the Rhodian Memnon, who, as commander of the Persian fleet, threatened to be dangerous to Alexander. After his death (cf. Vol. IV, p. 115), when the Persian Pharnabazus took his place, the fleet ceased to be formidable. The defeat at Issus (333) is hardly astonishing; it is the ordinary picture often shown by the battles between the great Oriental armies, whose chief strategy consisted in running away, and the serried ranks of the attacking Greeks. It speaks clearly enough for the impotence of Persia that Alexander was able to subdue Syria and Egypt, and by occupying the greater part of the Mediterranean basin to secure for himself a wide base of operations before he turned against the East. The last scene was played at Gaugamela, in the old Assyria, in 331. Darius fled to Media, while Alexander seized Babylon and Susa, the two capitals of the civilized countries. When he pursued Darius to Media, the latter fled eastward, still accompanied by a strong army, which, however, with the exception of the Greek mercenaries (cf. Vol. IV, p. 123) was thoroughly untrustworthy. Darius III was captured by Bessus, the satrap of Bactria, who did so, it would seem, in order to make use of the king's person for definite objects, — perhaps the formation of a "Bactrian empire." Darius was murdered when Alexander had almost overtaken the fugitives (middle of 330 B. C.). Just as after the death of Cambyses, fresh "kings" now arose in the separate divisions of the country. The first was Bessus himself, who was able to hold his own in Bactria until Alexander had conquered the East; another was Baryaxes, who rose up in Media when Alexander was in India, but was thrown into prison by the satrap of Media.

D. The Persian Spirit as the Closing Scene in the Development of Culture in Nearer Asia

The Persian Empire from its wars with the Greek world stood henceforth in the full light of history. The empire of the Achæmenids appears before us in the brilliance which it displayed to the Greek historian. But looked at from East instead of from West, it appears in a completely different aspect. That which seemed to the Greek the irresistibly powerful heir to a civilized world, shrouded in mysterious darkness and possessing inexhaustible riches, lies clear before us in its evolution. We know that it was neither the first, nor the most lasting, nor most powerful, although perhaps the most extensive phenomenon of its kind. Many a conquest of similar nature had been seen and absorbed by the old civilized world of the East. Even the Persian régime was not able to change its character fundamentally, and did not exert more influence on it than any one of the great and well known conquests.

The sharp division which we were partially able to recognise in the evolution of a western and an eastern Persia, a result of the conquest of highly civilized countries by peoples which were still in the early stages of society, and further the reconciliation of the Persian families who were at the head of affairs with the Medes and the ruling powers of the subjugated provinces, all clearly show that the dominant power claimed nothing beyond a purely political conquest of the vanquished countries. Some Persian nobles supplanted refractory rulers of the old population, and one or two Persian officials governed the provinces. But substantially nothing was changed. A Persian or other Indo-Germanic migration, which might have introduced a new population into the old civilized countries, was kept back, after the great flood of nations had once been checked through the organisation of a Persian empire by Cyrus. The fact that Darius, although he had at first taken advantage of successful efforts in this direction, could no longer submit to them when king, is only one of those innumerable phenomena in history where circumstances are more powerful than men, even when they have had the very best intention.

Thus only that portion of the empire had become Persian or Indo-Germanic which had been struck by the wave of migrating Aryan hordes before they yet formed a firm union; that is to say, while they had not yet become aware of the power of the civilization which they wished to conquer. These countries were precisely those which had not possessed a superior civilization of their own, namely, the eastern districts. When, however, the Aryans had come within the mystic circle of the Babylonian culture, into Media and Elam, they submitted to it. Media had long been removed from the Assyro-Babylonian influences, and Elam's power had been broken by Assurbanipal; therefore both lands offered suitable conditions for receiving an Aryan immigration without obliterating or absorbing its race and character. The population of both lands, indeed, themselves received an Aryan tinge. The incomers, on the other hand, fell under the spell of that culture whose very cradle they had violently seized.

After the subjugation of the western civilized countries that process ceased, by virtue of which, through an immigration of nomadic hordes, a new social life had grown up out of the blending of influences, all tending to evolve a vigorous

civilization. Instead of this, political conquest resting on force was now made the object of rulers. There could thus be no further idea of an independent evolution of the Aryan spirit. In the place of a Persian nation, which would have worked itself upward from stage to stage to a higher civilization and so to the dominion over the East, there was now a Persian administration, like the Assyrian, which drained the strength of the civilized lands, and thus became dependent on them. Not the Persian people, nor a Persian State, but the Persian Empire, represented by the army and officials, now held the reins of power in Nearer Asia.

This new empire, in its fundamental principles merely a repetition of the Assyrian Empire during the eighth and seventh centuries, shows the same character in all its phenomena. In the administrative sphere the Persian satrap is merely the Assyrian *shaknu* (cf. p. 81), although his province is, as a rule, disproportionately larger. Like him, too, he is in fact only a Persian viceroy, who has been placed in the position of the old native ruler. He possesses within his province all rights of a sovereign. Above all, he maintains an army at his own cost, pursues to some extent an independent policy, and thus usually has reached the point where the thought of revolt must involuntarily suggest itself, whenever the intrigues of the courtiers threaten to become dangerous to him.

The constitution of the later satrapies is traceable to Darius. Cyrus had in the West simply adopted the old institutions. The accounts of him and his son speak of one hundred and twenty-seven provinces, which extended from India to Ethiopia. Accordingly the East must have been divided up somewhat after the model of the West. Darius, who went hand in hand with the eastern nobility, instituted the large satrapies, and the Persians who administered them became the rulers over large countries.

After the flood of immigration had abated, and the conquerors had become owners, who on their part had to ward off the hordes that were pressing on after them, wars had to be waged with troops supplied by the civilized States. These proved to a large extent to be useless material. The part of the immigrants which was marked out by landed possessions to be the nobility, and thus the backbone of every army, could do no more than form the backbone of a royal army. The satraps, who were in the first place responsible for the defence and maintenance of their provinces, could not avail themselves of this resource. Every satrap, therefore, had to keep an army of his own, soon composed, especially in the western provinces, of mercenaries, and those chiefly foreign. The overplus of capable soldiers, which the vigorous development of the Greek people produced, always found a ready acceptance there. In this way the satraps of the western provinces were soon in possession of armaments which might become a menace to the Great King (cf. the case of Cyrus the younger).

The royal Persian army, in contradistinction, seems to have been constituted on the basis of a feudal State such as corresponds to the organisation of a people newly immigrated into new homes. Any man who had received a grant of land was liable to perform military duties corresponding to his share of the soil. There must indeed have been a very motley mixture of nationalities in the army, especially if the same system obtained in the provinces, where civilization had long passed this stage, in the western provinces particularly. It is not certain how matters were arranged there; but the "barbarian army" which Cyrus the younger led against Artaxerxes, in addition to his ten thousand Greek mercenaries, can

hardly have been collected on another system. Such armies were distinct in armament and customs, even if we are not required to accept Herodotus's description of the army of Xerxes as accurate in all its details.

In other respects the administration, apart from the satraps and the highest officials, is in the provinces the old national one. Even the Assyrian substitute for the now impracticable colonisation of the countries — namely, the plan of new settlements with a population ingeniously formed into Assyrians, and of the transplantation of prisoners of war to different parts of the empire — is entirely abandoned. The carrying away of the Melesians by Darius is an exception, and similar measures of the Assyrians and Chaldæans were repealed. The treatment of Sidon, which had been made Assyrian by Assarhaddon, and the permission accorded to the Jews to return, are two striking instances. How far in the latter case any alliance of Cyrus with the Jewish element so powerful in Babylon may have played a part must remain an undecided question. The first instance, however, and the abandonment of this procedure prove that the Assyrian policy had been deliberately relinquished. It was clearly seen that institutions established by force could never attain the same prosperity as the economic structures which are built on the soil and rise from national development. Thus the Persian Empire in a more marked way than even the Assyrian made no attempts to interfere with the old institutions in the old provinces. In spite of all the Persian supremacy, the inhabitants of Babylonia thus remained Babylonian, and those of Ionia Greek.

The picture of the effectiveness of the Persian sovereignty for the eastern provinces is quite otherwise. Here from the first the conditions are different. While the centre of the empire, Susiana and Persis, received culture from the West, it must have transmitted it to the East. So far it became important for the conditions such as were later shown by the Parthian and Bactrian Empires. Western ideas in this way reached India, and finally the empire of the Sassanids determined the course of the civilization of Islam. So that in truth we cannot speak of a Persian civilization in the West. That portion of it which developed in its original home possesses a still smaller value for the evolution of mankind. If Elam, in almost as many millennia as the Persian Empire lasted centuries, had already borrowed from Babylonia the fundamental principle of its powers, that will also hold good of its heir, although the nature of Babylonian and Elamitic art cannot yet be settled. At the first sight we recognise in the pictures from Persian royal palaces, or in the glorification of the victories of a Darius on the cliffs of Behistun, the intellectual kinship with the Assyrians; the same object of glorification, the same conception, the same *technique*. The beautiful workmanship of the enamelled tiles which covered the walls is Babylonian.

Doubtless the active and gifted people of the Greeks, which after the eighth century B. C. entered into intimate relations with the Asiatic empires, assisting Cyrus in his Persian wars and participating in his victories, that people which had supplied mercenaries to the Assyrian and Chaldæan armies, and furnished whole armies, as we saw, to the Persians, had also sent many artists to the court of Susa. It would, however, be a difficult task to prove influences of Greek art upon Persian productions in decisive points, even if we had more opportunity for comparison. The Persian king was a successor of the old Oriental kings. Just as he, full of dignity, discharged his time-honoured duties with wig and long,

flowing robe, so there remained for the art which served to glorify him no other path except that marked out by millennia of veneration. The Persian buildings have one feature distinct from the Assyrian ones known to us, and that is the ample employment of pillars. It is a reasonable conjecture that Greek influence is shown in this. But we know too little of Babylonia in this respect, and besides, it would be conceivable that Egyptian influence through the medium of Phœnicia might have travelled on unknown paths through the Euphrates valley as far as Susa and Persepolis. Yet granted the case that Hellenic architects and artists had helped in building the palaces of Xerxes, their Hellenic spirit could evince itself at most in secondary details. What they created must always have been Oriental, copied from the old models, as the Oriental love of the traditional demanded.

A similar production to this royal art, which had abandoned the national spirit, is the Persian cuneiform script. It was adapted from the Babylonian, or more correctly the Elamitic, in order to provide an alphabet for the language of the new sovereign people. This could not be suited to the grammatical scheme of the old civilized languages, and therefore could not be written with the old hieroglyphic and syllabic script which had closely followed the structure of the Semitic languages. In further pursuance of the principle already traceable in Elamitic, a specially simplified syllabic writing was invented, actually *invented* in this case at the royal command, in order to be able to carve the inscriptions of the kings in the Persian language also. A written language in the sense of Babylonian was never developed from this. The East never wrote Persian. Even the Persians made use of Aramaic as the imperial language of intercourse, so far as Babylonian and cuneiform script did not maintain their rights. The Persian cuneiform script, evidently first introduced by Darius in order to emphasise his national policy as contrasted with that of Cyrus and Cambyses, has had no history and served no purpose of civilization; the Avesta was written in a literal alphabet derived from the Aramaic.

10. PHŒNICIA

A. The Country and its First Inhabitants

The country, which is bounded by the Syrian desert and the chain of Antilibanus on the east, and by the Mediterranean on the west, has never been the home of a great civilized State. Being chiefly mountainous and intersected by the two streams which rise in the centre, and are of no importance for communication, the Orontes from south to north, and the Jordan from north to south, it was never able to advance far beyond the cantonal system natural to highlands, but was always hindered by the system of petty States. The sea indeed afforded a natural high-road of commerce for the towns on the coast; but these lacked the *hinterland*, which would have offered the requisite territory for a larger population bent on developing a civilization. They were thus from the first prompted to extend their power beyond the sea, and the more so since they were hard pressed in the rear by a succession of new and still uncivilized nations.

The country, in consequence of its situation between the two great civilized States on the Euphrates and the Nile, had been a natural goal for the efforts at expansion made by both nations long before we know anything of it. The history

of these regions varies according to the power, whether Babylonian-Assyrian or Egyptian, to which they are subject. The ever-recurring spectacle, which has continued from the Hellenistic period through the Middle Ages down to our own century, is due to the position of the country and its configuration, which prevents the formation of a large State. Probably precisely the same conditions prevailed in the still obscure millennia of the oldest Babylonian (Sumerian) and Egyptian civilizations. Thutmosis and Tiglath-Pileser, Ptolemæus and Antiochus, Saladin and Mahomed Ali, had, we may be sure, even in the third and fourth millennium B. C., their predecessors, who are still unknown to us by name.

Accordingly in the millennia of the development and full expansion of the Sumerian and of the contemporary Egyptian civilizations a population was settled there which, connected by kinship with the ruling people in Babylonia, was subject to its influence and acknowledged its sovereignty alternately with that of Egypt. Just as all subsequent Semitic migrations brought to Palestine a new stratum of population, thus the first of them, the "Babylo-Semitic," may have discharged there some portion of its masses. Even if this stratum of the population is more tangible for us, since it is historical in Babylonia at least, and if we can therefore see traces of it later in Phœnicia, in much that strikes us as Babylonian, yet we know nothing of any tribes which pushed on from the north toward Phœnicia; we are still without more detailed accounts of the civilization of Asia Minor at those times.

The next Semitic immigration impressed its stamp on the country and its inhabitants. This is the one to which we give the name of the country. But it may well be assumed that not merely the existing intimate connection with Babylonia had made the Babylonian culture predominant in the country, as is shown to us in the use of cuneiform script and the Babylonian language in correspondence, but that also from the remote "Babylo-Semitic" antiquity a chain of tradition in the country itself extends down to this time. The immigrants, who now dominated the land, found an existing Babylonian civilization, or at any rate a civilization influenced by it; they did not first receive it and bring it from the Euphrates valley. However much, therefore, the new population had absorbed the old, and imprinted its own character on it, yet we must bear in mind that the civilization existing there had not been introduced by it alone. Just as the Babylo-Semitic population in Babylonia acquired power for itself, absorbed the Sumerian element, and during the following millennia, through all the new accretions of population, preserved its individuality, so in Palestine the next Semitic group dominated the "Babylo-Semitic" immigration settled there and made its own characteristics the prevailing ones. But as in all analogous cases, each civilization impressed itself somewhat on its rivals, and so a complex system began to grow.

B. The Canaanitic Period

The real history of Canaan and Palestine begins for us with the immigration of the new inhabitants. These nations really developed themselves there, and on the soil of that land sustained any part in the world's history which they played. Since during this time Canaan in its peculiar way was comparatively the most independent, we term this group, which alone has given a certain importance to the country, the Canaanitic. We have, it is true, assumed (p. 8) that this migra-

tion led also to the occupation of other countries, — of Babylonia, and thus of the whole Euphrates valley, and probably of Egypt. But here the conquerors assimilated the existing superior civilization, and by so doing forfeited their own national character. They, like the Germanic conquerors in Italy, fell victims to the destiny of barbarians in civilized countries, while they found in the countries dependent on those civilizations, scope and opportunity for the maintenance of their national character without any development of their own.

We can distinguish two sections of this immigration: an older one, which was already settled at the time when our sources of information are more copious, and had long been in possession of the towns, especially of the seaports; and a younger one, which at this very time was on the point of conquering the country. The former is called the Phœnician, after its chief representatives; the second, in conformity with the Bible and the Tel-Amarna letters, the Hebraic group. While we therefore understand by the former almost all the tribes which immigrated first, and accordingly settled in the towns and on the seacoast, the latter comprises the section which the documents standing at our disposition distinguish as still migrating and conquering, and thus opposed to and at war with the former. The best known of these are the Amorites, the tribes which the Israelitic national confederation comprised, the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites. They spoke on the whole the same language; but the distinction between the two main groups is noticeable by differences of dialect.

Our present task is to treat the elder of the two groups, the settled group, according to our accounts. This contains, first and foremost, the inhabitants of the towns on the coast, the Phœnicians, as they are called by the Greeks. They immigrated into Canaan probably about the middle of the third millennium, and overran the country at first, until, pushed on by the masses following after them, they established themselves in the maritime district. These kindred tribes which pressed on after them are the Canaanites of the Bible, whom we then find, at the time of the Hebrews, in the towns of the interior, and of whom we hear nothing except their struggle with the "Hebrews."

The immigrating "Phœnicians" were naturally not a people under a uniform government and rule, but tribes (cf. the wanderings of the Aramæans, Chaldæans, and others) which usually pressed forward independently, swept on by the universal mighty stream, pushing and being pushed, until the surviving fragment of them finally found in some place rest and settlements. There they distributed themselves into the various fortified towns, or the districts lying under their protection. In this way they were not the founders of these towns, but took over what had been already done by the earlier population. Their destinies were those of settled nations. They entered into alliances with each other when their method of life brought them together; they separated when it kept them aloof. The Phœnicians proper are a settled people, and as such a product of the conditions which had forced them to settle permanently. Their individual groups did not migrate as compact units, and it was not until the new homes were reached that these combinations were formed.

We can distinguish some of these groups, taking them from north to south, which correspond in main features to the important towns. The most northerly of the Phœnician States proper is Arvad. The towns lying to the north certainly belonged to it. Its exact site is known, and bears to the present day its name

(Ruad). The town was situated on an island, just as Sidon and Tyre. As we go further toward the south, we come on Gebal (Byblos), the modern Djebeil, built on the mainland, with the cult and temple of the "Ba'alat of Gebal." South of this comes Beirut, a separate kingdom at the Tel-Amarna period, afterward usually joined to Gebal; it is never mentioned by the Assyrians. Then comes Sidon, also originally situated on an island. Its chief cult is that of Astarte, and it contained the acknowledged national sanctuary of the Phœnician tribes. Finally, the most southern State, Tyre, possessed the sanctuary of Melkart. More of the coast was also originally in the possession of kindred tribes; these, however, either did not, or could not, join the Phœnician tribal league. Even at the Tel-Amarna period we find independent princes there, whom we must call, according to the biblical designation, "Canaanites." But then these towns (so far as they did not belong to Tyre, like Akko, Dora, and Jaffa) were occupied by the Philistines. Their connection with the Phœnician league was thus once for all prostrated.

To these larger States belonged the separate small towns. These, partly being originally occupied by portions of the tribes which conquered the chief towns, partly being subdued by the natural course of affairs or by force, had been compelled to join them. Many of these may occasionally have had their "king," or some other form of self-government (cf. Beirut), though they never attained any importance.

Of the four States of Arvad, Gebal, Sidon, and Tyre, not one ever extended its dominion beyond its own coast territory; thus their position was quite small, or even insignificant. The most influential of the four are Tyre and Sidon, which were consequently always rivals. This rivalry led for a long period to the subjection of the one by the other (the kingdom of the "Sidonians," with its capital, Tyre; cf. below, p. 160). A union of all the Phœnicians, or even the subjugation of the *hinterland*, was never accomplished. There never was an empire of all Phœnicia. The intimate connection between Tyre and Sidon and their union under one rule for some centuries created an antagonism against the two northern States, so that these as northern Phœnicians were opposed to the southern States. This antagonism was accentuated by the fact that through the onward advance of the Amorites the northern countries received a Hebrew population, or at least a strong Hebrew element. A dialect was thus spoken there which shows the peculiarities of the Hebrew of the later immigrants.

Only Sidon and Tyre attained any importance in world history, while the two northern States sank more and more into the background. We must not overestimate, however, the importance of the former; it was their reputation which made them prominent in comparison with the other two, rather than a conspicuously powerful position. They owe this reputation to the fact that precisely at the time when they appear on the horizon of the historically authenticated West, that is, when they came into touch with the Greeks, the Sidonian empire of Tyre was in existence, which was in reality somewhat superior to the others. Thus the name of the Sidonians and Syrians is prominent after the ninth and eighth centuries. Two or three centuries previously there was not the slightest trace to be observed of it. In the Tel-Amarna letters (fifteenth century) they are all equally petty, Sidon and Tyre perhaps more so than Gebal, and all alike threatened by the Amorites, who had then already occupied Arvad.

Sidon must, however, have had a peculiar position. The "Phœnicians" were designated by the neighbouring peoples, as by the Israelites, by the collective name of Sidonians, and it is proved that they must have so called themselves, since the same appellation is found among the Greeks of the oldest period in Homer, and the kings of the united kingdom of Tyre and Sidon bore the title "King of the Sidonians." This does not imply merely the inhabitants of Sidon, but the entire people, so far as it was then a coherent whole (the northern tribes, owing to the conquest by Amorites and Hebrews, were perhaps in a less settled condition). That designation shows that Sidon must have assumed a commanding position, which in conformity with these conditions can only have been that of a universally acknowledged federal sanctuary. We shall see again in the course of history, especially in Carthaginian history, how this position is clearly demonstrated in the veneration which was shown to the sanctuary of Sidon, the famous temple of Astarte; it was for the Phœnicians something the same as Delos or Dodona was for Greek races. This did not lead to any political supremacy. On the contrary, the only case of a permanent subjugation of a considerable tract of the coast which we shall have to notice originated with Tyre.

The accounts of the earliest times are more than scanty. We have the statements of Gudea as to the intercourse with the West (cf. p. 10), and the almost contemporary statements of Sargon of Agade about his western conquests at the beginning of the third millennium (p. 9). This is the pre-Canaanitic period of the influence of the "Babylonian Semites" in these regions. We require to realise the significance of this influence not less than that of the succeeding period, and must not judge them by the paucity of these notices. Even at that time, as in the Tel-Amarna period in Palestine, the Babylonian script and language must have been in use. Even then ships put out to sea (p. 11) from the settlements which afterward the Phœnicians occupied, and were the medium of intercourse with the West, which was no more strange to the Babylonian of that time than to the Assyrian of the eighth century. The nameless inhabitants of this coast even then distributed the products of Babylonian civilization beyond the Mediterranean.

We have then some further information about the Elamitic rule (p. 96), an inheritance of the old Babylonian power. A change in the situation had meanwhile been produced by the Canaanitic immigration, which had made the Phœnicians and their congeners lords of the land. This same immigration brought Babylonia and Egypt also (by the Hyksos) into the hands of "Canaanites." Thus during this period the bond of union with the great civilized country on the Euphrates had been drawn closer; on the other hand, intercourse was maintained with their kinsfolk in Egypt. Some members of the first Babylonian dynasties style themselves simply kings of Palestine (Hammurabi, Ammi-szadok; cf. above, pp. 14, 15). It is thus intelligible how the influence of this connection can meet us later in the civilizing effects of the Tel-Amarna period, and how Palestine, when subject to Egyptian rule, exchanged with the Pharaoh letters written in cuneiform characters.

C. The Period of the Tel-Amarna Letters

While the "Canaanitic" rule in Babylonia was being ended by the Kassites (p. 15) Egypt was in rebellion against the Hyksos; and the revival of prosperity induced the Pharaohs to turn their attention to Palestine, which the Kassites, who

met the opposition of the bands pressing forward from Asia Minor, had been obliged to leave to its fate. There now begins the period of the Egyptian rule which was founded by the kings of the eighteenth dynasty, notably Thutmosis III, and lasted for a long time.

Under his successors, Amenophis III and IV, we have in the Tel-Amarna letters (cf. p. 16) the most trustworthy documents as to the conditions of Palestine under the Egyptian rule, and we can by their aid picture to ourselves the state of the country in the second millennium, the era into which the immigration of the second or Hebrew group of the Canaanite population falls. We possess some three hundred of such letters, which were sent by princes of Syria-Palestine to the Pharaoh or his officials. All countries, so far as they acknowledged the Egyptian suzerainty, are represented in the collection. The most northern country, corresponding to the district of Aleppo, is Nuchashshe (*vide* the map, p. 9), which maintained a very independent attitude toward Egypt. There are letters from all the places thence as far as the southern frontier of the country. All these letters are written in cuneiform, and composed in a language which may be described as Babylonian adapted to Phœnician, a *lingua franca* which employed the Babylonian vocabulary, but often modelled it on the laws of Phœnician and constructed new forms, particularly in the conjugation of the verb, which is very distinct from the Babylonian. This in itself is enough to show how familiar the Babylonian world was to Egypt. It must have long exercised its influence, since the evolution of such a language for epistolary intercourse presupposes a prolonged effect on the country and the people. Even the Pharaoh himself employed this language in his decrees to his vassals; and, what is an equally significant point, the language of his letters makes it clear that an Egyptian wrote them, and not some foreign scribe in his service.

We are now chiefly concerned with those States only, among the number represented in the letters, which lie to the west of Lebanon and further to the south in the territory of the subsequent kingdom of Israel. We will begin with the most important, the Phœnician. These States, like the whole land, are governed by their own native princes, under the sanction of the Pharaoh. No Egyptian administrators on the model of the Assyrian provinces were appointed. We may best call the established system feudalism, as that will serve to give a picture of the local independence subject to State service which prevailed under the Pharaohs in the outlying lands of their empire.

The most northerly Phœnician town, Arvad, precisely at this time fell into the hands of a prince Aziri, advancing from the *hinterland*. He is described as an Amorite (pp. 112 and 157). His rise determined the entire policy in Northern Phœnicia; for, being dissatisfied with Arvad, he advanced further toward the south, where the nearest State was Gebal (then the only one of any considerable territory), and conquered in the *hinterland* towns of the Beka'a, such as Dunip (perhaps Heliopolis-Baalbec), and further to the north, Ni (on the Orontes?). He extended his territory northward as far as that of Nuchashshe. His career proves to us that we have to do with all the phenomena of a feudal State, and one without a strong superior lord. The Pharaoh indeed does not admit any obligation to secure tranquillity in the country. The vassals have the right of declaring war, and only when they declare themselves independent, or throw themselves into the arms of another great power, or are suspected of doing so, is there any excuse for taking

active measures against them. Accordingly we find continual wars of one neighbouring prince against another, and each one tries to make the court consider his opponent disloyal. These suspicions thrown on the loyalty of others, and these assurances of their own fidelity, with protests against the accusations of the others and requests for support against them, — all such matters compose the contents of the letters. Obviously every man must have a high official at the Egyptian court as his advocate, in order to gain the king's ear at all, and must keep this advocate friendly by lavish presents.

Aziri, the Amorite, was a conqueror who tried to gain possession of the fortified towns. We thus have a picture of the contrast, which here, as in the Old Testament, is traceable throughout the population of the country, and which in Babylonia, for example, we were able to distinguish clearly between Chaldæans and Babylonians down to the latest times. Aziri was a prince of tribes which first conquered the land, and so belonged to the later deposited stratum of the great Canaanitic immigration, and thus stood in natural opposition to the already permanently settled inhabitants. These latter we had described as Phœnician, from their oldest and most powerful representatives; the former, as Hebrew, for, as in the Old Testament "Hebrews" is the designation of the first tribes who immigrated, living in the open country and aspiring to the possession of the towns, so they are called in the letters of the Egyptian national archives "Chabiri" (the Babylonian equivalent for "Hebrews"). The Amorites of Aziri belonged therefore to the same stratum of the population as the Israelites, and were their immediate predecessors and comrades.

Aziri, advancing southward from Arvad and conquering two or three small towns (among them Arka) ruled by princes of their own, which lay on his route, reduced to great straits the territory of Gebal, whence the prince, Rib-Addi, sent letter after letter to the Egyptian court asking for help. Sumur, a town on the coast north of Gebal and belonging to it, was captured, and Aziri invested Gebal itself without the Pharaoh's intervention. Rib-Addi went to Beirut to obtain assistance, and thus lost his throne to his brother, who did not relinquish it again. Aziri then advanced still further; he was indeed the ultimate cause of all the disorders in that country. At last, however, he was forced to appear at the court to answer for himself, and was kept under arrest. (We possess a letter of condolence sent to him in Egypt by one of his loyal followers, which must have been intercepted by the political police, since it was put among the records and preserved in the State archives.) The Amorites notwithstanding advanced still further. The oldest of the written documents of the Old Testament describes the original inhabitants of the Israelitish territory as Amorites. When the tribes of Israel soon afterward pressed into the country, they must, as compared with these, have already changed from "Hebrews" into settled town-dwellers.

Going southward from Gebal we come to Beirut, where Rib-Addi sought refuge with the king Ammunira, who seems to have been anxious not to quarrel either with Rib-Addi, who really had reposed trust in Egypt, or with his dangerous opponent. Zimrida, king of Sidon, gives little sign. We gather from the complaints of his neighbour and thus natural enemy, Abimilki (Abimelech) of Tyre that he made common cause with Aziri, and thus attempted to gain advantages over his neighbour in Tyre. Things went very badly with this latter. He was besieged on his island and cut off from the mainland by Zimrida, who had secured

the support of Aziri, so that he could not even draw water on the land. He tried to propitiate the Pharaoh by communicating all sorts of news from the country. Neither he nor Zimrida had any considerable territory, and there is no idea of the supremacy of the one or the other. Further to the south, Akko had a prince of its own; it is often mentioned as a port for travellers to Egypt. Jaffa and Gaza, further on, were under one prince, and Ascalon, between the two, under another. We cannot decide whether these were already Philistines, but their names do not look like those of Phœnicians and Canaanites. The only one of the numerous princes of the *hinterland* that interests us is Abd-Chiba, king of Jerusalem, not an hereditary prince, but one appointed by the Pharaoh. He is hard pressed by his neighbours Tagi, Milki-el and the sons of Lapaja, and cannot find words to express the certainty that, if help is not brought him, the country, which otherwise would be secured to the king, will inevitably fall into the hands of the Chabiri. A detailed description of the letters would take too long; a large number of well-known biblical localities are especially mentioned as objects of these wars. The princes from a whole series of towns merely announce in short formal letters their readiness to submit to the royal commands and to put their troops at the disposal of the Egyptian general.

A remarkable document is said to have been found in Tel-Hesy, the ruined site of Lakish. Closely resembling the Tel-Amarna letters in writing and appearance, it is a letter addressed to an Egyptian general, which announces to him the defection of two princes. The one of them is called Zimrida (just as the Sidonian prince); and he is known to us, both by one of his letters from Tel-Amarna and by accounts of Abd-Chiba, as king of Lakish. By a remarkable coincidence this isolated tablet was found in the excavations at Tel-Hesy almost at the same time as the great discovery of archives in Egypt was made known. The discovery at Tel-Hesy can only be explained on the ground that the letter of Zimrida had been intercepted. Another romantic fate of a fragment of clay (cf. p. 18)! The letters from Tel-Amarna cover only a few years of the last period of Amenophis III and of the beginning of the reign of his successor. All accounts lead us to conclude that the Egyptian power was not firmly established. It rested really more on the impotence and the discord of the innumerable petty princes than on the strength of Egypt. Rib-Addi then tries to traduce his rival Aziri, who is, he says, conspiring with the kings of Babylonia, Mitani, and the Cheta, and if he seizes the country, will hold it as a fief from them. In the disorders which ensued on the death of King Amenophis IV, the Egyptian influence, especially in the north, was destroyed and the land became dependent on the Cheta, whose advance we can ascertain even from the Tel-Amarna letters. Babylonia and Mitani could not extend their power to the west. They had in Assyria an opponent which diverted their attention. The Egyptian rule was therefore once more established in the thirteenth century B. C. by the repulse of the Cheta and the treaty made with them under Rameses II. The picture presented by the land then will have shown the most exact resemblance to that which was noticeable two centuries before, only that the bearers of other names played the parts of Rib-Addi, Aziri, Abd-Chiba, etc. At that very time the tribes of Israel may have conquered their homes, and have combined into a tribal federation. In the north the Egyptian supremacy had once more been shaken off, and even in the south the princes only turned to the Pharaoh as a last resource when they could not hold their position

with their own forces. The eleventh century sees the conquests of the Philistines, and the rise of the monarchies of a Saul and a David; the new millennium sees the kingdom of Damascus, when neither Egypt nor Assyria, which in the interval had come to the front, was powerful in Palestine. In the south merely banished princes like Hadad of Edom, or unsuccessful pretenders, like Jeroboam, sought an asylum, and sometimes saw their wishes realised by the arrival of an Egyptian army, as Jeroboam did.

The four Phœnician States were still less affected by these circumstances than the countries in the interior, for the sea always gave them more independence and the wealth which their trade procured them lent them the strength to resist the Egyptian armies, or the means of securing their freedom by payments. Arvad had received a new "Hebrew" population from the Amorite conquest, and we left Gebal when Aziri was on the point of subduing it. The Amorites by their further advance, as the subsequent dialect shows (p. 157), apparently succeeded in winning this also. The two did not appreciably change their character owing to this; they remained maritime and commercial cities as before; but they were certainly detached from the old confederation of the Phœnicians or Sidonians. There is the additional fact that Egypt's power here in the north was less strong, so that these towns were thus forced to submit sooner than Tyre and Sidon to the powers pressing on from Syria. They will thus have been tributaries to the Cheta at a time when Sidon and Tyre must have still remained loyal to the Pharaoh. When Tiglath-Pileser was in Arvad, which had therefore acknowledged his feudal suzerainty, the Pharaoh sent him presents, and thus maintained neighbourly relations with him as being the lord of the southern country. We may assume a similar state of things quite soon afterwards between Egypt and Nebuchadnezzar I, when the latter, before his defeat by Assur-rish-ishi, had occupied Palestine.

D. The Period of Prosperity

The eleventh century B. C., which shows the least traces of any encroachments of Assyria and Egypt, was the period when large States might arise in Phœnicia without any hindrance. So the kingdoms of David and of Tyre and Sidon grew up. In the time of David and Solomon, Tyre had already assumed the leading place. Its princes styled themselves "kings of the Sidonians;" they dominated Sidon as well as the whole coast, so far as it still belonged to the confederation of the "Sidonians," that is to say, all except the northern States. If the term "Empire of the Phœnicians" can ever be used, it is applicable at this period. We really do not know much beyond the little which the Bible tells us of the relations of Solomon to Hiram. We know that Hiram and his father Abi-baal did the most for the extension of their "kingdom." If a reading in Josephus is correctly restored, Hiram founded Citium in Cyprus, which means that he captured the town with its inhabitants, and instated a Tyrian governor. Cyprus was at the Tel-Amarna period the seat of a kingdom of Alashia, the king of which conducted a correspondence with Amenophis III and IV, and even then was supplying them with copper. He also wrote in "Babylonian," and used cuneiform characters. Nothing is certain as to his nationality; no Phœnician name appears among the few mentioned. It does not seem as if a Phœnician population had by that time assumed a commanding position in the island. Its seizure by Hiram three hundred

years later would therefore mark the first foundation of Phœnician influence there. As is usual in such cases, the captured town Citium was "re-founded" as the Assyrian expression is, and received a new name, in this case Kart-chadast, or "New Town," the same therefore as the "New Town" (Carthage) in Africa. The island of Cyprus, which now became subject to the kingdom of Tyre and Sidon, was thenceforth administered partly as a Tyrian province under governors, partly by tributary kings of the separate towns. This must have been the most important possession of the Tyro-Sidonian kingdom; we can hardly entertain the idea that any African colonies were dependent. The splendour of the new kingdom found expression in Oriental fashion by the erection of new and magnificent buildings on the island of Tyre.

We are indebted to an abstract by Josephus from the Annals of Menander, the Greek-writing historian of the Phœnicians, from whom these accounts are also taken, for the record of the most valuable facts about the reign of the subsequent kings; being extracted from the Tyrian archives they have a claim to be reproduced in spite of their vagueness. According to them after Hiram his son Baal-azar reigned seven or seventeen years (c. 970–953), and then his son Abd-ashtoret for nine years. He was murdered by the "four sons of his nurse," one of whom, Methu-ashtoret became king and reigned twelve years. He was followed by his brother Asterymus for nine years; he was murdered by his brother Phelles, who held the power for eight months. Nothing is said as to the motive for the rebellion of the brothers, nor does it appear what revolution was signified by their accession to power. Phelles was overthrown by Ithobal, the "Priest of Ashtoret," who reigned thirty-two years (c. 900). Even here it is not known how the internal conditions affected this change, especially how far any antagonism between the two capitals, Tyre and Sidon, may have played a part in it. Ithobal is also mentioned in the Bible; Jezebel the wife of Ahab was his daughter. Then followed his descendants, Baal-azar six years, Metten, nine years, and Pygmalion forty-seven years (until about 800). Josephus draws up his list so far after Menander, since Carthage is said to have been "founded" under Pygmalion and he makes a point of settling this date at the place in question. In any case it is certain that the dynasty of Ithobal held the power for a long period. The story of Dido and the foundation of Carthage have been connected with the revolution in which Pygmalion killed the husband of his sister, the priest of Ashtoret (we may compare Ithobal). Since there is no need to doubt the historical nucleus of the story, we may well assume that the High Priest, connected by marriage with the king and otherwise probably related, had attempted to seize the throne, but had been defeated in the attempt. Thus it was a struggle of the Priesthood against the Monarchy, an incident common in the East and observable at this same time in Israel and Judah.

E. The Last Centuries of Phœnician History

(*a*) *The Fall of Sidon.* — We can extract very little from the notices of Josephus, derived from Menander, as to the relations existing between Tyre and Sidon. With the rise to power of Abi-baal, Tyre becomes the ruling city, while Sidon, the seat of the universally acknowledged cult, and thus enjoying a religious prestige, is in reality the subject city. It is conjectured that in the two just-mentioned revo-

lutions this position was to some extent affected. Our accounts do not inform us whether the "Empire" still continued under these circumstances, or whether a fresh separation of the two States resulted. At any rate the Assyrian accounts from the period after Ithobal speak of the two towns as separate. Salmanassar II, both in 842 and 839, mentions the Sidonians and the Tyrians (under Pygmalion therefore) as paying tribute separately. As then Ithobal in the Bible is still termed "King of the Sidonians," a separation must have taken place in the interval (900–800).

Ramman-nirari III speaks of Tyre and Sidon as two States; his expedition toward the west must have taken place soon after Pygmalion's death. Assyria perhaps had favoured and brought about a separation of the two States on the principle "*divide et impera.*" Tradition places the "foundation of Carthage" about 845; namely, at the time when Salmanassar (after 854) waged war in the West with Damascus; in 842 Jehu of Israel, Sidon and Tyre paid him tribute (see the plate, p. 201). On the basis of similar circumstances it may be supposed that the intrigues in Tyre between Pygmalion and his brother-in-law had been carried on with the support of Assyria. Sidon would thus have probably acquired its independence as regards Tyre through the support of Assyria, and would have lost it when the help was not forthcoming: at least that happened again in 701 (cf. below). At the time when Assyria could not interfere in the West the old conditions had been restored. When Tiglath-Pileser (738) appeared again here, he only recognised a king of Tyre, and none of Sidon, which accordingly must have been once more subject to Tyrian supremacy.

The territory of the empire was, however, restricted then by the Assyrian province created by Tiglath-Pileser in 732, which, comprising several of the northern Phœnician towns (Simirra, Arka) and the district of Lebanon, had been entrusted to his son and acknowledged successor, Salmanassar. Hiram II, then king, always paid his tribute and avoided any misunderstanding with Assyria. Metten II must have succeeded him about the year 730. He let things go so far as a war with Assyria, but was soon brought to reason by an Assyrian army in the year 729, and had to dip deeply into his well-filled coffers in order to purchase peace.

Metten had not a long reign, and possibly his submission to Assyria led to his fall. In the year 727, that is, shortly after the death of Tiglath-Pileser, Elulæus, as the account of Menander preserved by Josephus calls him, or Luli, as Sennacherib afterward calls him, suspended the payment of tribute. Salmanassar is said to have marched toward Tyre, but consented to conclude peace; this is equivalent to saying that Luli declared his readiness to resume payment of tribute. We then have a further, but not very clear account by Sargon, who says briefly that "he had procured peace for Tyre and Cue (Cilicia)." It must remain undecided whether that signifies an interference in internal disorders or a regulation of the conditions of possession in Cyprus; the latter supposition might be supported by the state of things which is then disclosed, and by a notice of Menander. The latter further records that Luli-Elulæus once more conquered Citium, while Sargon announces that he had received tribute from seven kings of Cyprus (cf. p. 67). These, as the sequel shows, were Greeks and their policy is evident. They sought support from the Assyrians, in order to drive the Phœnicians out of Cyprus. Probably Sargon acknowledged the claims of the Tyrians, and they again occupied the town which they had lost.

When the West rose after the death of Sargon, Luli in Phœnicia and Hezekiah in the *hinterland* were the leaders round whom the insurgents rallied. But then, as usual, there was no organised resistance, and all the towns, with exception of Tyre, surrendered to the Assyrians without more ado. Sennacherib enumerates on this occasion the kings of Phœnicia, and thus affords us a welcome insight into the existing conditions. There were Menachem of Shams-maron, an otherwise unknown and unimportant Phœnician town, Abd-le'at of Arvad and Uru-melek of Gebal. All the towns of the kingdom of Tyre and Sidon were seized without difficulty. Sennacherib mentions Great Sidon, Little Sidon, Bet-Zajit, Sarepta, Machalliba, Ushu (opposite the island of Tyre), Ekdippa, and Akko. Tyre itself was unsuccessfully besieged, a fact about which Sennacherib naturally is silent; but we know of it from Menander who tells us that even the Phœnician ships of Sennacherib were destroyed by the Tyrians. Luli himself fled to Cyprus, that is to Citium, in order to wait there for a favourable opportunity of returning to Tyre, which still held out. He must, however, have died soon after, whether in Citium or after a return to Tyre we do not know. Sennacherib is very reticent on these events. In his record of the year 700 the account of Luli's death is still missing, but occurs in the next record of 691. The most probable explanation would be that Luli came back quietly after the withdrawal of the Assyrians, and took steps to regain his lost territory.

Sennacherib had meanwhile taken advantage of the enmity between Sidon and Tyre to secure his own influence. He set up Thubaal (Ithobal II) as "King of the Sidonians" in Sidon, who received the whole maritime district of the empire of Sidon and Tyre, with exception of the unconquered island of Tyre. This was of course tantamount to a declaration of war between the two cities or States, and Assyria secured the part of arbitrator. At first indeed Sennacherib was still occupied elsewhere, and he died while engaged on the task so that he did not even chastise Jerusalem. Besides that, the advance of Taharqa in Egypt brought a new opponent into the field, from whom Tyre and Sidon could find support.

The precise details of the events at this time are not clear. Contrary, however, to what might have been expected, we find Sidon rebelling against Assyria at the beginning of Assarhaddon's reign (680–679). Abd-milkot, in all probability the successor of the Ithobal II set on the throne in 701, was forced to abandon the town, and met his death two years later with his confederate Sanduarri (p. 70). Sidon itself was completely destroyed. From Assarhaddon's account we gather that hitherto it had been situated on an island; this island is the part of the modern town which juts out into the sea, and thus at that time must have been separated from the mainland by a narrow strip of water. Assarhaddon ordered the town to be absolutely demolished, and a new city as capital of the newly constituted province of Sidon to be built according to the usual custom in "another place," that is, on the mainland opposite. This Assyrian town of course was called by the inhabitants Sidon, and became the nucleus of the later Sidon. But this destruction of the city was of grave moment for the Phœnicians, since their national sanctuary was obliterated and Sidon ceased to be the seat of the ruling religion.

According to a tradition, which probably refers to this event, the gods were then carried off in safety to Tyre. Thus Tyre, from being the political centre now

became the religious centre of the Sidonians, while their old federal city was destroyed, and its name was borne by the capital of an Assyrian province, where sacrifices were offered to Assur and not to Ashtoret or Eshmun. It was only under the Persian rule that Sidon (just as Jerusalem) regained its independence. After that there are again kings of Sidon. But during these and later times there are proofs both from names and in other ways that the worship of the Assyrian gods obtained there. The new Sidon presented the same features as Samaria, a town of Babylonian "Cuthaic" inhabitants with their native cults. Just as Samaria was a rival to Jerusalem, so Sidon afterwards disputed with Tyre the precedence belonging to the highest antiquity; that is, according to the ideas of the time, it disputed which of the cities could claim the honour of sheltering the gods, to whom the land of the "Sidonians" belonged.

(*b*) *The Kingdom of Tyre.* — After the territory of Sidon had become an Assyrian province, Phœnician history is limited to the kingdom of Tyre. The fact that such a kingdom existed, and that it still possessed territory to lose proves that in the meantime Luli (or a successor), operating from Tyre, must have recovered the territory on the mainland which belonged to the town. Citium, however, was lost in the interval, for Assarhaddon and Assurbanipal mention a special king of Kart-chadast, whose name can hardly be Phœnician; it must therefore be assumed that the whole island had meanwhile come into the hands of Greeks.

At Tyre King Ba'al, presumably Luli's successor, was at first loyal to Assarhaddon and actually accompanied him on his first Egyptian expedition. But then he allied himself with Taharqa, evidently in the hope of gaining by this the territory of Sidon. Assarhaddon, therefore, during the campaign in 673, sent a detachment of his army against Tyre; this force occupied Ushu on the mainland, and constructed moles opposite the island, which cut off all communication with the land, while the harbour was blockaded from the sea. The island of Tyre itself held out until the news of Taharqa's expulsion. Ba'al then tendered his submission, but was only allowed to retain his island (p. 70). On the news of the return of Taharqa he rejoined him at once, so that the siege by the Assyrians was hardly interrupted. When in 668 (now under Assurbanipal) Taharqa was again driven out, he submitted as before and had finally to consent to see his "kingdom" limited to his own small island (p. 74). But opposite it on the mainland in Ushu was the seat of the Assyrian governor of the province Tyre, which comprised the territory of Tyre. Thus there was even less left of Hiram's empire than of Solomon's. There at any rate in addition to Jerusalem, there were two or three country towns, but here a man could walk round the whole "empire" in half an hour; in fact, it was not possible to fetch water without the sanction of the Assyrian governor.

This was a state of things which must have perpetually fostered the wish for an insurrection. Just as in Jerusalem, so here there was a party, which was always urging defection, and made the king, who for good or for evil was forced to incur the odium attached to a loyal subject of Assyria, feel his petty crown uneasy and full of thorns. The promises of Shamash-shum-ukin certainly found some response in Tyre, and in the "forties" of the seventh century B. C. a rebellion in the province really broke out; it was, however, easily suppressed by Assurbanipal and ended with the severe chastisement of Ushu and Akko.

Thus the aspirations to regain the old power were merely a wish, so long as the power of Assyria lasted. Then came the great downfall, and with it the attempt by Necho of Egypt to build up his power out of the ruins (p. 87). At Tyre advantage was taken of this opportunity to gain a footing once more on the mainland. The attempt had little success, and when Necho was vanquished it was seen that Nebuchadnezzar was not disposed to concede favourable terms to the conquered. Another revolt followed under Ithobal III, the next king of Tyre, with whose name we are already acquainted. According to the account given by Josephus, Tyre was besieged for thirteen years (598–585), without any result (cf. p. 88). No doubt hopes were entertained of Egyptian help (Apries), but as vainly as at Jerusalem. But even this time there was no capture of the city, although it was confidently expected, a fact to which the well-known hymn in Ezekiel (ch. xxvii) gives expression; Tyre by its position could defy the siege-tactics of the Assyrians and Babylonians. It was thus once more saved from the fate of Jerusalem and the island retained its own government. Its commerce enabled the city to pay the tribute punctually.

The records of the ensuing period are as follows: Ba'al II succeeded Ithobal, reigning ten years, then came five Judges, each for a few months only, and a King Balatorus between them. We must clearly assume a period of disorders, and various attempts by pretenders to usurp the power. Finally a petition was sent to Neriglissor that Merbaal, clearly a member of the royal family, who lived, like so many other princes' sons as a hostage at the court of Babylon, should be appointed king; a request that was granted. He reigned four years; after him, at a similar request, his brother Hiram (III) was nominated king, and reigned twenty years. In the fourteenth year of his reign Babylon fell, and Tyre had a new suzerain.

Cyrus abandoned the Assyrian policy of provincial government by officials; he left to the towns and States the management of their home affairs, and only made them subject to the supreme authority of the satraps. Accordingly, in cases where a confiscation had already begun but all possibility of the restoration of a national constitution had not disappeared, he restored the old régime. The most familiar example is Jerusalem; another is Sidon. Even Tyre must have derived a certain degree of benefit from the new policy, since it was allowed to recover its territory on the mainland.

(*c*) *Renewed Rivalry between Tyre and Sidon.* — Thus there were once more the two States of Tyre and Sidon as close neighbours. The events of the intervening period had meanwhile obliterated the antagonism between "Sidonians" proper and North Phœnicians, which had arisen as a consequence of the "Hebrew" migration and the other political changes. The northern States, which had never ventured on a revolt, had suffered less severely; Tyre and Sidon, which had been forced to pay so dear a price for their efforts at independence, were now like these, completely dependent on the Great King, although enjoying their own government. In addition to this, the differences between the component parts of the population had in the course of centuries been mitigated. Thus the similarity of their positions might well contribute toward their reappearance as a united people. Now, under the Persian rule, there exists once again the condition which we were able to assume only for a prehistoric age, one people from Arvad to Akko, which is

regarded as united, and considered itself to a certain degree also as homogeneous. They are the "Phœnicians" in opposition to the old "Sidonians."

Now, as before, there are the four kingdoms of Arvad, Gebal, Sidon and Tyre, as well as occasionally some smaller ones with which we have also already become acquainted. Gebal is less prominent. As the representative of the Northern Phœnicians (whose dialect is still the Hebrew as opposed to the Sidonian, the Phœnician in the narrower acceptation of the term) we find Arvad. This fact is supported by the otherwise not very trustworthy story about Tripolis, which was said to have been the federal metropolis of the three ruling States, Tyre, Sidon, and Arvad. Sidon and Tyre as nearest neighbours and living on recollections of the past were the old rivals. This opposition finds a sentimental expression in the dispute between the two as to the greater antiquity, and thus in the dispute for the honour of being the capital. We know the title which each of the two States could adduce, Sidon as the original capital, Tyre as having later taken its place. There was the further point that Tyre alone had saved its old shrines, and that in its archives alone the records of the earliest times were still kept. Sidon was an Assyrian town.

Under the new conditions there is no longer any idea of a Phœnician "kingdom" even on the scale of Hiram's kingdom. The separate States were now only what it suited the Persian policy to make them. Persia could have no interest in leaving them more freedom and unity than was necessary in order to gain wealthy tribute-payers. On the other hand, the efforts of the separate States were naturally directed toward the acquisition of the greatest degree possible of independence; and their self-government gave them more possibilities of an independent policy than would have been the case under the provincial administration. The Persian supremacy was in no respect a better guarantee than the Assyrian had been that their territorial rights would be protected. They had to defend themselves against the attacks of neighbours in two ways — by warding them off with their own forces, or by gaining their cause at court. This latter procedure was costly; for intercession at court, as we know from the Tel-Amarna time onward, entailed lavish presents even in Susa.

A peculiar rôle, which was distinctly conducive to their independent position, was assigned to the Phœnicians under the Persian supremacy as previously under the Assyrian. They had to furnish the fleets with which Persia enforced her oversea policy, and which the Persians themselves were as incapable as the Assyrians of constructing.

Sidon seems soon to have risen to its former prosperity. It made overtures to Athens and concluded treaties of amity with her. A large Sidonian colony was settled in the Piræus; some of the rare Phœnician inscriptions are known to us from this source. Sidon suffered a severe blow in the year 351, when it was chastised by Artaxerxes Ochus as a penalty for the part taken by it in the Egyptian revolt. By this event Tyre regained the ascendency. Shortly before it had been distinctly retrograding; indeed it had actually become tributary to King Enagoras of Cyprus, that very Tyre which once had dominated Cyprus. We thus find Tyre, thirty years later, the only Phœnician town which offered resistance to Alexander, while Sidon, "from hatred of the Persians," gladly welcomed him (cf. Vol. IV, p. 117).

There must have been peculiar circumstances attending this resistance of Tyre

to Alexander, who for the first time conquered and destroyed the city. Tyre did not stake its existence from any loyalty to Persia. The reason is not far to seek. Sidon had from the outset gained over the new lord and Tyre was destined to lose some of its independence. Alexander had indeed wished to offer the sacrifices in the temple of Melkart. This request was refused; for by so doing he would have been declared king of Tyre. Was Tyre in any way deprived of its self-government, possibly in favour of Sidon? The course and the end of the siege are familiar. It left perhaps a permanent result, for the mole which Alexander ordered to be built is said to have connected Tyre for all time with the mainland, since the sea silted up more and more land on each side. From the new state of things Sidon in fact at first derived advantage. Some inscriptions of kings of Sidon from the period of the early Ptolemies inform us how at that time Tyre had taken the lead.

With Alexander we have come to a time when ancient Nearer Asia has played out its part. After this it is subject to the dominion of Græco-Roman civilization. The Phœnician States, at no time politically important, continued to exist on the old footing, prosecuting their commerce in the midst of their petty jealousies. Their history runs precisely in the same grooves, so long as anything at all is left of the Ancient East.

F. Retrospect of the Phœnician Civilization

The Phœnicians, or "Sidonians," were the Semitic people, with which the Greeks in their competition for the Mediterranean trade first came into close contact. They must have appropriated from them many achievements of Oriental culture. Since in their eyes the owners and the founders of towns were the same, the possessors of the sea-ports, which commanded the routes to the interior, seemed to them a people of an importance which might flatter the conceit of the Phœnicians, it is true, but can hardly be substantiated in the light of history. We have become acquainted with Phœnicia as a narrow strip of coast, insufficient to allow a people to develop any constitutional greatness. This also excludes any possibility that a national civilization can ever have been evolved here by the side of the civilization of the other great States. The merchant facilitates the exchange of the productions of civilization; in his home, as the focus of intercourse, much may also be produced which assumes a peculiar character as result of the different forms of mental and industrial activity known there. But if a civilization is to grow up with a natural development and is to reflect the character of people and country, it is necessary that this civilization be indigenous or at any rate in harmony with race feeling.

In the case of the Phœnicians also we must raise our often repeated lamentation that up to the present so little is known, which gives us any thorough insight into their life at the time of their true development. The mere want of excavations may be in other instances to blame, but on Phœnician soil this prospect holds out little promise. It almost seems as if the continuously inhabited places, where Phœnician magnificence flourished, had retained less evidences of the antiquity with which we are now concerned, than those of the other centuries, where the piled-up heaps of débris have loyally preserved their treasures for the explorer's spade. No large building and no site of a town of the Phœnician time are known to us in

their former shape; no lengthy inscription or other document speaks to us as yet in the words with which a Phœnician of the year 1000 B. C. composed it in his own language and style. Once more, then, we are driven to the expedient of selecting some few out of the many questions which crowd on us as to the internal growth of a people and its significance for the evolution of humanity until chance perhaps may give us some data on which to base an answer. It is impossible to draw a definite picture of the Phœnicia which still bore its national character.

We must first deprive the rich merchant princes of Sidon and Tyre of the credit of a service, which Greek tradition has ascribed to them; one that would in reality alone have been sufficient to secure them a prominent place in any survey of the development of mankind. The "invention" (it should be called "evolution") of alphabetical writing, which through the Greek alphabet has become the mother of all European writing, is supposed to be the peculiar property of the Phœnician intellect. The Greeks are said to have learnt from the Phœnicians the marvellous art of reproducing human thoughts more completely with some twenty signs than the great civilizations of the East could do with their infinitely laborious methods, which formed a special art and science in themselves.

It is comprehensible that the Greeks believed this, and that centuries, which knew nothing of the Ancient East, should have repeated their ideas. On the other hand, the modern view does not question the fact that the great intellectual achievements of mankind have been carried out where the focus of intellectual power is, that is, in the centres of civilization of a world. We should therefore from the first look for the home of an alphabetical writing, the phonetics and principles of which were based on a Semitic language, in Babylonia. In fact a number of peculiarities in the alphabet show that it can only have been evolved on the basis of Babylonian philology (cf. Figs. 1–8 of the plate "Phœnician, Sabæan, and Aramaic Inscriptions," p. 232). Owing to the Aramæan influence Aramaic had become the vernacular in the countries on the Euphrates; this was written for the purposes of daily life in alphabetic script, while all official documents were drawn up in cuneiform characters and in the Assyro-Babylonian language; a state of things which may be compared to the use of English or German and that of Latin in the Middle Ages. It seems doubtful whether the alphabetic writing was only developed after the country had become Aramæan. An identical state of things had been already created by the "Canaanitic immigration;" and from the first it might be supposed that even in their time, namely, about the year 2000, the twenty-two letters were employed for similar purposes in order to express the vernacular in writing. However, there is documentary evidence of this for the Aramæan period alone, after the eighth century. But in any case the Phœnicians were no more the inventors of writing than the commercial towns of our era are the leaders of the intellectual and technical development of modern times.

It is impossible to ascertain accurately the significance of the manufacture of purple by the Phœnicians. If the purple-fish is really to be supposed to have produced a dye which Babylonia, otherwise foremost in the weaving industry, did not possess, we may still well ask the question whether the Phœnicians did not simply take over the discoveries of earlier settlers. Tradition never differentiates between the inventor and the supplier; and it is uncertain what is the meaning of the Phœnician production of purple. We do not yet possess any notices of the valuable commodity from the times of Ancient Babylonia. The Assyrians allude to it

under the same name as the Phœnicians (*argaman* for scarlet, *takelet* for dark [blue] purple); but whether the names and thus the idea are originally "Phœnician," must remain a moot point. A similar verdict must be given with regard to the other invention attributed to them, that of glass. Nothing can be made out of its history. The palaces of Nineveh have given us specimens of glass; but nothing so far can be settled for the earlier period. The fact that it has not been found in the small Phœnician towns is self evident.

The celebrated Phœnician towns, Tyre and Sidon at the head, were indeed according to our notions absurdly small places. Tyre and Sidon on their islands were restricted to an incredibly narrow space, not larger than that of a good-sized square or an average park in the middle of our large cities. Even if the southern climate, where the house serves for little more than a sleeping-place, allows the inhabitants to crowd densely together, on the other hand fortifications, temples, and palaces required so great a share of the scanty area, that we can only assume a very moderate population for these supposed world-cities. The size of the harbours in both these places of "world-commerce" quite confirms this view. An ordinary three-master would not be able to turn in them, even if it actually sailed in; the small basins with the narrow inlet were only intended to receive vessels, which we should term boats. Places of the size of an average medieval city, with a harbour which afforded room for vessels such as in our days would serve at best for local traffic, and covering only such a space as could be contained in the middle of our modern inland towns, — these were the queens of the Mediterranean trade.

It is satisfactorily proved that this trade nevertheless had the same importance for the civilized world of Nearer Asia, as the present emporia in the West have for the commerce that includes our own world. We can indeed never hope to demonstrate from excavations the traces of this trade in the countries which it embraced. Anything contained in Greek accounts of the matter belongs to a later time, when Phœnicia was no longer in full possession of its native power. The evidences for it, however, are based on direct observation, and therefore give us a trustworthy representation of the significance of these seaports for their civilized world. We find in Isaiah songs about Sidon (ch. xxiii, where originally Sidon was meant and only at a later period Tyre was understood by it), and in Ezekiel one (ch. xxvii) about Tyre. The recorded splendours, which the trade of that time to the southern coasts of the Mediterranean and with Arabia supplied, can hardly arouse our envy; the inland dwellers of the Near East and the barbarian of the *hinterlands* of those coasts willingly gave what he had for these marvels. It is a noteworthy fact that the Phœnicians here seem already to have been ousted by the Greeks from the northern coasts of the Mediterranean, if indeed they ever were of any great importance in those parts.

Anything else that is recorded of their valiant exploits at sea is untrustworthy. Their ships may have penetrated as far as the Cassiterides in order to bring back tin — but in the first place we can never know what part the "West Phœnicians," the Pœni (Carthaginians), had in this, and secondly the regular trade-communications never went far beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. Many bold enterprises, such as the circumnavigation of Africa starting from the Red Sea, which was undertaken at the instance of Necho, were undoubtedly carried out by Phœnician merchants. But the sphere where the Phœnician commanded the trade was always only a part of the Mediterranean, and in this connection we must always make an

allowance for the share of the Carthaginians, who formed a distinct nation by themselves.

If then our idea of the Phœnicians is far less exalted than that which was influenced by the statements of the naïvely astounded Israelite, still the few data that we have for our knowledge of Phœnician culture confirm us in our view that we are moving in the right direction. The country offered splendid material for magnificent buildings in the alabaster of Lebanon, which the Assyrians fetched from Nineveh (cf. p. 84). The Phœnicians, however, conforming to Egyptian architecture, employed granite and syenite. The numerous pillars found on Phœnician soil are of this material, which clearly must have been laboriously procured from Egypt. Almost all the productions of an early period (between 1500–1000) which we have from Phœnicia, are purely Egyptian; so long then as Egypt was supreme, the Phœnicians appear to have merely adopted closely the technique of the ruling country. Some later products of the sculptor's art display, indeed, a "Phœnician" style; whether this, however, was a peculiarity of the Phœnicians, or whether it ought not rather to be described as Canaanitic and placed on a level with the Aramæan, is a question which is best left unanswered.

The dependence on Egypt during the middle empire and the formation of an Egyptian style are perhaps visible in the architecture by the more lavish use of the pillar, which in the Euphrates country was rarely if ever found. The Assyrian kings after Tiglath-Pileser III always mention that they had adorned their palaces with an edifice, which was called in the language of the Phœnicians Bit-chilani, "Chilani-house," after the model of a "Chatti-palace" (Phœnicia is included under the term Chatti country; cf. p. 113, and the explanation on the back of the picture, p. 124). This Bit-chilani is a gateway decorated with pillars, which served as a place for all public business of the king. A representation of the temple of Baalat of Gebal on coins of the Roman Imperial era shows a similar gateway.

The culture of the Phœnician towns, so far as it was not the inheritance of a period still withdrawn from our knowledge and subject to the supremacy of Babylon, or did not consist in an imitation of Egyptian productions, can, after all that we have proved as to its political unimportance, lay no claim to an independent evolution. The *hinterland*, which came into less direct contact with the two predominating civilized countries, Egypt and Babylonia, was naturally still less subject to the influence of those civilizations, however little Egyptian life may have penetrated into the Phœnician towns. This is most clearly expressed in the religion. The conceptions of the Phœnicians as a group of the "Canaanitic immigration" are distinguishable in no respect from those of the other Canaanites, as we know them from the Old Testament and other scattered accounts. Here again anything which can be put down to the previously existing institutions of an earlier "Babylonian-Semitic" population is problematic, and for the present insufficiently proved. If we compare the Babylonian cults before and after the Canaanitic immigration, we find that the worship of the stars, that is, the special reverence for the sun and moon, which we observed in the valley of the Euphrates, is growing less general in Canaan and Phœnicia. We can at least conjecture that this was a Sumerian inheritance in Babylonia. If we find in the place-names of Canaan, as Bêt-Shemesh ("House of the Sun"), traces of such a cult, its origin

may be looked for in the Babylonian, pre-Canaanitic period; at any rate, the sidereal bodies play no part as ruling powers comparable to that of a Sin and a Shamash in the sphere of the Babylonian civilization.

The characteristic of the Canaanitic religion is a Dualism, which distinguishes the two sexes, represented by the male Baal and the female Baalat. Of these the female divinity meets us mostly under the name of Ashtoret (Astarte, the Babylonian Istar). The male divinity, originally distinct in different tribes and nations, appears under special names. Ramman or Hadad, who must have been peculiar to a tribal-group, which preponderated in Mesopotamia and Babylonia and, to judge by its early appearance was one of the first, is among the most celebrated. Dagon, who was not a Philistine god, but had been brought by the Canaanites to Palestine, must like Ramman have belonged to a group which had become powerful in Mesopotamia and Babylonia. He meets us at the time of the dynasty of Isin, and of the first Babylonian dynasty in Babylonia, and still plays a part in later Assyria.

We have here been discussing names of Baal as the male principle of nature, which were connected with large tribal groups and wandered with these, but every separate tribe retained his name for the original Baal-conception and established his worship when they seized a stronghold. The Baal of the wandering tribe thus became the lord of a settled place and country, he became the *genius loci*, lord of the city. Such Baalim are Melkart in Tyre, the female principle Ashtoret in Sidon, the same under the name of the female principle Baalat in Gebal, and all the countless Baals, which were worshipped in every stronghold if it formed a tribal centre. Such a Baal, speaking profanely, was the Jahve which was worshipped by tribes roaming to the south of Judea. With David he was removed to Jerusalem, to be the lord of the new country. (So evolutionists argue, excluding belief in revelation.) It lies in the nature of things that these separate Baalim, who bore different names according to the respective tribe and place, and whose importance grew or sank with that of their worshippers, developed especial sides of their power, so soon as they once assumed a personal character and thus became once more separate divinities, which represented a definite force. The whole creative power of nature, which appears as the male principle is seen in hot countries first in the fruit-bringing rain and in the storm accompanied with thunder and lightning. Ramman, therefore, is pre-eminently the storm-god, just as Jahve originally. Dagan possibly was, as his name may signify, a corn-god. In a town without agriculture the natural side of the divine agency is neglected; in Tyre Baal becomes a *Melkart*, a "king of the town," as the name, perhaps originally a mere proper name of long-forgotten signification, was interpreted by the Phœnicians. But the evolution of the various conceptions of the divinities always recurs to the two original embodiments of the sexual principle. It is in this form that the true meaning of the Semitic religious conceptions can be most clearly recognised.

"El"(= God) seems to be a pure abstraction of the conception of the Deity; it meets us among the Canaanitic, Aramæan, and Arabian peoples. The personal character of Baal originally diverged from it; no god of a tribe, or of any larger national group ever bore this name. If it occasionally appears also as a personal divinity (in Southern Arabia and Sendshirli), that is the evidently later personification of the originally abstract notion. A similar explanation is necessary,

when an Elat is mentioned by the side of an El; this is nothing more than the conception of the female divinity, which was added to that of El on the analogy of Baal-Baalat.

The higher civilization, with its literary training, tried to explain in its fashion the cults as they had been evolved from existing and introduced elements in the different tribal and local sanctuaries during the historical progress of the peoples, and to form out of the different aspects of the original fundamental thought a pantheon, the members of which, according to their various characters, were explained to be the creators and rulers of the universe.

In the different States, which were equally possessors of a revered sanctuary, these Cosmologies and Theologies were distinct, since naturally each system was anxious to make its own sanctuary the central one. We have considered (cf. p. 38) the little that is as yet known of such matters from Babylonia. Even from Phœnicia a mere extract from such doctrines only is available, and that in a very garbled form, dating too from later times. It is the mythology of Gebal (Byblos), which a certain Philo of Byblos composed under Nero and according to the custom of the time published as a translation of the work of a very early (pre-Trojan) priest, Sanchuniathon. This abridgment, preserved by Eusebius, can serve as an example of such a mythology. It can, at most, furnish in isolated points explanations of the nature and growth of Phœnician religion, since in it the spurious wisdom of various centuries and different epochs of culture are inextricably blended together; besides this, the Grecized form hardly renders it possible for us, in our present knowledge of Phœnician mythology, to restore any names.

11. CARTHAGE

A. The Offshoots of the Canaanitic Migration

The waves of the great "Canaanitic" migration had rolled beyond the western coasts of the Mediterranean. Of the four great Semitic immigrations (cf. above p. 8) this was demonstrably the case with this, the second one, and with the fourth, the Arabian. We do not know how far the first spread, and the Aramæan migration had always kept far from the coast, and never ventured out to sea.

It is the general idea, adopted from antiquity, that the Phœnicians spread themselves as traders over the coasts of the Mediterranean, first settling in "trading factories," and then gradually winning more territory, until they finally became the lords of the country. It is excusable for Greek antiquity to have held this view, since it was acquainted with the Phœnicians as merchants, and since on the western coasts of the sea, which it thought to conquer for itself, it found Carthage with her allies and subjects who looked upon Phœnicia as their home. But it is obvious that in reality Phœnicia with its petty conditions was not in a position to produce the number of men which was required to flood all those countries with settlers, and that above all the sorry figures described by the Tel-Amarna letters would never have conquered the world. But through trading factories (and there is not even evidence of any extensive trade of Tyre, Sidon, and Gebal in the Tel-Amarna period) no colonies are founded which leave permanent traces behind, and impress on the country the stamp of a distinct nationality.

Because the Greeks held the Phœnicians to be the civilized people of the East, since it was through Phœnician interposition that this culture had been made known to them, trouble has been taken to prove traces of the Phœnicians in Greece itself, in the Greek islands, and still further off on the coasts later occupied by the Greeks. As there is no historical evidence for this, the only course open is to examine the place-names of the countries in question, in order to prove the existence of Phœnicians by these witnesses which have survived the peoples. The mythology has also been brought into the question, in order to rediscover traces of the Phœnicians in the seats of the cults, although experience shows that such places and names are usually taken over from the old population by the new immigrants. Such an attempt, which from the first is unpromising, must in the present case be still less successful, since Semitic nomenclature is thoroughly ill adapted to leave traces behind. Arguments brought forward on this basis can no longer meet the approval of a student familiar with the Semitic languages. Even the search after points of contact in the religions offers few prospects, since we shall hardly ever be in the position to distinguish that which is universal to mankind and therefore common to all from what has been borrowed. Finally, we know too little of the Phœnicians themselves to gauge their characteristics with accuracy. They were not the representatives of a national civilization which could be placed on the level of the great Oriental civilizations. If we therefore wish in any way to find conceptions which may be referred to them, we must always reflect on their position toward Babylonia. Should any traces or influences of Oriental culture be supposed to be found on Greek soil, we should expect them to be Babylonian rather than Phœnician. In order to judge the part played by the Phœnicians in the history of the world, we can in the first place only trust to the authenticated instances of their appearance, and must abandon the attempt to gain for ourselves a picture of the influence of the East on the other Mediterranean countries, until earlier Babylonia has delivered up more of its documents. We can only at present prove an appearance of the Phœnicians in the western basin of the Mediterranean. Since they must have established themselves there in pursuance of their advance into Phœnicia itself, their expansion toward the west must have occurred in the third millennium. The difficulties and counter-currents which they had to battle against there are at present entirely obscure. Even from the sea attempts at conquest in Asia had been made; the attacks of the "maritime nations" of Merneptah (about 1280 B.C.; cf. Vol. IV, p. 49) and the accounts which the Greeks recorded of the different maritime powers (cf. Minos in Crete) are evidence of this.

The most important of the Phœnician settlements in the West are well known. On the coast of North Africa there lie, west of the Syrtes, Leptis, Hadrumetum, Carthage, Utica, and the two Hippos. Those that lay on the Mauretanian coast had no special significance. In Sicily the western portion particularly is Phœnician; but there, as in other instances, we can never know what was primarily Carthaginian and therefore secondarily Phœnician. We must renounce the attempt to prove very ancient Phœnician, pre-Hellenic settlements in Eastern Sicily (Camarina, Megara, and others), since we doubt the applicability of the explanation of names for such purposes. The same holds good of Spain. There were certainly Phœnician colonies already in existence there before the commencement of the Carthaginian power, and as in Africa, the power of Carthage will have been built on their conquest and union. But what we know of Carteïa and Gadir (Cadiz) is quite

uncertain; and the identification of Tartessus with the biblical Tarshish is very doubtful. Thus still less information has come down to us of the various Phœnician settlements in Spain than of the African. The town, which at a later period was promoted by Hasdrubal to be the seat of government for the Carthaginian dominion under the name of Carthago or Carthago Nova, seems at a still earlier time to have been a sort of centre. We must abandon even more completely the attempt to prove any definite points further to the east. Massilia, at a subsequent date Phocæan, may previously have been in the hands of Phœnicians; but that is proved neither by the name nor by a Carthaginian inscription found there, indeed it is doubtful whether the latter really belongs to that place. In Sardinia alone can we prove with any confidence the existence of Carthaginian influence, although there again a previous universal Phœnician occupation of the island is quite probable.

We have no materials for the history of these settlements and their further development. Our accounts begin where the Western Phœnicians come into contact with the Greeks, when these latter commenced to dispute the western basin of the Mediterranean and when the struggle between Rome and Carthage was being waged. Carthage was already at the head of these settlements. There are no longer "Phœnicians" there, but only an immense Carthaginian empire to which everything is subordinated. The history of these Western Phœnicians is therefore, so far as we can follow it, the history of Carthage, and even there it is very incomplete. The fact that the soil of Carthage has given up thousands of worthless votive inscriptions, but absolutely no historically valuable documents is the more regrettable, since we have here arrived at the precise point where "Phœnicians" decisively affected the course of world history. The Phœnicians in their mother country never played a part which really enabled them to contest the supremacy with the nations that ruled the world; it was the colonies which disputed with Rome the sovereignty of the Western Mediterranean.

B. Carthage to the Breach with Rome

(*a*) *The Founding and the Beginnings of the Colony.*—We have no accounts of the first settlement of Carthage, and we can only conclude the course of events from some institutions of later date. What the legend tells us about the founding of Carthage by Dido, and the transference of this legend to the reign of Pygmalion of Tyre — all this is pure fable (cf. p. 164). Any approximation of the date which is intended by this legend (according to Timæus) has no sort of historical value. Dido or Elissa is the heroized Astarte, worshipped as the *genius loci* of Carthage; she does not belong to history.

The Carthaginians, even in later times, acknowledged Phœnicia as their mother country, and as a proof of this paid an annual tax to the temple of Melkart in Tyre. Carthage has therefore been regarded as a Tyrian colony, and the Dido myth is traceable to this idea (or helped to support it). We have, however, evidence that the chief god of Carthage was not Melkart, but Eshmun and Astarte, that is to say, the gods who were worshipped at Sidon. This proves according to Semitic ideas that Carthage was not a Tyrian but a Sidonian colony. What we have clearly seen with regard to the conditions of Phœnicia and the course of its expansion beyond the sea, forbids us to look on Carthage as a colony sent

out from the city of Sidon; the Phœnician towns as such could never have done that. On the contrary the migration across the sea originated with the Phœnicians who were still in movement. If, therefore, Carthage worships the same gods as Sidon, she does so not because they are the gods of her mother city, but because she does homage to them as to the common gods of all Phœnicians. The Carthaginians did not regard Sidon as their mother city, but as the head city of all "Sidonians," just as Tyre and the other States did. When through the destruction of Sidon by Assarhaddon (p. 69) even the religious headship was transferred to Tyre, the Carthaginians began to send their offering of homage to Tyre, because the rescued gods of Sidon had found a refuge there. From this time, and only in this sense, Carthage was a "Tyrian colony."

A further clue to the explanation of the conditions of the historical period is given us by the name Carthage itself, and by a remarkable and well-authenticated fact as to its relations with the neighbouring town of Utica. Carthage (Kartchadast) signifies the *New Town;* it can only be so called in distinction to an old town. Citium in Cyprus and the subsequent "New Carthage" in Spain received the same name when they were "newly founded," that is, when they fell under the Phœnician and Punic sway and were promoted to be the seat of their own power; thus, for example, the Assyrian kings in similar cases were accustomed to call the "newly founded" cities after their own names (Fort Assarhaddon, Castle Sennacherib, etc.). The old name of Carthage was possibly Byrsa, which really belongs to the old quarter of the town, the city, and not merely to the citadel, and is found also, perhaps, on the legends of coins.

Utica, on the other hand, signifies *Old Town.* It must have first received this title in place of its old and unknown name, when the New Town assumed its name, and thus politically outstripped it; that is precisely the state of things which is illustrated in the mother country by the struggle between Sidon and Tyre for the "motherhood" or the higher antiquity.[1]

In the second treaty with Rome Utica is expressly named with Carthage and on the same footing as Tyre, while all others are included under the title of "allies," that is, subject and tributary towns. This implies a recognition of the "motherhood" of Utica as much as of Tyre; the religious fame of the former capital had thus been preserved even when Carthage had long possessed the political supremacy, and was strong enough to secure to Utica an exceptional position above the other towns. From this we may deduce the fact for the period on which no accounts throw any light, that Utica was formerly the chief city of the African Phœnicians and had been gradually ousted from that position by Carthage. This also explains why Utica in the third Punic war voluntarily ranged itself on the side of the Romans and was afterward made by them the capital of a province; adroit use was made of the still remembered antagonism in order ostensibly to realise the old religious claims and to restore the conditions which had been forcibly altered by Carthage.

The relations of the town, which lay on the site of the later Carthago Nova in Spain, to the Spanish Phœnicians have been already touched upon. We know

[1] This conclusion, which we deduced from the name above, that Utica was originally the head city of the African Phœnicians, (whether in religion or politics is uncertain), can be absolutely authenticated if we only recognise the Oriental point of view.

practically nothing of these colonies. But after we have cleared up the position in Africa, the conjecture involuntarily suggests itself that the town chosen there by Hasdrubal for the seat of government of the newly conquered Carthaginian province had similarly at an earlier period been a sort of centre for the Spanish Phœnicians. We can hardly assume that these, before their political subjugation by Carthage, had belonged to the same league as the African colonies, and therefore had acknowledged Utica as the chief town. A confirmation of this view may be found in the fact that in Carthago Nova the chief temple was that of Eshmun; that is, of the god of the old national sanctuary at Sidon. The old name of this town was perhaps Tarseion; and since Tarshish designates the Spanish Phœnicians, it would be more reasonable to rediscover it in this capital than in Tartessus, which is usually conjectured, so that originally the migrated "Sidonians" in Africa may have formed a league similar to that in the mother country. The common sanctuary of the league was at Utica (still called by another name). This was about 2000 B.C. Gradually the individual free and equally privileged towns were subdued by one which acquired more power (then perhaps Carthage and earlier Utica). In this way an empire of the African Phœnicians or Pœni was founded. Whether this was already under the suzerainty of Carthage at the time when our historical accounts begin, that is, when the Greeks commenced to spread over the western basin of the Mediterranean, we do not know. From the successful progress of the Greek migration, at first in Sicily and Spain, it can be understood that a strong united power did not then exist in the Western Mediterranean. We may conclude from this that Carthage did not yet possess the headship, that on the contrary it was only through its prominent place in the struggle against the Greeks generally that it succeeded in uniting the other Pœni; but it may be equally well imagined that it had already taken up its position, and that the Greeks were favoured merely by a temporary weakness of Carthage. How far in this connection they had been at all aided by the quarrel between Carthage and the other maritime power of the Western Mediterranean, the Etruscans, until these, owing to the increasing power of the Greeks, were driven into the hands of their former rivals, is an equally obscure point. Both views are possible. But the fact that the war against the Greek world was not waged energetically until we find it under the leadership of Carthage, is not enough to warrant us in dating the predominance of Carthage merely from this period, as is usually done under the influence of the legend that Carthage was founded in the year 840 B.C.

(*b*) *The Encounter with Hellenism.* — It is difficult to obtain a clear idea of the spread of the Phœnicians in Sicily and on the Franco-Spanish coast, to the west of Carthago Nova, owing to the nature of the accounts, which only begin when Hellenism comes into conflict with the vigorous resistance of Carthage, so that nothing is told us of the conquest of countries which were actually occupied. At the commencement of the seventh century Sicily and the coast of Massilia are in the possession of the Greeks; we have no information as to the previous state of things in these parts. The Phœnicians had only held their own in Western Sicily, where they were protected by the Carthaginians. Their strongholds were Panormus, Motye, Lilybæum; but what part of them was Phœnician, namely, a remnant of some old immigration, and what Carthaginian, that is to say founded only from Africa? From the Greek point of view the two parts are identical, and from

this time they are so in fact, since all opposition to the Greeks was headed by Carthage.

About the middle of the sixth century the Phocæans attempted to establish a footing in Corsica (according to tradition, 562 B.C.) and founded Alalia. After reinforcements had been sent from the mother city, fear of the threatening growth of the Greek immigration, which already had laid a firm grip on Lower Italy, the larger part of Sicily, and the coast round Massilia, drove the two great powers of Carthage and Etruria to combine. The Phocæans were totally defeated and expelled from Corsica. Somewhere about the same time are recorded the wearisome wars of the Carthaginians in Sicily and Sardinia under Malchus. All details and even the precise dates are impossible to fix, but we must see clearly that here the further Greek expansion received a check, and that limits were roughly fixed which were not afterward overstepped. The Greeks after this did not encroach to any extent on the Carthaginian sphere of interests. The accounts of wars with Massilia, that is, with the chief town of the Greek colonies on the Franco-Spanish coast, are also obscure. These wars bear upon the history of the country we are considering equally with those in Sicily and Sardinia.

Malchus, the general who put a stop to the advance of the Greeks, is reported to have interfered in the home affairs of Carthage in a way from which we may draw conclusions as to the cause of some precedent weakness. The account is certainly vague, as indeed is everything we learn of Carthage from the records, but still it shows us the same dissensions which combined afterward to produce the fall of the city. There had been an unwillingness to receive the general on his return with the army (from fear of the effect of his power on the government of the Families). We therefore infer that he looked to the support of the people against the nobles. In the end, as he was aspiring to the kingly power, he was defeated and executed. It must be assumed that he attempted to put an end to the rule of the great Families; but when he had obtained possession of the city by means of his army, he miscalculated his powers, relinquished the army, and thus fell a victim to a reaction of the Families. The accounts suggest that he was not a thorough-going "tyrant," who relied upon the army, but that he tried to obtain the crown by a constitutional revolution.

Our accounts designate as his "successor" Mago, who has left his mark on the subsequent course of events, and whose family was for a long period at the head of affairs. He had made himself the directing mind of the Families, and his house long conducted the government in their spirit. He and his descendants are named as generals of the Carthaginians in the wars in Sicily and in Africa, where the maintenance of the Carthaginian territorial power was at stake.

Meanwhile the Greeks had found in the Sicilian tyrants leaders who could more energetically organise the operations against Carthage. This change was very soon appreciably felt, and compelled Carthage to look for assistance in the struggle against her tough foe where it was voluntarily proffered. Tradition tells us, in an anecdotal and no longer intelligible fashion, of an embassy from Darius to Carthage. Its demands sound somewhat foolish; but apparently its object was to claim the submission of Carthage, since her mother country was now tributary. In combination with the Phœnician (p. 144), the Carthaginian fleet would have made Persia the undisputed mistress of the sea. Carthage rejected this suggestion. Nevertheless, she was soon forced by an identity of interests to work hand

in hand with Persia. While Xerxes tried to crush the Greeks in the eastern basin, the Carthaginians made a simultaneous effort in the western. The success or want of success was the same for the two allies; Xerxes was defeated at Salamis, and the army of the Carthaginians under Hamilcar, the son of Hanno, was vanquished by Gelo at Himera. Hellenism, attacked in both halves of the Mediterranean, successfully resisted in both the Semitic civilization of the Orient.

(*c*) *The Commercial Treaty with Rome.* — We should have an invaluable piece of evidence from this period if its date were more trustworthy. Polybius (III, 22) mentions a treaty which, in the year of the first consuls, 509, the new republic of Rome concluded with Carthage. This treaty had been discovered in his time among the Roman archives, and could only be deciphered with difficulty. The entire conception of the development of earlier Roman history depends on the point whether this treaty is to be referred to this year or, as it has acutely been suggested, to the year 348. The means hitherto employed do not permit of a decision; historical criticism may incline the balance to this side or to that. It is difficult to arrive at any certainty. We might, however, exclude any date before the dissolution of the Etruscan power (that is, before the fourth century B. C.). The most weighty provisions were that the Romans and their allies were not to be permitted to undertake raiding expeditions, or to found colonies beyond "the beautiful promontory." A doubt at once arises whether this boundary between the Carthaginian and Roman spheres of interests is to be looked for in Africa or in Spain; the most probable explanation is, that by this Mastia and Tarseum, the subsequent Carthago Nova, must be understood as the furthest points to which the protectorate of Rome and the trade of the Roman allies were allowed to extend. Massilia, according to this, would belong to Rome. Sicily, again, so far as it was Carthaginian, would be included by the Romans in the African territory of Carthage. The Carthaginians bound themselves not to make overtures to the Latins, so far as they were subject to the suzerainty of Rome.

(*d.*) *Mago's Successors and the Conquests in Sicily.* — Contemporaneously with the development of the African situation at the close of the fifth century we have accounts of a subjugation of the African district by the members of the House of Mago. This can only refer to a subjugation of the native tribes; their district was occupied by Carthage, and they themselves became subjects of the Carthaginians. From this point Carthage begins the system of *Latifundia*, in which Rome was her predecessor and teacher. Hitherto we have only been able to represent the African settlements as towns with a fair-sized territory situated in the coast region; now there is a province. This becomes directly Carthaginian, not Punic, since Carthage is already ruler of the remaining Punic towns. These themselves naturally retain their respective civic rights and their territory, but are dependent on Carthage.

The House of Mago held for several generations the conduct of affairs in its own hands. Its influence then seems to have become suspected by the Families, and it was ousted from the exclusive exercise of the governing power. All details are again obscure. The revulsion is said to have followed as a consequence of the battle on the Himera (480). From that time the rivalry between two great parties leaves its mark on the internal policy of Carthage. The one party, at

whose head we shall soon find the Barcidæ, aimed more at a centralisation of the power, and had therefore an ultimately monarchical tendency, and was based on the army; the other represented the interests of the Families. This opposition is strongly emphasised in the Second Punic war, when the fall of Hannibal was due perhaps more to the enmity of his countrymen than to Rome.

The Carthaginians were forced by the battle on the Himera to desist from their schemes of conquest in Sicily, and could only retain their strongholds in the West. New attempts at aggrandisement inevitably followed the revival in the next period, since the prosperity of Sicily and of Syracuse in particular must have been a growing source of danger to the Carthaginian trading supremacy. Nevertheless, Carthage had for a comparatively long time looked on passively at the growth of the Syracusan power. That may have been connected with the internal conditions; namely, with the overthrow of the House of Mago, which had exclusively conducted the government. The first attack on Syracuse was not made by Carthage; but the Eastern and Western Greeks allowed her the rôle of the *tertius gaudens*. Segesta, hard pressed by Syracuse, appealed to the Athenians for help. The latter used the opportunity to carry out long cherished schemes (of which Themistocles is said to have been the original deviser). But the interference of Athens unexpectedly soon ended in disaster (415–413). The Carthaginians were therefore compelled as regards Syracuse, which was now stronger than before, either to give up their rôle of the expectant looker-on or to renounce all claims on Sicily. When therefore Segesta again turned to them for help, they had no option left but to decide on war. Possibly the subsequent vigorous interference was connected with a change in the government, in so far as the aristocratic régime, having been found lacking in energy, had been supplanted by the rival party. In any case, the war was carried on from the outset with vigour, and, after a preliminary reverse at sea, with success. Selinus, Himera, Agrigentum, and Gela were captured, and Syracuse was compelled to acknowledge the Carthaginian suzerainty over the western half of the island (410–405 B. C.).

Peace had been concluded with Dionysius I, to whom the reverses gave the best opportunity of making himself master of the situation. But friendly relations did not last long, war was declared for the second time, and for the second time peace was made between the two powers (397–392, 393). A third war was begun by Dionysius and ended by a treaty with his son. Here we have an obscure account of the revolt of a "Hanno the Great" in Carthage; even before this there had been revolts in Libya and in Sardinia. The Sicilian wars came to a temporary close by the peace with Timoleon, who by the victory on the Crimissus (343) was able to secure somewhat favourable conditions for the Greeks, and to restrict Carthage once more to the West.

Polybius inserts two new treaties with Rome (348 and 343) between these events; once more the "beautiful promontory" is fixed as the limit of the respective spheres of interests, and at the same time Sardinia, with Libya, is expressly secured to Carthage.

In Sicily there was no permanent tranquillity, but opportunity was repeatedly offered to Carthage for renewed interference in the various quarrels (318–314). New complications threatened from the east through Alexander the Great. As lord of Tyre he is said to have followed the example of Darius, and claimed the submission of Carthage; besides that, the deputation with the gifts to the temple

of Melkart had fallen into his hands. By the founding of Alexandria the danger drew nearer to Carthage; but nothing is reported of any measures taken on either side. If Carthage adopted in this instance a waiting policy, she did so successfully; for with the death of Alexander the danger of a further expansion of Hellenism was past. Both Carthage and Rome escaped by this the otherwise inevitable day of reckoning, but had received in Alexandria a rival to their commerce. With the Ptolemies, however, who had temporarily occupied Cyrene, there never appear to have been any unfriendly relations; at the beginning of the First Punic War there is actual evidence of a treaty with Ptolemy II, according to the terms of which both parties reciprocally guaranteed their respective territorial possessions and commercial undertakings.

In Sicily, however, fresh complications soon ensued. Agathocles, in his efforts to found a Sicilian empire, was forced first to make an attempt to drive out the Carthaginians. This led to that tedious struggle with those marvellous vicissitudes, in which Agathocles, driven back on Syracuse, attempted to change the scene of war to Africa, and there on his side besieged Carthage itself, until in the end, he was compelled to return to Sicily, having lost his army in Africa, and was forced to make peace with Carthage on the basis of the *status quo* (312–306). He died in the midst of preparations for a new expedition against Carthage (289). With him disappeared the rival, who had once more combined the forces of Western Greece against the Carthaginian dominion. After this time no power was again formed which could have made head against Carthage there.

C. The Barcidæ and their Death Struggle

Agathocles bequeathed an inheritance, destined to promote the outbreak of hostilities between the two powers which had survived all these disturbances, that is, between Rome and Carthage. As rivals of Carthage by sea only the Italian Greeks were survivors, and even their power was broken once more while Carthage on the whole played a waiting game. The favourable opportunity to seize possession of Tarentum which was offered her by the one party was let slip, while the Romans were not so foolish. But, after Tarentum had fallen and Pyrrhus was defeated, the struggle between the last two powers for the supremacy in the Western Mediterranean could be no longer postponed.

The pretext for the rupture with Rome was afforded by the request for help sent by the mercenaries of Agathocles, the Mamertines, who had established themselves strongly in Messana; being besieged by Hiero II of Syracuse, one part sought help from Carthage, the other from Rome. The Roman relieving army crossed the straits, unhindered by the Carthaginians, but found a Carthaginian garrison in the citadel and Carthaginian ships in the harbour. Nevertheless, the semblance of peace was still maintained. Carthage, hesitating as ever, was anxious to avoid an open breach. But when the Romans drove out the garrison from the citadel, no course was left to Carthage but to declare war, the First Punic War (264–241). Rome was victorious, and Carthage had to renounce all claims on Sicily.

Doubtless Rome before this had forced on the war, but her unblushing policy was soon afterward unmasked by her action in the occupation of Sardinia. The war with Rome had been far from glorious, except for the valiant defence of

Eryx by Hamilcar. On the conclusion of peace his army had to be transferred to Africa; but there the Carthaginians either would not or could not give the troops their full pay. In the end there was a mutiny of the army, which was supported by the Libyan peasant population. Utica and Hippo (Diarrhytus) were taken by the mutineers, and Carthage itself invested, until Hamilcar, appealed to for help, successfully stamped out the revolt. At the same time the Carthaginian mercenaries in Sardinia had mutinied and obtained possession of the island. But being hard pressed by the inhabitants, they demanded to be admitted under the Roman overlordship. This was refused them so long as Carthage herself was occupied with the mercenary war in Africa; but when, however, tranquillity was restored there, and signs were shown of an attempt to subjugate Sardinia again, Rome disclosed her real intentions and granted the renewed request of the insurgents for help. In defiance of the conditions of the treaty concluded three years previously, Sardinia was occupied by Rome.

The feud between the two parties in Carthage becomes conspicuously prominent in the period between the first two wars with Rome. A war party, represented by the Barcidæ, did not indeed bring about the war (that was always done by Rome), but wished to protect the actual independence of the State, since it has no doubt as to the views of Rome. The other, with which opposition to the great power of the Barcidæ must have been the real motive, was the Roman party, bribed possibly by money or hopes held out to them by Rome. It advocated unqualified submission to Rome; in the last resort it waived all claim to self-government. The Barcid party, the preponderant power of which we must not look for in the person of a Hamilcar or Hasdrubal, but in the actual vigorous vitality of the State, had always had constitutional right on its side, so long as Carthaginians could hold their own in the field. It was only when through the difficulties of the war which was threatening before the very gates no other possibility existed, that the Roman party had tried to enforce even constitutional measures for submission to Rome. Hitherto its influence had always consisted merely in clogging any energetic conduct of the war; and by its policy it had actually accomplished what it intended. Hannibal, the victorious general, was, strictly speaking, defeated nowhere except in Carthage. The Roman army needed by the Roman party in order to work the new constitutional machinery in the city was now before the gates.

After the loss of Sardinia, Hamilcar went to Spain (237) and proceeded, by conquering a new Carthaginian province, to replace the loss of Sicily and Sardinia. We know nothing of the conditions of the Phœnicians there. We see from the treaties with Rome that the still existing towns belonged to Carthage. What happened now was precisely that which had taken place previously with the Libyans; the *hinterland* was subjugated, and a province constituted, while hitherto merely trading towns under Carthaginian overlordship had existed there. Hamilcar fell in battle against the Iberians (229), and Hasdrubal took his place. He continued the work of his father-in-law, and made the ancient Mastia the capital of the new province under the name Kart-chadast, or Carthago Nova, as it was called by the Romans. After his death (221) the supreme command over the army was entrusted to Hamilcar's son, Hannibal.

The acquisition of the province of Spain and the second war with Rome seem exclusively the work of the Barcidæ; in fact the impression is created that these

were really the holders of power in Carthage, and had possessed in substance a monarchical power. This depends, however, to a considerable degree on the nature of our accounts, which, on the one side, only describe the war, in which those personalities were naturally more prominent, and on the other side have the object of justifying Rome's action toward Carthage. But to do this they were obliged to represent the Roman party at Carthage as the outraged one, while it can admit of no doubt that in reality the Barcidæ were always in harmony with the constitutional authorities. The Roman party was simply practising treachery. It was not Hannibal who governed the authorities in Carthage — he went as a boy with his father to Spain and only came back to Africa at the close of the war — but it was the majority of the Families which filled the constitutional offices, and he belonged to their party and executed their resolutions. The command of the army had, of course, given Hamilcar and Hannibal a weighty voice in the council of their party, and they doubtless contributed largely to their preponderating power, but they were nothing more than many other generals of whom history tells; Mago, perhaps, possessed personally greater influence than Hannibal.

The pretext for the war was as usual dragged in anyhow by the Romans. Hannibal, when he besieged Saguntum, had in no way infringed the unjustified demand of Rome that the Ebro should not be crossed. The course and result of the Second Punic War are well known. The Roman party carried its points, so that finally an army appeared in Africa, and pressure was brought upon the government to recall Hannibal to Africa, where the matchless leader was vanquished at Zama (202). Rome now could dictate severe conditions of peace: cession of the Spanish province to Rome and of the tributary State of Numidia to Masinissa, and the loss of independence. Carthage became tributary to Rome, and forfeited even the right of waging war.

Carthage as a sovereign State disappears; politically she could no longer play any part. But commerce gave her an importance which was able finally to win her political power. Rome was bound to take measures against this. Just as the Assyrians always contrived to effect a rebellion of their allies and their tributaries in order to be able to annex their States, so Rome was never at a loss for the means of provoking the last fight of desperation. With this object Masinissa was therefore placed by the side of Carthage. He played, according to instructions, the part assigned to him. The "Third Punic War" (149–146) was the struggle of despair, which was the result of the petty provocations of the Numidian king, and gave the pretext for getting rid of Rome's rival in peaceful competition. Carthage was destroyed, and Utica became the capital of the new Roman province of Africa (146 B. C.).

D. Retrospect of the Punic Empire

When dealing with the races of the Ancient East, we had to complain of the marked deficiency of sources of information as to the internal development of the States. This applies with special force to the Western Phœnicians, the Pœni. There are two tablets of inventories of temple dues, one discovered in Marseilles, the other in Carthage, both of which belonged to identical originals, and therefore both ultimately can be traced to Carthage; in addition to this there are thousands of dedicatory stelæ of Roman Carthage, which always repeat the same short and

worthless formula; these practically are all the productions of purely Punic intellect which the soil of Africa has hitherto yielded up. Years of excavation, on the site of Carthage especially, have not resulted in any discoveries which go back to the period before the destruction of the dreaded rival of Rome. We are, therefore, still less able to picture Carthaginian life at home than that of Persia, where we had at any rate some materials by which we could properly estimate the accounts given by the Greeks. Even in the political history our accounts of the internal revolutions have not been quite comprehensible, since they come from sources which could only regard foreign institutions from the standpoint of their native conditions, or were entirely derived from Rome. Besides the eulogies which have been lavished on the Carthaginian constitution by Plato, Eratosthenes, Polybius, Cato, and Cicero, we are indebted to Aristotle's "Politics" for a long discussion of it; but these discussions are for purposes of comparison, and presuppose a familiarity with the lost work on the Carthaginian constitution. Again, the picture of a political constitution firmly embodied in a State is certainly not always, perhaps only occasionally, the true expression of the forces that determine the life of the people. But a constitution, whose growth as result of an historical evolution, and whose historical working too we are unable to trace, is little more than a curiosity.

The Punic colonies are the result of the migration of a people. But differently from their kinsmen in the so-called ancestral country the conquering bands found on the African coast no existing civilization, the achievements of which they might have been able to appropriate. It was therefore natural that they took root in the soil less quickly, and maintained a connection with "the mother country," in which the actual economic dependence found expression. For as inhabitants of the coast with an uncivilized population in the *hinterland*, they were from their requirements drawn toward the old civilized countries, from which they had come. Owing to this connection they became commercial States which, according to the Semitic mode of thought, acknowledged their economic identification with the mother country by an annual payment of taxes to the gods of the "Sidonian" Amphictyony. This signified in reality an acknowledgment that they had no gods of their own to whom the territory seized by them originally belonged and whom they appropriated, but that the land had rather been conquered by the old ancestral gods in Sidon. If they had found old seats of culture already existing in their new home, they would have received the country from the old gods, since they adopted their cult. But since nothing of this sort existed, they were bound to adhere to the gods of their home.

Had Carthage originally a monarchy? Judging by Semitic ideas we may unhesitatingly say not. The king, in the Semitic sense, holds office by divine grace. He has received from the god the government of the country belonging to the god. If the land has no god of its own, it can therefore have no king. The Phœnicians of the mother country found older seats of culture and very soon received kings, since their leaders adopted the institutions of the conquered country. In Africa, where there was nothing of this sort, no royal dignity could be received from the gods who did not exist there, and therefore the land remained dependent on the mother country. It might well be imagined that a Tyrant — in the Greek sense of the word — a Shalît, as the Semite would say, might usurp the highest power as judge, general, and priest, and have invested himself with the regal title. Then, like David, he would necessarily have been anxious to give his capital a cult

of its own, and thus to emphasise that his god was independent of the gods and the cults of the mother country. Since that never happened, and since on the contrary the tribute to the mother country was paid, and had to be paid to the very last, unless indeed it was wished to put into the hands of an ambitious general an honest pretext for obtaining the regal dignity, a monarchy can never have existed in Carthage.

The constitution of Carthage is therefore that of a provincial town, that is, the government is based on the tribal organisation of still unsettled Semites. There was a council, presumably the representation of the citizens and a body of elders, which originally may have corresponded to the leaders or elders (sheiks) of the Families, but in historical times according to its nature may have been the administrative magistrates of the State, elected out of the aristocracy. The executive heads of these magistrates are the two *Suffetes*, the "Judges." Their existence is another proof of the impossibility of a monarchy. The Judge or Shofet (as in the Old Testament) is the leader of a tribe, which does not yet possess any fixed sanctuary with a Baal, a lord of the country. He cannot therefore yet have been High Priest, and still less leader of a non-existent army. The continuance of this title in Carthage is explained by the want of a god who possesses the country. The dualism of the Suffetes is either to be explained because Carthage was mainly a settlement of two tribes or, that, after the settlement, in the process of forming a citizen class and a patriciate, these two predominant sections of the community each had a representative in the government.

If the Phœnicians, possessors of the best harbours for a large civilized district and limited by the masses that pressed on them to the narrow strip of coast, were driven to seafaring and trade, still the settlers in the western basin of the Mediterranean so soon as they were strengthened in their intercourse with the Eastern civilization, were enabled to subjugate a larger territory for themselves by defeating the still uncivilized inhabitants of the *hinterland*. The great merchants of Carthage did not wish to sacrifice the advantage which was obtained by exploiting the productions of the land and therefore subdued the Libyan inhabitants of the *hinterland*. We know little about the course of events. The victors must at first have only taken a portion of the land for themselves, while they left the old owners the presumably larger portion as their own property in return for a fixed tribute. The introduction of a money system, which is essential in a mercantile State, only brought more land into the hands of the Carthaginian lords since the peasants were overwhelmed by debt. Thus a great land-owning class was developed, which employed slave labour for agriculture, and took for its model the Roman system of *Latifundia*. It is uncertain what the policy of Carthage was in her foreign provinces. It is well known that the Spanish metal-mines were thoroughly exploited. But whether the Carthaginians themselves were the workers or whether they left the working to the natives and by a system of taxes directed the profits into their own coffers, must remain undecided. The latter alternative seems the more probable.

We possess practically no available account of their trade relations generally. With regard to the intercourse with the Eastern civilized world, it is obvious that they must have furnished it with the raw products of the countries of the western basin of the Mediterranean. The Bible calls the most important of these countries

Tarshish. It must remain undecided to what country in particular this name was attached; in any case the Carthaginians were the masters of the Tarshish trade, the courses of which bounded the horizon of the civilized nations of Western Asia. The trade, which commanded the Spanish coasts and drove out the Phœnician mother country thence, must have penetrated beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. There is the famous attempt which, even before Herodotus' time, somewhere about the year 470 B. C., the "elder" Hanno made (the Periplus of Hanno) to acquire the West African coast by planting factories. His journey took him beyond the mouth of the Senegal, and the record of his achievement is said to have been set up in the temple of "Cronos" at Carthage. The extant Greek account claims to be a translation of it. The counterpart to this journey is found in the Periplus of Himilcus, who is said to have explored the North as far as Britain. We are, however, less well informed as to his report, since it is only known to us by its use in the "Ora Maritima" of Avienus.

12. ISRAEL

By far the best known of all Oriental peoples are the tribes which form the last components of the second wave of the group, which we treated in the tenth section; namely, the "Hebrew" tribes, whose home, the farthest toward the desert, would in itself indicate that they came as the last of the great "Canaanitic" migration, driven on by the precursors of the next, the Aramæan. These are the tribes which combined themselves into the people of Israel, and their neighbours who dwelt still further toward the desert, the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites.

The Tel-Amarna letters prove the advance of "Hebrew" tribes in the land as early as the fifteenth century; one nation in particular comes prominently forward, which expanded from the North, namely, the Amorites (cf. p. 160). These appear to the Israelites in the writing which presents the oldest form of the tradition, as the inhabitants from whom they must wrest the land; when the Israelites marched in, the former had already become occupants instead of conquerors. We must thus regard the Israelites as the next stratum after the Amorites, and must place their immigration somewhat later; in the Tel-Amarna letters (which of course hardly mention tribal names at all) no allusion to Israelitic tribal names can be proved. The earliest mention of Israel seems to be contained in an inscription of the Pharaoh Mernephtah II (about 1200 B. C.). Whether that is, however, the tribal federation which we understand by this name, or some forgotten tribe, of which no record is left in biblical tradition except the name of the collection of tribes banding round it and its sanctuary (with the divinity "Jacob"), must remain an unsolved question.

A. The Narrative Books of the Bible as Historical Documents

Every one advances toward the history of Israel with confident notions, mainly based on the accounts of the Bible. Before we proceed, therefore, to the description of the events themselves, a few words as to these most essential and generally trusted documents are necessary for our purpose so that the views of modern literary criticism on these books may be appreciated, always understanding that they are looked at and judged solely as human documents by the learned and acute critics who have laboured at the analysis of the Bible.

The "Historical" or, as they must really be termed, "Narrative" books of the Bible in the form in which they now are extant, are the work of a late period. The peculiar nature of the use made in antiquity of documents allows us to dissect the books into their separate documents, so that we are in a position to divide the evidence which now has been made to harmonise and to weigh one piece against another.

The result of this division of sources, which is most apparent in the Pentateuch, is as follows. Two ancient documentary writings, designated according to the use of the name of God by the writer as Elohist and Jahvist, had been combined in very early times. The writing of the Elohist is indeed the most ancient, because it alone still preserves recollections of the actual conditions of remote antiquity. For instance, it still knows that the land must be won from the Amorites, while the Jahvist usually speaks of Canaanites, that is, it applies to the older inhabitants the general designation taken from the name of the country. The Elohist retains in its legends traces of a post-Israelitic immigration of Edom, Moab, Ammon; while the Jahvist, which judges from the standpoint of later circumstances, regards these as already settled in their homes at the time of the immigration of Israel.

Both writings were probably intended as introductions for annals which led down to the time of the author. Of the really historical component parts of these "Annals" only insignificant fragments have been preserved for us, which deal especially with the later period of the kings, and are easily distinguishable by their scanty form. They have mainly been replaced in the revisions of later times by legends of the Prophets, of which the nature is best represented by the stories of Elijah and Elisha. This "Prophetic Code" is based on the point of view prevalent in the period about 600, after the introduction of the Deuteronomy, although it is still conceived in the spirit of the old ideas.

The code, on which the hierarchical constitution was based, was introduced by Josiah. Its contents are preserved for us in the legislative portions of the Fifth Book of Moses. This law only acquired its true importance during the exile in Babylonia, when the people, having become a religious sect, saw in it the guide for all conduct. A priest then during the banishment tested the whole history of Israel by these regulations. His work is shown to us in the present form of the books, which extend from "Joshua" to "Kings." He has taken the older documents, but has still more carefully extracted the annalistic elements from them, and in other respects has shortly expressed his views as to the separate sections, especially the reigns, in conformity to the Deuteronomy. His work is, therefore, a review of Israelitic history with regard to the divine origin of this law. The "Deuteronomist" explains the history of the people by their neglect or observance of this "Law of Moses;" he is a writer with a declared purpose, and his own additions are not hard to distinguish. Their nature is most easily and clearly seen in the summarised verdicts on the reigns of the various kings, thus: "He walked in the ways of Jeroboam and did that which was displeasing to God," or *vice versa*. To him also is due the settlement of the chronological scheme of the Bible, which is historically worthless, since it only gives an inadequate calculation of the events on the basis of untrustworthy accounts, such as had been ascertained in the exile.

The further development of the religious sect, which is henceforth thus represented by Judaism, led to the building up of the hierarchical constitution in the

most pronounced sense. This constitution was committed to writing in the so-called "Priestly Code," either a work of the exile, or a product of the attitude of mind then prevalent. This code describes the whole development of the people of Israel from the creation of the world in a short epitome as an introduction to the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, which contains the new law. This work, originally standing by itself and reckoned as a post-exilic code, has then been incorporated into the work which the "Deuteronomist" adapted from the earlier ones. It is easily recognised by its language; to it belong the account of the creation in the first chapter of Genesis, and more especially the dry lists of genealogies for the patriarchal age. There is reason for congratulation that the author of the Priestly Code did not go further than the giving of the law on Mount Sinai. If he had treated the rest of the history from his point of view, it would have been barely possible to use any portion of it for historical purposes; for, in contrast to the "Deuteronomist," he has made a clear field and removed everything which did not agree with his system. While the former gave us patchwork and thus preserved many old pieces for us, the latter in an independent treatment has represented everything uniformly according to his own view, and is thus entirely useless as an authority for history or, as regards the early legends, for literary history. The result of narrative in his spirit is shown by the Books of the Chronicles, a long, post-exilic account of Jewish history in the sense of the Priestly Code. As sources, use has been made chiefly of the Books of the Kings, although in a more detailed form than we possess them; for the rest these are only bold inventions. As historical documents they are, apart from some isolated facts, quite valueless.

But even the older accounts, contained in the work of the "Deuteronomist," would not furnish any historical picture, if we had not a standard in the results of ethnology and other investigations of the Ancient East by which to separate the early views from later perversions. Besides this, the evidence of inscriptions, especially the Assyro-Babylonian, often puts the solution of the riddles into our hands.

B. The Beginnings of Israel

As might be expected, the ideas of Israel as to its beginning, are, as those of every people, clothed in the form of hero legends; the later hierarchical shape of the tradition has then given them a special colouring. Historical records could not exist until comparatively settled conditions had been established, in the kingdom of Saul and then of David. All that goes back to the period anterior to historical records could only be a scanty local tradition. But even the oldest historical period was certain soon to appear in the light of legend; besides this, the above described peculiarity of the tradition preferred the legendary to the historical; and the reason is clear, since for its purpose facts were often less advantageous than their legendary counterparts. Thus little authenticated history of the earliest period of the kings has come down to us in special notices.

The legend begins its account of the history of Israel with the emigration from Egypt and the immigration into the "Promised Land." One single fact is, however, enough to prove the whole conception to be legendary. In the first place it is an historical impossibility. An emigration of a tribal federation, a march through the countries of kindred tribes living under the same conditions of social economy,

would have necessarily ended in the rapid dissolution of that federation, since alliances were made with the tribes of the countries traversed and many parts merged. Unification can in the first place only result after settled homes have been obtained, and presupposes a sojourn in the country. The Israelitic tribal federation, that is, the people of Israel, did not receive its organisation until it was already settled in the country. Its individual tribes did not therefore previously stand in closer relations to each other than to their neighbours the Edomites, Moabites, and many others which had disappeared as tribes; it was only the acquisition of fixed settlements of a certain uniformity that brought them nearer together and separated them more from the others. This evolution is the result of the interval between the Tel-Amarna period and the first appearance of the "people of Israel."

But apart from the fact that the legend of the exodus from Egypt is *a priori* distinctly unhistorical, we are actually in a position to trace its growth. The god, who had become the national god of the united Israel Judah, was identified with the district south of Judah, whence David conquered his kingdom. The seat of the god is, however, always the true home of the people, the place where its ruling section lives. The view of history, which intended to prove a united people of Israel Judah, was bound to look for their home there. This country, like Egypt, (perhaps as the part of Arabia belonging to Egypt) was called Mussri. The legend at a later time considered this to be Egypt, and so liberally employed a vivid imagination and descriptive power with accessory embellishments and local colouring that a legend was developed, whose magic charm was enough to invest it with the semblance of historical credibility down to modern times.[1]

We, however, picture to ourselves the conquest of the country on the model of well-known migrations, and assume that the individual tribes, out of which the people of Israel was afterward formed, conquered their homes, perhaps in combination with other vanished tribes, and were only welded into a large federation in the country under the stress of circumstances. The tribe, whose sovereignty gives rise to the Mussri legend, did not, as we shall see, belong to them, but only attached itself to them in historical times. The true Israelitic tribes had their homes "in the desert." Of the period when the tribes were not closely united and a common cause of action was not yet generally (if at all) possible, we have reminiscences which have been handed down by tradition under the heading of the "Period of the Judges," and clearly show tendencies to the formation of separate tribal principalities, and thus infer the distinct existence of the individual tribes. Such are the narratives of Jephtha in Gilead and Gideon in Manasseh, the latter greatly disguised by additions. In both it can still be seen that we have to do with tribal traditions and that no commonwealth of Israel can be presupposed. It is only subsequent revision that arbitrarily introduces at the end a united Israel.

The natural course of events leads to the result that the sheik, the head of a tribe, who conquers a country, derives the chief advantages from this conquest and obtains more ample means of power, which exalt him above his fellow-tribesmen.

[1] A similar confusion can be shown in the Patriarchal Legends, where we for instance have the same legend in both forms; the first is located in the land of Mussri with appropriate local colouring, the second in Egypt with suitably altered background.

Settled life in a town and the adjacent localities dissolves the tribal organisation based on equality of rights, and leads to lordship and monarchy; the voluntarily acknowledged sheik becomes an absolute monarch.

This must have been the case soonest, where the immigrants found similar conditions existing, and where the conquest of a royal city actually implied that the conqueror adopted the institutions found there. While, therefore, in the two just-mentioned examples of "judges" we can recognise the representatives of a country population, the next stage in the development, the tendency toward monarchy, is visible, where an "Israelitic" tribe is found in possession of a town. It was the tribal monarchy, which Abimelech founded for himself in Sichem. Notwithstanding that it soon ended, and left no permanent effects, it may be reckoned as typical of many similar phenomena of the time when the Israelitic tribes obtained possession of the towns, and were acquainted with the unwelcome conditions that accompanied the coveted treasures of civilizations. This is the one form of the growth of the monarchy.

It anticipates the natural development of tribes or clans into nations and States in so far as it effects a complete breach with its own tribe, and thus strips itself of the aids by which it had just become prosperous and great. Such a tyranny, being more than a continuation of the existing form, had no permanence. A monarchy originating in the conditions of the further growth of the tribal life and its new needs, which could be based on the members of the nation proper, alone had any lasting results.

We have only one piece of evidence as to any combined action of the Israelitic tribal-federation, which would seem to be that mentioned by Mernephtah, namely, the so-called Song of Deborah. The prophetess Deborah owes, however, her existence to a legend connected with a miscomprehension of the text. The whole narrative, chapter iv in the Book of Judges, is only a narration adopted from the erroneous conception of the song by the aforesaid "Prophetic Code." The "prophetess Deborah" was derived from the designation of the town Dabrat in Issachar, which plays a prominent part in the song. The song itself, which in consequence of the mistakes of the tradition is hardly yet intelligible in its details, extols the triumph of the Israelitic tribes in a war. Almost all the Israelitic tribes are named in it. The mention of Benjamin is, however, hardly in the original, but is due to the subsequently felt need of seeing every tribe named.

C. The Kingdom of Saul

The advance of the Philistines in the twelfth century brought the Israelites under their power. Two alternatives were thus possible; either the barely immigrated tribes possessed the power to drive out the new rulers, or they lost their nationality and became Philistine subjects. The first was the case. It was the struggle against the new enemy that stimulated a closer unification and thus enabled the people to show a bolder front. War can only be waged with permanent success under a single command. A condition of ceaseless conflict must finally bring about the power of a successful leader, who first by the expulsion of the enemy and the reputation thereby acquired, gains a commanding position within his own tribe, that is, he becomes king, and then proceeds to set himself up as the liberator and at the same time lord of the remaining tribes.

This explains to us the rôle of Saul, the leader of Benjamin, in the war against the Philistines. There is no clear proof that Benjamin belonged to the league of the northern "Ten Tribes;" on the contrary, the subsequent intimate connection of Benjamin with Judah on the overthrow of David's kingdom, supports the view that this tribe was opposed to the northern tribes, which were already united together. Here, in the country of the tribe, which was settled between Philistia proper and the Israelitic tribes, a competent soldier might succeed in making himself lord of his own tribal country during a victorious war against the foreign dominion, and then he might proceed to wrest from the Philistines the Israelitic territory, which thus fell to him, as to its natural lord. We must form for ourselves some such idea of the growth of the monarchy in Israel. It is really a conquest by a small tribe which did not yet belong to the federation, and is thus precisely the same phenomenon as recurs immediately in the founding of David's kingdom: a conquest which must have been felt to be a liberation from the Philistine yoke.

Saul has always remained in legend a romantic personality; to us indeed the only one. It is noteworthy that the legend of David, which certainly had no cause to cherish Saul's memory, never succeeded in obliterating it. We can see from the tradition that he kept all in check so long as he lived, and that even the enterprising David himself did not venture on any action against him. On his death Israel had lapsed to the latter; but even the inventors of his legend have been obliged to spare Saul's memory. We know very little historically of him. One *motif* runs through all accounts of him; the struggle against the Philistines, by which he founded his kingdom, which occupied all his life, and in which he met his death on the battle-field. A fragment of old tradition has left us one more short account of his other wars (I Sam. xiv, 47, disfigured in the present tradition): "He fought against all his enemies on every side, against Moab and against the children of Ammon, against Aram (thus, not Edom; the small Aramæan States in the north of Israel and in the country east of Jordan, Geshur, Bet-maacha, Bet-rechob are meant) and against the king of Zobah (south of Damascus) and against the Philistines."

Our accounts, so far as they are historical, tell us nothing of Saul's relations to David; as we shall presently see they cannot have known anything of the original opposition between Judah and Israel.

D. The Kingdom of Judah

(*a*) *The relations of David to Saul.* — By the side of the kingdom of Saul, in the country of the tribes inhabiting the less civilized district further to the south on the fringe of the desert, a separate kingdom had in the meanwhile been formed in the same way as that of Saul, only starting from a still lower stage of development, that was the kingdom of David, of which Judah appears in tradition as the chief tribe.

It is important at once to set aside the picture of David and Judah, which rests on legend. David is essentially a mythical hero. To him, as to so many conspicuous figures in history, all kinds of stories, — heroic legends, popular jests, and such like — have been assigned, which were told of the man who represented the greatest power of Israel-Judah. His period therefore appeared to posterity as a golden age, something in the way in which the popular story has made Frederick Barbarossa the representative of the splendour of the German empire or Alfred

the hero of England. But together with this we have to distinguish another legend of quite definite political tendency, the object of which is to describe David as the representative of an originally united people of Israel, to which Judah also belonged. This is the legend which, in modern language, was put into circulation by David's historians and agents in order to work in his interests and to win the people for his house. After it had once struck root, it was carefully tended on political grounds and proved its vitality, since indeed almost everything which we possess from Israelitic sources was written with this view.

To this legend belongs almost everything which is intended to prove a union of Israel and Judah, and above all, that which is narrated of the Bethlehemitic (Judaic) origin of David, of his youth, and his relations to Saul. Not a particle of this is historical: the historical David is a quite different figure. Fortunately the legend has retained some reminiscences of him which correspond to the actual facts. According to this, his rise was closely connected with the growth of the "Tribe of Judah." As the connection of Benjamin with Israel and the creation of a "Kingdom of Israel" must be called the work of Saul, so the formation of a "tribe" and Kingdom of Judah is the work of David.

In the course of Oriental history again and again some leader of a tribe or a band assumes the title of king and finally rules a large realm. Even David, according to the legend, was leader of some such band in Ziklag, far away to the south in the desert, situated in Edomite territory in the land of "Mussri." The more such a rôle is inconsistent with the picture which the legend drew of the representative of Israel's greatness, the more we are able to recognise in it a thoroughly historical tradition. David thus held his own for a time as the lord of a stronghold, and gradually gathered round him a devoted band, with the help of which it was not difficult to subdue the less mobile tribes, which had no leader. Whether, as the tradition assumes, he recognised the suzerainty of a Philistine king (Achish of Gath) must remain uncertain; it is possible.

The natural path of David's conquests led northward. He subjugated several tribes, which appear later as component parts of "Judah," among them Cain, and Jerachmeel; he became a prince, whose power could no longer be ignored, by the subjugation of the tribe of Caleb, with its centre Hebron. The legend contains these conquests in the form of the story of Nabal (I Sam. xxv), but it is more clearly expressed in the fact that David's first royal residence was Hebron, the chief town of Caleb. Henceforward he is reckoned a king or a prince. Some reminiscence of this origin of his real power was preserved in a continually misunderstood passage (II Sam. iii, 8), where Abner later speaks contemptuously of him as "the prince of Caleb." Abner means to say: "Am I a rival of such as thou, David, that thou thinkest I wish (by marriage with a wife of Saul) to gain some claim to the crown?"

Caleb was bordered on the north by the territory of the "Hebrew" tribe Judah. This had hitherto not been closely allied with Israel. David now subjugated it and thus united it with Caleb and the other subject tribes. The most important town of this district was Jerusalem, situated almost on the northern frontier toward Benjamin and Israel. We have heard of it in the Tel-Amarna letters as already the seat of a prince who governed those parts. The Israelitic tradition recognises that, before it was conquered by David, it did not belong to the "Hebrew" Judah, but was still under kings of its own, who were "Canaanitic," that is to say they had

long been settled there. These "Jebusites" need not, however, for that reason have been much older than Judah itself. The mere fact that they were in possession of a town soon made them distinct from the inhabitants of the open country; this constitutes the difference between "Hebrews" and "Canaanites." According to the tradition, David only made Jerusalem his capital after the subjugation of the whole of Israel. This is hardly probable, and the reason for this account is obvious,—Jerusalem was to be reckoned the capital of the United Kingdom. Originally, indeed, it had only been intended for the capital of the newly conquered territory, and David removed his court there, since it was the richest portion of his land, and near the frontier of the country which was then the next aim of his conquests; namely, Israel, the kingdom of Saul.

David hitherto kept on good terms with the Philistines; if we reflect on the political movements disclosed in the Tel-Amarna letters, we can hardly imagine that the Philistines and David were not in league against their common and dreaded opponent. The legend had, it is true, every ground to disguise this enmity to Saul, who was not forgotten in North Israel. It discovered in its place a friendship with the son of Saul. David was favoured by fortune. Saul fell in the war with the Philistines, and, so the legend says, to the great sorrow of David. But probably the hero David had contributed his share to this overthrow.

The fate of the northern kingdom was thus sealed. The cause of the house of Saul, in spite of the brave defence by Abner, was more and more desperate. There is naturally no idea that the Israelitic tribes voluntarily did homage to David as the legend assumes: there was actually an attempt made to secure the sovereignty for Benjamin by the revolt of Sheba, the sheik of the Benjamitic canton Bichri, who at last tried to hold his own in the north of Israel, in Abel-beth-Maachah (II Sam. xx). Since this revolt was incompatible with the account given in the legend of the voluntary acknowledgment of David, it was transferred to the latter years of David; but the fact that in the struggle against Sheba only Judah from its southern frontier as far as Jerusalem stood on David's side, speaks too significantly. It took place immediately upon Saul's death, when David threatened to seize the territory of Israel. He cannot have delayed in the matter, and a rapid success must have crowned his efforts. It was impossible for Abner to secure for Eshbaal, Saul's son, more than the district east of the Jordan. Israel properly so called thus fell into the hands of David without any further resistance than that of Sheba. Abner held the land east of Jordan for Eshbaal, according to tradition, for some time still. Then he was murdered, when wishing to negotiate with David (according to the tradition, in Hebron) in order to surrender to him the land east of Jordan. The legend gives blood vengeance of Joab as the motive, and is very anxious to deny any complicity of David; at all events he reaped the advantage. Eshbaal also was murdered.

David thus could occupy the land west of Jordan without difficulty, and was therefore king of Judah and Israel. He had therefore conquered almost his whole kingdom by force. Descended from a foreign stock, having subjugated the peoples which obeyed him, in the first place by force, trusting to his army, he himself, according to the legend, only maintained his sovereignty by the help of his army. Caleb seemed to be his home, the canton from which he sprang then in a wider sense, Judah; for his capital he had chosen Jerusalem on account of its favourable position for this purpose, being situated exactly in the middle of the two great divisions of his kingdom.

(*b*) *Jahve.* — According to the ideas of Oriental nations the real lord of a country is the god, the *genius loci*, the Baal, as his Semitic name is. The king reigns in his name; and by him is he called to power, as the Babylonians and Assyrians are never weary of emphasising. If a country is only made tributary, it retains its own government, its king, and remains the property of its god. If on the other hand it becomes a province, it is absorbed into the conquering State, and thus forfeits everything, and the god is deposed, just as much as the king. The god is carried away, and brought into the temple of the victorious god, where he now "stands before his face," that is, he serves him, just as the vanquished king before his victor (cf. pp. 16 and 73). The victorious god takes possession of the land in his place; a temple is built for him there, and a cult established; in this way the new province is incorporated into the State. That which has one god is one people; and every people must possess a god of its own.

In the country from which David started, the god dwelt, whom the legend wishes to represent as the God of all Israel. In the mountains of Edom, on Sinai (which even the Song of Deborah knows to be in Edom, that is in Mussri, while only the later view, influenced by "the exodus from Egypt," looks for it in the Sinaitic peninsula), and in Seir is his home. The view held in the monarchical period still places it there. David's God, who gave him the power, in whose name he had subdued Judah and Israel, was therefore the god of Mussri. When David subdued new lands and added them to his territory, he was compelled to express this in the newly acquired possessions by instating the cult of his god in the place of the old national cults. This god was called Jahve (Jehovah is a false vocalisation of the Divine name, never in later times pronounced by the Jews, and contains the vowels of Adonai (my lord), which was originally read in place of the name).

Before David no relations had existed between Israel and Judah, to say nothing of Caleb. This precludes the possibility that Israel had worshipped the god Jahve earlier as its own god. Each tribe had there its own god. It is true that there were also common sanctuaries of the confederation with universally recognised gods, but Jahve was not among the number; they could only have received him, when they had been subjugated by a conqueror from the land of Mussri. The legend which, stamping Jahve as the god of united Israel, illustrates the conception of a unified nation of Judah-Israel after the mode of thought at the time, is thus transparent in its intention; it speaks in the name and in the spirit of David. The whole account, therefore, which we possess of the past of Israel and Judah is nothing but a legend of the history of David. All the national records that have come down to us are conceived in this spirit. We now understand how instead of Mussri, the home of David, Egypt could be considered as the home of the united people. Israel was intended to be the people of David; for this reason his historians and poets were forced to represent the past in this light. The question will be asked: Is it then at all possible that a tradition could be so entirely inverted? Is there no record that formerly Saul and the heroes of early times had prayed to other gods than Jahve? Such record may have existed. It certainly was preserved in the North up to the overthrow of Samaria. But everything which has come down to us is conceived in the sense of that legend; Judaism would preclude the retention of anything else. Even from the Islamitic tradition, two hundred years after Mahomet, or even earlier, it is no longer possible to form the

least idea of the real circumstances before the revelation of Allah; there also a new spirit was once for all impressed on the tradition by the legend of Mahomet.

It is certainly a proof of the importance of David, when the vigorous vitality of the legend, which circulated in support of his policy, was able to exert so marked an influence on the tradition of subsequent times. Occasionally it was revived for political purposes; the name of Jahve especially was at times the rallying-cry of political movements in Israel and Judah. It is not wonderful that the people in later times were a willing audience when the exploits of David's kingdom were appealed to. In fact David's reign was the only one under which Israel as a united kingdom could have taken a position by the side of the other powers in Palestine and Syria. David's time thus appeared as the good old days when Israel was powerful; its dark side, and the resistance which was shown by the people, were soon forgotten.

The power of David extended far beyond the borders of Judah and Israel. He subjugated Edom; this union lasted longer than that with Israel. Israel first burst the bond, while Edom long remained united with Judah. Yet the home of the beginnings of David and Jahve lay on Edomite soil! David further subdued Moab; there also his efforts met with success. Moab remained subject long after the severance of the kingdom; it belonged, however, naturally to Israel. He also fought with Ammon, but his wars led to no permanent conquest. He did not penetrate beyond the Israelitic territory in a northern direction, as later tradition would imply. On the north of Gilead the small Aramæan States of Soba and Geshur adjoin and run up into the Israelitic territory. With these he had both friendly and inimical relations without permanently subjugating them. Damascus, soon the rival of Israel, lay still too far away, and had not yet acquired strength. During his reign, the Philistines were finally restricted to their territory on the coast; they did not make any further serious attempts to advance against Israel.

The rebellion of Absalom must be placed quite at the end of David's life. The legend does not give us a clear view of the matter. Yet one thing is apparent: David's sympathies were with the rebel; he was a mere helpless puppet in the hands of Joab and the military party. It is not said for whom Joab wished to secure the throne; probably even then for Adonijah. When Absalom fell (slain by Joab in defiance of David's command), David lamented for him. But Joab upbraided him insolently, and gives him plainly to understand that his sovereignty is at an end if he does not rally himself. It is worthy of further remark as regards the whole rebellion, that David also, as formerly Eshbaal, the son of Saul, sought and found an asylum in the country east of Jordan. There is a detailed description of the intrigues by which unwearying efforts were made to induce David, now completely worn out, to pronounce in favour of Solomon's accession to the throne. The factions at court are now clearly recorded for us. Solomon is the candidate of the priestly party, while the military party, represented by Joab, wishes to elevate Adonijah to the throne. The tradition in its simplicity makes no disguise of the means with which the priestly party conquered; we cannot of course find the real story in it. The result is, however, clear. Solomon succeeded in securing the throne for himself, and a pretext was soon found to remove out of his path his rival Adonijah with his partisan Joab, in spite of the immunity which had been promised to them.

(*c*) *Solomon.* — Solomon was placed on the throne by the priestly party. The party, therefore, upon which the new king relied, rather than on the devoted body-guard of his father, had thus become the interpreter of the will of the Jahve, whom David had made lord over Israel. The tradition which speaks in support of the priestly party, chose Solomon for its favourite hero, notwithstanding that it had still more trouble in creating out of him a morally noble personality than out of David, who at least, with all his unlovely traits, was acknowledged to possess the one quality of having won by his own merits all that he possessed. David had proved himself the superior of all the adventurers and robber chieftains who had fought with one another for the possession of the land. In order to form a just estimate of him we must only measure him by the standard of Bedouin ethics (and Bedouins have the ethics of brigands). The older records can tell us little about Solomon. The candidate of the priestly party was credited with the building of the temple as his greatest service, which is a confirmation of his good understanding with his adherents. Otherwise we have only some disconnected accounts of his reign. The notices of an extension of his power as far as the Euphrates (Typhsach-Thapsacus) are only found in post-exilic times, in order to represent as a mighty monarch the favourite of the hierarchical legend, from whom the development started which culminated in Judaism. To the same source is to be assigned the legend of the "wisdom" of Solomon. Nothing was found in his history which could be eulogised except his "wisdom," which he indeed showed sufficiently when he relied upon the priesthood instead of the army.

His reign in other respects was of the usual Oriental type. He tried to display before men's eyes the external magnificence of a mighty king, by raising immense buildings and keeping up an imposing court ceremonial. In order to defray the costs of his buildings, he is said to have actually ceded territory to Hiram of Tyre. In this, as well as in a notice of his maritime trading operations on the Red Sea, we are met by the fact that the half-nomadic, barbarian tribe, Judah-Caleb, with which David had conquered his territory, had been driven back by the influence of the already more civilized northern tribes; the civilized country, that is Israel, has gained the superiority with its institutions. The conquered civilization here, as everywhere, overcomes the barbarian conqueror.

A single notice of a small acquisition of territory by Solomon is valuable. He is said to have taken in marriage a "daughter" of the Pharaoh (this would naturally mean only a daughter of one of the women of the harem), and to have received as a dowry the hitherto independent Gezer. Light may be thrown on this notice by the conditions such as are represented to us in the Tel-Amarna letters. Solomon may have openly written to the Pharaoh in the spirit of Rib-Addi, Abi-Milki, and Abd-Chiba, his predecessor on the throne of Jerusalem, and enforced his claims on Gezer. He may have represented himself as the "loyal servant of his lord," and have obtained from the prince of Gezer his town by litigation. It would follow from this that the whole previous development was actually accomplished under the suzerainty of Egypt, feeble though it was at times. It is, however, more probable that here also the frequently recurring mistake of the tradition is to be found, which makes out the king of the (Arabian) Mussri to be the Pharaoh of Egypt. In this we see evidence for the relations of the Arabian commercial States (cf. p. 236) with Palestine.

This is the reign of the great and "wise" Solomon, whose wisdom the

tradition has attempted to overlay with all sorts of stories. But we notice also the voice of the recorder of the lives of the prophets, which dates from the period of the hostility between the prophets and the ruling party, and find its classical expression in the hostility of Samuel to the monarchy; the blame for the disruption of the kingdom is quite openly ascribed to the policy of Solomon's reign. As a matter of fact the conditions appear to be, that the more developed countries, the northern, were subject to the rule of the less developed; Solomon had, therefore, absorbed the former. His ancestral country must have derived benefit from the fact that it now came into closer touch with civilization. This result may have been very agreeable to the ruling parties in Jerusalem, but less so to the subject parties in the North. There was the additional fact that even the disadvantages of civilization now made themselves felt in Jerusalem. The barbarous but warlike Caleb was replaced by a Jerusalem which had been assimilated to the civilized North. But by this the foundation of David's superiority over Israel was undermined. Judah was no longer supported on the rude strength and the rapacity of the Bedouins; it had become a civilized State, and now learned the weakening influence of this culture. Now when there was a question of a struggle on equal terms, the more advanced part won. The northern tribes were superior in civilization, and they conquered Judah. This finds its expression first in the separation, but very soon in a veritable dominion of Israel over Judah.

E. The Division of the Kingdom and the Supremacy of Israel over Judah

The severance of Israel from Judah was not merely a struggle, which the two halves of the kingdom waged with each other, as tradition represents. The Egyptian inscriptions teach us clearly enough that the conquest of Jerusalem by the Pharaoh Sheshonk was connected with it. What had been Rehoboam's attitude toward the latter, and what induced him to show himself as a disloyal servant of Egypt, we do not know. But this much is clear, that the Pharaoh took away most of the towns of North Israel from Rehoboam and gave them to Jeroboam; there is still a tradition of his residence in Egypt. The record of it is distorted by the legend, and must be regarded in the light of the Tel-Amarna letters. Jeroboam succeeded in playing his cards better at court than Rehoboam; the North Israelite had more of the sinews of war, by which the disputes of the civilized world are fought out, for his advocates at court, than the king of Jerusalem. We do not know whether Rehoboam trusted to some other source of help in his resistance to the Pharaoh; it would be conceivable that he calculated on Damascus, which was now coming into prominence. In any case this latter very soon, owing to the ceaseless struggles between the now separated halves of the kingdom, became the supreme arbitrator in the affairs of Palestine, since Egypt after the last attack of Sheshonk does not seem to have interfered again decisively, and Assyria had not yet appeared upon the scene.

The most powerful of the two States was from the first Israel, which very soon showed its superiority. The Books of the Kings do not record any more of the war which was "always between Rehoboam and Jeroboam" (I Kings xiv, 30). In their efforts to estimate everything according to their view of Jahve as the God of all Israel, they have, however, preserved for us a more valuable notice. It proves

that Jeroboam had done that which we must have expected of him from the first. He was bound to make the people aware that he did not agree with Judah. It was to his interest to oppose the idea of the justification for David's power. He was forced, therefore, to attempt to abolish the cult of Jahve and to revive in its place the ancient national sanctuaries. He was, for this reason, solicitous that the two ancient sanctuaries of Bethel and Dan (which naturally he did not first fill with images, as the legend pretends) should be once more brought into vogue. It must be borne in mind that the great festivals, which were celebrated in such places, did not acquire their main significance from their religious side as festivals, but that they exercised a far wider reaching economic influence; they were the fairs which the whole nation held under the protection of the peace of the sanctuary. For this reason a king of Israel must have been still more anxious to keep visitors away from the sanctuary of Jahve in Jerusalem, and to deprive the other capital of the advantages accruing from such traffic. Since in this way the greater part of the revenue of the splendid new temple of Jahve was lost, the priests of Jahve had every reason to represent Jeroboam as the type of an impious king.

According to our accounts, Jeroboam was followed by his son Nadab, who reigned only two years (somewhere about 910). He is said to have been murdered during the siege of the Philistine Gibbethon by Baasha, of the tribe of Issachar. The new dynasty had not, therefore, lasted long; and the disturbances which are typical of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes did not delay their appearance. Baasha became king, and reigned, according to the accounts, from circa 910 to 886. He greatly harassed Judah. In order to render any communications with Jerusalem impossible, he fortified a place, Rama, a little north of Jerusalem. Asa was thus compelled to throw himself into the arms of Damascus and to implore its protection and suzerainty. Bir-idri naturally welcomed the proposal. He invaded Northern Israel, and thus forced Baasha to evacuate the frontier of Judah. The fortress of Rama was again razed; but Judah had become a vassal of Damascus, and Baasha, too, had no alternative than to bow to him, as his predecessors had to Egypt. Baasha's son, Elah, is said to have equally reigned only two years, and to have been murdered by the commander of the army, Zimri, who attacked him from Gibbethon, where the army lay, in his palace at Tirzah. The tradition, therefore, assumes that the two first dynasties of Israel consisted of two kings each, the second king in each case being murdered after two years' reign, and in both murders the army, which lay before Gibbethon, had a part. Exception has been taken to this, and it has been concluded that this tradition is untrustworthy.

Zimri was unable to hold his own. The army did not support him, but the commander-in-chief, Omri. The latter advanced at the head of the "whole people" (a national army is still presupposed here) up to Tirzah, where Zimri sought his death in the flames of the king's palace. In the meanwhile Omri had not been acknowledged king without further difficulty, "for half of the people followed Tibni, the son of Ginath." This latter seems to have held his own for a considerable time as a rival king, until he was vanquished by Omri. Parties, therefore, existed in Israel which may have corresponded to the different conditions of life of the population which had advanced from peasant life to a higher civilization. In the ceaseless disturbances which such feuds must have produced from time to time, vigorous measures could only be taken by the indispensable support of a

strong monarchy, a trustworthy army. This is what Omri and his house did, following the example of David. In home affairs the policy of encouraging traffic was adopted, and attempts were therefore made to establish favourable relations with foreign countries, especially with Tyre; Omri's son, Ahab, married a Tyrian princess, Jezebel. Omri's position toward Damascus is not described; probably, however, he recognised its suzerainty, and indeed only secured his throne by so doing. He again subjugated Moab, which, on the separation, had taken up an uncertain attitude toward Israel; and, doubtless, it was he also who brought Judah under his own suzerainty; this position is attested under Ahab. He made Samaria capital of the empire in place of Tirzah.

Omri's policy both at home and abroad was followed out by his son Ahab. He was a vassal of Damascus, had a strong army under his orders, tried to promote intercourse with foreign countries, and therefore showed friendliness to all strangers. By this he excited the opposition of the peasant population; the tradition shows us this in the zeal displayed by the prophets of Jahve, that is, of the god of the rustic Judah, against the Baalim, the gods of the more cultured strangers. This natural opposition of the agricultural population, which suffered under the development of trade and the encroachment of the military feudal system, to the dominating classes found its mouthpiece in the dervish-like forms of an Elijah and an Elisha. Judah was now subject to Ahab, and its king Jehosaphat was compelled to take the field with him. The relations to Damascus are clearly seen in the first notice of Israelitic history, which is chronologically certain. In the year 854 Salmanassar II at the battle of Karkar saw in the army of Bir-idri of Damascus an actual contingent from Ahab of Israel, which the latter had furnished as vassal of Damascus (cf. p. 119); Judah, as subject to Israel, is naturally not named. The attacks of Assyria on Damascus would naturally have incited Ahab to shake off the yoke. But Salmanassar was always repulsed by Bir-idri; and Ahab met his death in one of the fights, in which he tried to hold his own against Bir-idri, at Ramoth-Gilead (probably soon after the battle at Karkar, therefore about 853).

His son Ahaziah was probably at first obliged still to acknowledge the suzerainty of Damascus, and equally so his brother Joram, who followed him on the throne presumably only two years after. He would thus have been forced to take the field with Bir-idri in the subsequent campaigns of Salmanassar. But he also did not fail to make attempts to liberate himself, and is said to have been wounded in a battle which he had to fight near Ramoth-Gilead against Bir-idri (or now Hazael). While wishing to return home in order to recover from his hurts, he fell a victim to the revolution of Jehu.

F. Jehu

(*a*) *The Kingdom of Judah down to the Revolt of Jehu.* — Judah was from the very first at a disadvantage compared with the northern kingdom. This owed its freedom to the intervention or the approval of the Pharaoh, and Rehoboam had to suffer severely from Sheshonk's chastisement and the enforced contributions. It is a proof of the permanence of David's measures that Edom thus remained loyal to Judah, notwithstanding that an attempt had been made by a descendant of the old royal house (Hadad, according to the tradition), presumably under Solomon (I Kings xi), to gain its independence by the support of Egypt.

Neither Rehoboam nor his son Abijah can have had long reigns. Asa, the successor of the latter, realised the supremacy of Israel under Baasha, and was forced to solicit the suzerainty of Damascus in order to protect himself from the former. The "Deuteronomist" of the Books of the Kings commends him; the priesthood must therefore have flourished under him. Jehosaphat also is said to have been a pious man. Judah is now no longer directly dependent on Damascus, but is subject to the suzerainty of Israel; for Jehosaphat took the field with Ahab, both when he fought at Karkar for Damascus and when he fought against this superior feudal lord in Gilead. It is further recorded also that he made an attempt to resume the navigation on the Red Sea inaugurated by Solomon.

His son Joram meets us also as a loyal supporter of the northern kingdom under Ahaziah and his brother Joram. It is clear that he was completely under the influence of his wife Athaliah. This fact shows us that the Omrids understood how to secure the power, which they had founded through the instrumentality of a strong army, by other means as well. Athaliah was the daughter of Ahab, and sister of Joram of Israel. The part which she played proves that in reality the influence of the Omrids had already absolute power in Judah. They were nearly realising, by amalgamation of the two dynasties (the identical names in both are to be observed) their object of restoring the empire of David, but this time starting from Israel and under Israel's supremacy.

Edom shook off its yoke under Joram. An attempt to reconquer it seems to have turned out very disastrously for the king of Judah. He was followed by his own and Athaliah's son Ahaziah, for whom his mother had contrived to secure the succession. The Omrids seemed by this almost to have reached their goal when the opposite party aimed their blow and exterminated the proud dynasty; Ahaziah accompanied his feudal overlord and uncle, Joram of Israel, to battle in Gilead, where both fell victims to Jehu's rebellion.

(*b*) *The Rebellion.*—Jehu, the head of the rebellion, was, like Omri, a commander. He won over the army, while he was in the field at Gilead, and Joram had gone home to recover from his wounds. The army now turned the scale; as always happens, that which is the support of a strong monarchy may also become its most dangerous enemy. The cause of the rebellion is stated to have been that Joram and with him his vassal Ahaziah of Judah were murdered. The blow was clearly enough aimed at the whole house of Omri and its partisans, that is, the son of the Omrid princess in Judah. But the energetic Athaliah in Judah was able to hold her own by means of the army, the constant support of the Omrids. It is well known that she ordered all the male descendants of her deceased husband to be murdered. This seems an incomprehensible act of cruelty, but finds its motive in the simple fact that the murdered Ahaziah had been the only son of Joram of Judah by her, while the other sons were by different wives. On the death of her son the sovereignty would thus legally have come to one of the other sons, who had no Omrid blood in his veins. Thus nothing was left for her but to follow the tactics of her rival, if she did not wish to abandon the policy of her house which at any rate promised favourable results. Thus the complete success of the rebellion was frustrated by her bold action. It was only in Israel that the Omrids were exterminated and Jehu became king.

But what were the deeper-lying causes of the rebellion? The prophets had

KING ASSARHADDON'S MEMORIAL OF THE CONQUEST OF EGYPT
THE TRIBUTE OF JEHU, KING OF ISRAEL, TO SALMANASSAR II.

EXPLANATION OF PICTURE OVERLEAF

The monument of Assarhaddon shows the king as of superhuman stature. Before him are kneeling the Cushite Taharqa, distinguishable by the puffed lips and the Uraeus snake, and the Tyrian Baal, both held by rings which are passed through their lips. At the top, on the right, the signs of the Zodiac. The lower portion of the front face and the whole of the reverse are covered with an inscription of the year 670 B. C., which contains an account of the conquest of Egypt: "When Assur and the great gods, my lords, had bidden me to proceed, I marched over steep mountains and mighty deserts, places of thirst, with joyful spirit and in safety. Taharqa, the king of Egypt and Cush (Nubia) whom the great gods hated, I smote utterly from Is-chupri even unto Memphis, a journey of fifteen days successively, and I wounded him sorely five times with the point of the spear. Memphis, his capital, I conquered in half a day by breaching it, and destroyed it by fire. The women and eunuchs of his harem, Usanachur, his son and successor to the throne, his other sons and daughters, all his goods, his horses, and his cattle did I carry in a countless multitude to Assyria. I severed Cush from Egypt and left no Cushite remaining in it. I placed over all Egypt my servants and my governors. I established for ever taxes and tribute for Assur and the great deities, my lords; I imposed on the land tribute and gifts for myself as king for ever."

(The monument was excavated by the German Eastern Committee at Sendshirli, and is now in the Royal Berlin Museums.)

The inscription which belongs to the representation of the tribute of Jehu to Salmanassar II, as depicted on two sides of a square obelisk, dates from the year 812 B. C. and runs as follows: "Tribute of Jaua, the son (i.e. successor) of Omri: silver, gold, various objects (vessels, etc.) of gold, lead . . . wood, royal property, staves, did I receive from him." Another inscription gives a similar account: "In the eighteenth year of my reign (842) I crossed for the sixteenth time the Euphrates (conquered and besieged Hazael of Damascus). Then I received the tribute of the Tyrians, Sidonians, and of Jaua, son of Omri."

(London, British Museum.)

been favourably disposed to the Omrids. The prophets of Jahve, who derived their ideas from the home of the Jahve cult, that is, from Judah-Caleb, expressed the views and wishes of the people, especially of the people of the South, with their inferior economic development as opposed to the policy of the Omrids, who had brought Judah also under their sway. It is the resistance of the nomads and peasants to the development of a civilization which was prejudicial to them. It is the revolt of the spirit of nationality, too (whose ideal expression is, after David, Jahve as a national god), against the policy of the ruling dynasty, which favoured connections with foreign countries (and appears as a worshipper of strange Baalim). It is plainly seen in the course of the insurrection that this resistance, if not originating with Judah, was at any rate strongly supported by it. Its leaders are expressly said to be a tribe, Rechab (Rechabites, p. 125), which lived in the south of Judah on the fringe of the desert, in the simple conditions of agriculturists who have not yet altogether abandoned the ideas of nomadic life, and whose cult is said to have been that of Jahve. If we also take into account the support of the prophets of Jahve, expressly proved by the legend of Elisha to have been given to Jehu, we see what claims had been put forward by the revolutionists. It is not here the question of a mere military revolt, but the shock of two opposing classes of the population.

It is one thing to offer promises to discontented followers, and another thing to execute them. From the moment when Jehu became king, he had perforce to follow in the main the same line of policy as his predecessors. His scheme had miscarried in Judah owing to Athaliah's intervention. The kingdom of David, for which the worshippers of Jahve who supported him had fought, could not be restored; Jehu was restricted to Israel. He was compelled, therefore, to renounce the cult of the southern kingdom, which he had adopted so far to serve his ends, since he, as king of Israel, stood in natural opposition to Jahve, who was in the hands of Athaliah. He therefore renounced the cult of Jahve, and served henceforward the old gods of Israel, although he had started in the name of Jahve.

External circumstances also soon compelled him to abandon the idea of nationality, which must have helped to bring him to the throne. He was forced, in order to secure his sovereignty, to obtain the acknowledgment of the great powers and clearly from the first took into account the existing political conditions. His rebellion must fall in the year 843, or perhaps 842. In this year Salmanassar appeared on his expedition against Hazael before Damascus. He mentions Jehu as a tributary king (*vide* the inserted plate, "The Memorial of the Subjugation of Egypt by King Assarhaddon. The tribute of Jehu, King of Israel, to Salmanassar II"); the latter had therefore lost no time in obtaining support from the new power instead of Damascus, which had been hitherto supreme. This step was perhaps taken in conformity with the immediate wish of the national party — in reality it was bound to end finally at the point, to which the policy of the Omrids was directed. After Salmanassar had once more vainly tried (839) to subdue Hazael, he abandoned his attempts at conquest in the West. Jehu now was in a difficulty; for Hazael naturally proceeded to subdue him afresh. Whether Jehu continued to pay tribute as before to Assyria, we are not informed; but he did not submit to Hazael. He offered resistance to him and lost in the struggle the territory east of Jordan. Judah, which had eluded him owing to Athaliah, does not appear, even after her fall, to have been again subject to him; he had also been forced to abandon the Jahve party.

(*c*) *Israel under Assyrian Supremacy.* — Jehu's reign, therefore, which ought to have seen the restoration of David's kingdom, implies a downfall of Israel from the height previously reached, especially under the Omrids. It receded also under his son Jehoahaz. Israel was more and more oppressed by Hazael, since Assyrian help was not forthcoming; we are told (II Kings xiii, 3) that Israel was completely in his power. "Then God gave Israel a saviour." The account avoids mentioning this "saviour;" it was Assyria. Ramman-Nirari then subdued (c. 800) Mari' of Damascus. Even his son and successor, Joash, continued in the position of a vassal of Assyria, and was thus enabled to recover from Damascus lost territory (presumably east of Jordan). Judah itself was then probably once more conquered; Amaziah of Judah vainly tried to shake off the yoke. Jeroboam II, in whose period occurs the expedition of Salmanassar III against Damascus (773), was equally successful through Assyrian help; it is recorded of him that he reconquered the districts of Northern Israel. Under his reign, which is said to have been long, Israel enjoyed for the last time a period of comparative peace.

Soon after his death the new rise of Damascus under Razon, and the encroachments of Tiglath-Pileser, which are connected with this, herald a period of continuous revolutions down to the end of the empire. If Israel had fallen from its height after Jehu, we are now witnesses of its death agony. Zachariah, son of Jeroboam II, was the first of the series of the kings who were deposed by violence in rapid succession. He is said to have been slain by a certain Shallum, after a reign of only six months. This latter could only hold his own for one month against Menahem, son of Gadi (II Kings xv, 14). The date of Menahem is accurately fixed by the notice of Tiglath-Pileser III, that he had paid tribute to him in the year 738. Thus he acknowledged the Assyrian supremacy, under compulsion evidently, for Tiglath-Pileser took from him the northern part of his territory. Menahem must have died soon afterward, probably in 737. His son, Pekahiah is said to have reigned two years (736 and 735). He seems to have remained loyal to Assyria; for he was overthrown by Pekah, the son of Remaliah, who in doing so was supported by Damascus cf. (p. 120). After the appearance of Tiglath-Pileser, the cry of the two opposite parties was once more "Damascus or Assyria." Pekah, as vassal of Razon, marched with him against Ahaz, who in Jerusalem was consistently loyal to Assyria (735 or 734). The attempt to defeat him was unsuccessful. In the following year (733) Tiglath-Pileser appeared and invested Damascus. Pekah lost his northern territory, or, as Tiglath-Pileser expresses it, only Samaria was left. This gave the Assyrian party in Samaria the upper hand; it overthrew Pekah, proclaimed Hoshea king, and his election was ratified by Tiglath-Pileser. Soon afterward Damascus fell, and became a province of Assyria (731; cf. p. 121).

G. The Conquest of Samaria in the Year 722 B.C.

The state of affairs was thus completely changed. Damascus had been hitherto the bulwark which for more than a century had withstood the Assyrians. That did not perhaps affect the Israelites and their comrades in misfortune, so long as it was merely a question whether they should pay tribute to Damascus or to Assyria. But now Assyria proceeded to take every opportunity of systematically draining the resources of the subject people, that is, of creating Assyrian provinces. Ever since 738 the territory of Israel had touched the province of Simirra (p. 63), which

had been created there; and a considerable part of Israelitic territory was now assigned to this province. Damascus, too, was now Assyrian. The annexation of Samaria was necessarily the next step. There were only two possibilities of retaining their self-government, and these were: either to pay the tribute or to obtain help from another power. The tribute was too exorbitant to be permanently endured, and the king, through inability to pay, was usually himself soon driven to suspend the payments, that is, to declare his revolt. Help from outside might now have been sought in Egypt, which had never ceased to cast its eyes on Palestine, but it was now itself absolutely powerless. There was no resource left but to accept the offers of the North Arabian States, behind which stood the rich lords of Yemen.

It was not indeed long before Hoshea was compelled to suspend his payments of tribute, trusting to Arabian aid. The prophet Hosea, whose activity coincides with the period subsequent to the fall of Damascus, describes to us the conditions of vacillation between the Arabian "Mussri" and Assyria. In the year 724 B.C. an Assyrian army advanced in order to annex Samaria. The town is said to have resisted for three years; it finally fell when Salmanassar IV had just died and Sargon had mounted the throne (722; cf. above, p. 63). King Hoshea was carried away into captivity, and with him the larger portion of the inhabitants, 27,290 souls in all, as Sargon accurately records. They were settled in Mesopotamia, in the vicinity of Harran and on the Chabur and in the Median highlands. The loss of the population was replaced in the usual fashion by settlers from other parts of the empire; Babylonian citizens from Kuta in particular, were settled in Samaria. The capital of Israel had thus become an Assyro-Babylonian city. Where the people of Israel had held their unknown cult (not that of Jahve), there Nergal the god of Kuta was now worshipped. Samaria, henceforward seat of an Assyrian governor, may afterward be compared with the Sidon of Assarhaddon (pp. 70 and 166). The inhabitants were afterward actually termed Kutæans from the predominance of their Kutæan element.

It is universally believed that this "carrying away of the Ten Tribes" (p. 65) signifies a dissolution of the people of Israel, which is regarded as a part of Judah and as sharing the same views. Starting from this standpoint persons have taken the trouble to rediscover the remnants of the "Ten Tribes" in every imaginable place on the earth (cf. Vol. I, p. 180), being influenced by the biblical legend which wishes to represent Israel and Judah as one nation. The 27,290 souls, whom Sargon enumerates, were not, however, the people of Israel; that was only the larger portion of the population of Samaria and of its immediate vicinity which alone at the last formed the "kingdom" of Israel, since the northern parts had been taken away still earlier. But, apart from this, there was in the territory of the Ten Tribes an absolute lack of the bond which afterward kept the Jews together in Babylonia; that is, a common cult, to say nothing of a more highly developed religious conception and a closely organised priesthood. Since the severance, Jahve had no longer been the official god, and any traces of his cult which had been retained in the North from the time of David were entirely insignificant. The legend has not preserved any notice of the names of the gods of Bethel, Dan, and the other national sanctuaries; it represents Jahve as the universal god. In reality the Ten Tribes were not differentiated, as regards their religious conceptions, in the slightest degree from the other nations dwelling round them. They were not

therefore "Jews." The want of a national bond caused even those who remained in their old homes to give up all recollection of the "kingdom of Israel" without any great resistance.

The province of Samaria, two years after its conquest in combination with its companions in misfortune, Damascus and Simirra (North Phœnicia) and in concert with Hamath, made a renewed attempt to shake off the Assyrian yoke. But Ja'ubidi of Hamath (pp. 65 and 118) was defeated by Sargon. Thus any Syrian independence was destroyed. Samaria after this remained an Assyrian province. It repeatedly received new strata of population (for instance through Assurbanipal after the subjugation of the Babylonian revolt of the Kutæans). At a later period as Judaism grew stronger it became the home of the sect of the Samaritans of which the last remains only disappeared in our own times.

H. The Kingdom of Judah from the Fall of Athaliah to its Destruction

During the revolution of Jehu, Athaliah had succeeded in holding her own by means of the army. If Jehu thus was forced to fail in his promises to his helpers, still the revolution, notwithstanding this momentary reverse, meant in the end the victory of the Jahve party, which was unfriendly to the foreign Omrid dynasty and its policy. The priesthood in Judah, which had gained strength since Solomon, was clearly the real soul of the resistance to the anti-Jahve Omrids. It is obvious that, so long as there was any opposition to these, people and priesthood formed one Jahve party. It was only after the victory that the conflicting interests of the two parties were felt, as is usual in revolutions. Athaliah is said to have held her own for six years longer. Then the priest party succeeded in overthrowing her and wreaking vengeance on her; they had won over the "Pretorian guard," the support of Athaliah. The (presumably) only surviving son of Joram, who when his brothers were murdered had been sheltered as a child in the temple, was raised to the throne. It matters little whether he was really the last scion of David's house or was supposititious; the important point was that he had been "educated by the high priest," and placed by him on the throne; he was a puppet in the hands of the priests. In this way Jahve reigned again in Judah.

(*a*) *The Beginnings of the Age of the Prophets.*—A schism now was formed between priesthood and people. The two no longer stood as the ruled and oppressed class in opposition to the monarchy; but the sovereignty was now actually in the hands of the priests. These, together with the king who was dependent on them, had now been held responsible by the people for all grievances. If, therefore, hitherto the spokesmen of the people were opponents of the monarchy, they were now equally opposed to the governing priesthood. But, in the spirit of the stage of culture on which Judah stood, truth and justice were represented by an appeal to their god, and the god of Judah is Jahve. Thus if any one of the people accused the priests with crimes or mistakes in home or foreign policy, he appealed to Jahve as the representative of justice and right. These spokesmen were the prophets. From the time of the governing priesthood dates the feud between prophets and priests, between the Jahve of the prophets and that of the priests, who is not distinguishable from the Baalim, against whom both had

shortly before been united. This is, therefore, the germ of the Prophetic Order, properly so called, such as it meets us in its chief representatives Amos and Hosea.

Not much else is known of the state of Judah under Joash. When Jehu, in 842, paid tribute to Assyria, it is not mentioned, probably for the reason that Salmanassar's influence did not reach so far to the south. It must, however, very soon afterward have become once more subject to Jehoahaz and Joash, for Amaziah made fruitless attempts to shake off the yoke; Israel, through Assyria's help, was still the stronger. Joash fell victim to a palace *émeute*. Since the conspiracy started with officials, we may perhaps conclude that there was an attempt to check the supremacy of the priesthood. His son and successor, Amaziah, was equally subject to the priestly influence. He made very unsuccessful attempts to reconquer Edom, and was unfortunate in the war, by which he intended to make himself independent of Israel. We do not know how far he had reckoned on aid from Damascus. In any case Joash of Israel, the vassal of Assyria, proved the stronger and defeated him at Beth-Shemesh. Amaziah himself was taken prisoner, and could only purchase his freedom by payment of a heavy ransom. He was also compelled to raze a part of the fortifications of Jerusalem. He too fell victim to a conspiracy, and was murdered at Lachish; we cannot, however, clearly understand the detailed circumstances.

His son Azariah is said to have continued the wars with Edom, but no permanent successes were achieved. Edom asserted its independence after it had once made itself free. Since Azariah was leprous, the government was principally carried on by his son Jotham. No special events are recorded of the independent reign of the latter (about 752–736). Since in 738 Judah is not mentioned among the tributary States of Tiglath-Pileser, we must assume that it was still dependent on Israel.

Ahaz, the son of Jotham, who succeeded to the crown about the same time as Pekah in Samaria had been raised to the throne by the Damascene party, used this opportunity to liberate himself from Israel by acknowledging the Assyrian supremacy. The immediate result was the siege of Jerusalem by Rezon and Pekah (735, or at latest 734). Ahaz had not miscalculated when he built his hopes on Tiglath-Pileser; the latter appeared in 734 and 733 and put an end to the splendour of Damascus. But in his other calculations Ahaz had deceived himself. He had clearly hoped to receive from Tiglath-Pileser the northern kingdom as a reward for his loyalty, and in this way once more to restore the kingdom of David. But Tiglath-Pileser considered it more prudent to secure for himself the power of turning the scale at all times by means of the old disunion, and instated Hoshea. The internal policy of Ahaz was equally directed toward his goal, the possession of Israel. He turned against the now overpowerful priesthood. In doing this he was forced to seek the support of the people and to promise them redress for the extortions of the priests and the officials. He had to adopt a friendly attitude toward the foreigners, a policy which drew upon him the hate of the priestly caste, but could not damage him any more in the eyes of the people, since they were no longer inclined to espouse the cause of the Jahve whom the priests preached. A prophet could thus speak, according to the ideas of Ahaz, when he reproached the powerful priests with grasping and excess, and when he spoke in the northern kingdom of Jahve as the representative of right and equity, and thus

tried to create a feeling for the conquest of Israel by Ahaz. This prophet was Amos, who would in modern times be called a political agent. His activity coincides with the period when the question was, whether a treaty should be made with Assyria or Damascus.

(*b*) *Hezekiah.* — All efforts for the re-union of the old power must have been abandoned for ever when Samaria was captured by Sargon. Ahaz seems to have died shortly afterwards, probably in 720. His son Hezekiah found a state of things completely altered from the old conditions. Damascus had fallen, and a suzerainty of Israel was no more to be dreaded. Thus at first only one course was left open to him, — to pay tribute and to wait until a great power, equal in strength to Assyria, came to his help. There was no lack of offers; at the very outset of his reign envoys appeared from Merodach-Baladan, in order to incite him to revolt from Sargon. But Babylonia had too long kept aloof from the western scene of operations; and Hezekiah appears to have accepted Isaiah's warning, while the envoys found a more willing audience in Philistia. Some years after (713) he shared, however, in the revolt of Ashdod, when Arabia (Pir'u of Mussri) had promised assistance. The revolt was suppressed; but Hezekiah emerged without great loss, since he once more had made timely submission. With the overthrow of Merodach-Baladan (710) his hopes became fainter again. But when Sargon (705) met a violent death, the whole West thought that the hour was come when the hated yoke might be thrown off. The hymn of triumph over the tyrant's death, which has come down to us under the name of Isaiah (Isa. xiv, 4–20), is one of the voices which then spoke loudly. But the joy was short lived. In 701 Sennacherib advanced. And since the Arabian army was beaten, Hezekiah, happy at having at least been protected from the worst through the outbreak of the Babylonian rebellion, was compelled once more to submit.

Thus Hezekiah had won nothing by his revolt, but had lost the greater portion of his territory; for all towns, which Sennacherib had taken by force, were divided among the neighbours. When therefore Egypt, under Taharqa, undertook a new expedition and attempted to win Palestine for itself, there were willing ears in Jerusalem. It seems besides as if then after Hezekiah's death the young Manasseh was already king. Once more Sennacherib advanced (through the desert it would seem) directly against Egypt, and in Jerusalem men trembled at the appearance of the Assyrians before the gates. But Isaiah's words were fulfilled. Sennacherib's army was destroyed, and he himself soon afterwards found his death in his own country. Jerusalem had once again escaped the fate which menaced her. Ahaz had trusted to Assyria and had tried to break the power of the sacerdotal party; this, in its hostility to the monarchy, sought support therefore from the Arabian States and later from Egypt. Thus it was a natural consequence that the sacerdotal party almost always advocated relations with these, while the kings, estimating more correctly the actual conditions, held to Assyria and afterward Babylonia. Hezekiah always wavered between the two. Prudence advised him not to break with Assyria, and an honest counsellor like Isaiah solemnly warned him against it. But after he had once been driven to rebel, and had twice, contrary to his own expectation, escaped his fate, the priestly caste had the game in their own hands. He could no longer withdraw himself from their influence, and was obliged to concede their most far-reaching demands. He finally granted their re-

quest to acknowledge the temple of Jerusalem as the only true place for the worship of Jahve, and to abolish the sanctuaries in the country. By this the influence of the priestly caste at Jerusalem was immensely increased. There were now no rivals left who would diminish their revenues. They now were the only interpreters of the will of Jahve; the foundation stone of the hierarchy was thus laid. Jahve, the god of the Edomitic Sinai and of Judah, had become a god dwelling in the temple of Jerusalem on Mount Zion — according to the conception of the priesthood, which was only enforced after further long struggles; Jahve for Isaiah still lived "on the mountains." Hezekiah may have also been influenced by the loss of territory, to which he had been forced to submit in 701. If a large portion of his towns had been given to the neighbouring States, little more was left to him than Jerusalem, and therefore he had material reasons for centralising the cult of his god in Jerusalem.

During his times further fights with the Philistines are announced (II Kings xviii, 8). We have an episode in them recorded in the cuneiform inscriptions. Padi of Ekron had not joined the rebellion in 701. Taken prisoner by the Arabian and Judaic party in his town, he was handed over to Hezekiah, but was again instated by Sennacherib, after the latter had conquered Ekron and had secured the surrender of Padi by Hezekiah.

(*c*) *The last Century of Independence.* — Hezekiah died at the latest computation shortly after Sennacherib, and therefore about 680, — probably, however, before that date. Soon afterward, under Assarhaddon, Manasseh is mentioned as king of Judah. The unfavourable judgment passed on him by the "Deuteronomist" shows that he was opposed to the priestly party. His continued acknowledgment of the Assyrian supremacy is in keeping with this. He is called a persecutor of the prophets (this time partisans of the priestly caste, not men like Amos and Isaiah). When Shamash-shum-ukin tried to win over the West also for his plans, hopes must have been entertained in Judah also. It is possible that the prophetic denunciation of Nineveh, which bears Nahum's name, and gave expression to the wishes of the party which was inciting revolt, dates from this time. Manasseh did not offer actual resistance, even if the notice of the chronicle is trustworthy, that he had been a prisoner in Babylon; it would then only be a question of a trial conducted there before Assurbanipal, in which he was fortunate enough to justify himself or to receive pardon. Manasseh reigned long, and as we see happily in spite of the hatred of the priestly class. His son Amon (643–642) was murdered after a reign of only two years, evidently at the instigation of the priesthood, since he followed the policy of his father. "But the people of the land slew all them that had conspired against King Amon;" a proof that the people entertained different ideas of these "persecutors of the prophets," from the sacerdotal party.

A boy of eight years was raised to the throne; a repetition of the policy with Joash. The government under this boy Josiah brought the party of the priests to the wished-for goal; under him the hierarchy was constitutionally established by the introduction of the "Deuteronomy" as the legal code. This code, which composes the chief contents of the present Fifth Book of Moses, is said to have been published in the year 623; the spirit that animates it is best seen by the provision that the punishment for "false prophets" shall be death. False prophets are men who oppose the ruling sacerdotal party; death for political opponents.

Josiah is said to have made attempts to enlarge his territory; among other things he destroyed the sanctuary in Bethel. This is conceivable at the time of the end of Assyria. When Necho advanced into Palestine (p. 87) Josiah fell in battle against him at Migdol. The later account, such as the chronicle gives, has endeavoured to prove some faults in this ideal king of the "Deuteronomist" in order to explain his end. His government appears to have pleased the priesthood more than the people, which now, just as it had slain the murderers of Amon, raised to the throne Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah, who was by no means acceptable to the priesthood (II Kings xxiii, 30). This latter is said after three months to have been deposed and kept in captivity by Necho, who meanwhile had moved into his headquarters at Ribla in the Beka'a. He seems, therefore, on the one hand not to have tendered his submission at the right moment, or we may see in this the influence of the priests, who always stood by Egypt. In Jehoahaz's place his brother Eliakim, who now assumed the name of Jehoiakim, was appointed by Necho (c. 608 or 607). He was from the first compelled to raise the taxes to the highest pitch, in order to pay the sums exacted by Necho.

When Necho in 605 was driven back to Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar (p. 87) Jehoiakim submitted to the new lord, and is said to have remained loyal to him for three years (about 605–603). He then rebelled, in vain expectation of help from Egypt, and in spite of the advice of Jeremiah that he should hold fast to the Chaldæan monarchy. A Chaldæan army did not long delay in coming. Jehoiakim had, however, died in the meanwhile, and thus the fate intended for him befell his son, Jehoiakin, who was forced to surrender after a three months' siege (597). Jerusalem once more retained its independence, for Nebuchadnezzar had consideration for the strong Chaldæan party. A large number of the chief men were even then carried off into exile, among them the Prophet Ezekiel (if this is not an imaginary personality) whose speeches follow the succeeding events at home. Nebuchadnezzar instated as king a third son of Josiah, Mattaniah, who now took the name of Zedekiah. But as Jehoiakim by the excessive amount of the tribute was forced into rebellion, so in the end Zedekiah, in spite of all resistance, and the dissuasion of Jeremiah, was compelled to yield to the pressure of his "patriots" and priests. He had hopes also from the new Pharaoh, Hophra. But his subsidies were defeated by Nebuchadnezzar, and Jerusalem captured and destroyed in 586. Zedekiah was cruelly punished by the loss of his eyes, his sons were slain, and a large part of the population was carried away. Judah became a Babylonian province. There was henceforth no people of Judah.

J. Judaism and its Development

Judah and Israel, regarded from the standpoint of political history, are insignificant petty States, with no greater importance for the history of the Ancient East than the history of some county of the old German Empire has for the present Empire, or the Scotch Highlands for the Empire of Great Britain. This remarkable people has attained its importance for mankind not through its political history, but through the religion, which had its sanctuary and its birthplace in Jerusalem.

We cannot, however, profess the belief, which sees in the Jewish religion with its further developments a creation of the Jewish spirit. Precisely as Christianity did not grow in its strength and in its spiritual ideas in Judah itself, but on

the soil of the whole Hellenistic world, so Judaism was not evolved in Judah, but could only have attained its development and its expansion on the soil of the wide civilization of the Ancient East. The details of this subject are as obscure or even more obscure than the beginnings of Christianity. This much is however clear, — it was in Babylonia that Judaism first became that which it was and still is; and it could never have reached this stage unless it had come into touch with that great civilized world.

Nevertheless, the people of Judah contributed their share to this development, and were its first embodiment. If therefore historical investigation cannot take the standpoint of the biblical legend of the "chosen people," yet this legend, in virtue of which thousands of years and several worlds of culture have found salvation, has still a claim to meet with a searching investigation, as also the nation which was its embodiment. The more that the conception of Judaism contained in the Bible has of itself become the common property of mankind, the more necessary it is to trace out its historical evolution, as represented in the light of the actual facts and of the natural progress. In distinction from the tradition which we have for the rest of the East, we notice in the history of Israel a strong accentuation of religious ideas and of all that is connected with them. Several times already in the course of the historical narrative we have had to demonstrate the working of them. The fact that popular ideas on this very subject rest entirely on the biblical legend makes it necessary to realise them shortly for ourselves in the light of the universal laws of human progress.

(*a*) *The Fundamental Religious Idea.* — Israel and Judah had originally had nothing to do with each other; the proof of unity, the common worship of one God, can only have been given to them by the man who united them, that is, by David. The God who represents the thought of fraternal association with Judah is Jahve; even in the conception of historical times he is still to be identified as the God of the old home of David, the south of Judah, and the Edomitic territory. Jahve had been introduced into Israel only as the God of the victorious David for a sign of his dominion. He had never previously been a universally worshipped god of the northern tribes. The rapidly ensuing division of the kingdom compelled the kings of Israel once more to expel him, if possible, from the place where he was settled. Israel therefore had nothing at all to do with Jahve and the development of Judaism. As historical students we must therefore entirely get rid of the biblical conception, according to which Judah would appear to be more nearly akin to the Israelite than for instance Edom, Moab and Ammon; and no regard must be paid to the glimpse of a homogeneous nation under David and Solomon, to the kingdom of those days, the brilliance of which has been increased by lapse of time which always encourages such embellishings. This can be best expressed in the phrase which sounds paradoxical to us but yet characterises the circumstances according to the true idea of the two peoples: "The Israelites are not Jews." Thus the investigation of the development of the Jahve idea and the Jahve religion is from the first restricted to Judah, as the original, and before long the only, home of the Jahve cult. We may omit some attempts to encroach on the territory of the former Israel, the motive for which was clearly always the realisation of a political supremacy. In the eyes of pure historical investigation, the Jahve, whom David worshipped in his home or afterward as prince of Caleb

in Hebron (which can, however, hardly have been the original seat of the Jahve cult), was nothing else than one of the numerous gods, such as every important place or tribe of Nearer Asia possessed. His cult had been introduced into the newly acquired parts of the kingdom as the extent of the conquests widened; it was thus a sign of sovereignty. There had been other gods in Judah as everywhere, but these in comparison with Jahve, who as the king's god was the national god, had only a local significance.

The very fact of its being introduced into other places shows that the Jahve cult was not originally in any way confined to Jerusalem; it had indeed been first introduced there itself. But it followed quite as a matter of course that the splendid sanctuary in Jerusalem, which at the same time was situated in the focus of traffic, eclipsed the other seats of worship in the country outside. In addition to this must be considered the part which the priesthood in Jerusalem began to play after Solomon's reign; it thus gained superiority over its colleagues in the other sanctuaries which corresponded to the superiority of the capital over the provincial towns. The real representation and development of the Jahve cult, so far as it was of political significance, rested therefore with the priesthood of Jerusalem. After Solomon this possessed the ascendency in Jerusalem and knew how to keep the kings amenable to its wishes.

This desirable situation received a rude shock by the domination of the Omrids. Granted that Jahve worship had not been the national religion in Israel since Jeroboam, Israel now encroached upon Judah, and the Omrids, who had taken care to connect the kingdom of Judah with their family, thus became dangerous to the Jahve cult as the standard of a sacerdotal domination. But this very danger united the natural antagonists in Judah. The priesthood of Jerusalem had, as the ruling party, already become antagonistic to the other priesthoods in the country, and above all to the people itself, for their natural aims could never be those of the people. But so soon as there is a common enemy, all sections of the people, provided that the parties are not so sharply separated that the people as a whole has no vigour left, soon regard the question from a common standpoint. This popular standpoint was in the present case the opposition to the foreign dominion of the Omrids, which was destined to make Judah, the formerly ruling State, dependent on Israel, while the priesthood found it in the opposition to the strange gods such as the Omrids worshipped. We must also consider the fact that Judah was now threatened with the same fate as Israel formerly; namely, that when defeated it would have received the gods of Israel, just as Israel had once received Jahve. Schooled by necessity, the priests of Jerusalem bethought themselves of a truer worship of their god than leading a luxurious life. We therefore find all Jahve worshippers, the priesthood and the rough worshippers of Jahve from the desert (the Rechabites) united against the foreign dominion; and in Judah, as well as in Israel, "prophets" denounced in the name of Jahve the abuses of the kingdom. Elijah and Elisha are such figures; they bear the same relation to the state of culture in that age as demagogues or great editors do in modern times. The Jahve party was able to win over Jehu in the northern empire, and with him the army, for their side; and the rebellion of Jehu was organised in the name of Jahve for the restoration of the empire of David, but failed, as we have seen, in the very place where it originated. The restoration of David's empire came to nothing, and the encroachment of Jahvinism on Israel miscarried this time. Jehu was compelled therefore to abandon the attempt.

(*b*) *The Great Prophets.* — The absolute power of the priesthood begins with Joash. Once more we see the feud between the people and the priesthood, which now more and more forms the ruling party, and at the same time abandons the "true Jahve," the god to whom men appealed as the protector of their rights, in favour of Baal worship, that is, by merging everything in forms of ritual as a source of large revenues, which the people must pay. The good resolutions of the period of opposition were forgotten. Henceforth, therefore, the prophets attacked the mismanagement of the priests, while in the rebellion of Jehu both had gone hand in hand.

We see this most clearly defined in the first prophet, of whom copious utterances are extant in Amos. His date is fixed by the allusion to Assyria, of which nothing could have been known there before 738. Amos prophesied under Ahaz and in his favour, since he tried to create a feeling in the northern kingdom for a re-establishment of the empire of David. Once more, therefore, Jahvinism is used as the rallying-cry of a policy which sought to unite Judah and Israel. Amos would hear nothing of the Jahve of the priesthood; he was a man of the people and reproached the ruling classes with their sins in words which the reformers of the Middle Ages have gladly employed.

The same thing holds good of Hosea, whose mission falls not much later, although certainly after the annexation of Damascus by Tiglath-Pileser, that is, after 731, since he does not mention with a single word the State which up to that time had played so great a part. He does not indeed inveigh against the ruling classes with the bitterness of Amos, although he sees the cause of the calamity in their sins. This is partly due to the fact that Amos distinctly averred that he was no "professional prophet," no one of those men who, being *quasi*-dervishes, devoted their lives to religious meditation and public appearances as popular orators, but a herdsman and countryman, who had been induced by the prevailing distress to circulate his ideas throughout the land. He therefore proclaimed the more unscrupulously the miseries he had experienced in his own person.

Isaiah, the next prophet, stands on a higher platform. He was a well-educated man, lived at Jerusalem near the king's person, was familiar with all the treasures of the knowledge of that day, versed in literature (his songs show that he was acquainted with Babylonian literature) and surveyed the whole political movement of the time. In brief, he was a statesman who had reached the highest pinnacle of his age. For this very reason he belongs to neither of the ruling parties, whether priestly or royal, although doubtless he was a member of one of them by birth. He stood above them. His political insight forced him to take his place as counsellor by the king's side and to warn him against rash enterprises. But when the storm of disaster once burst on them he exhorts them to hold out; and the result proved that he rightly estimated the political situation. He opposed the arrogant claims of the priestly party and thus laid stress on the miseries of the people; but he was not a true man of the people, no more than he was in any sense a partisan.

The next period contains no prophet of importance; for Nahum's denunciation of Nineveh (if we are to place him at all under Manasseh) and one or two utterances which pass under Isaiah's name and may belong to this age also, concern only the foreign policy. It is expressly stated (II Kings xxi, 16) that Manasseh took stringent measures against the opposition; but we may assume that it was a

question of prophets, who spoke in favour of the priesthood, which had been deprived of its influence, and not of men from the people in the spirit of an Amos. The people, on the contrary, must have been satisfied with the rule of Manasseh.

A striking personality appears at the close of the history of Judah in Jeremiah. We may compare his position in foreign policy with that of Isaiah. He was, however, an emphatic supporter of the Chaldæan party, a point which cannot be asserted of Isaiah as regards the Assyrian. History has shown that he was undoubtedly right when he uttered warnings against a breach with Nebuchadnezzar. He was antagonistic to the priestly party with its Egyptian traditions, and had in consequence to suffer during the siege; whether unjustly so, from the point of view of his opponents, we will not attempt to discuss. It would be nothing extraordinary for the views of his day, if he had maintained relations with the Chaldæans; the merciless treatment which he received after the conquest of Jerusalem, makes us suspect some such conduct. A completely different spirit from that of the earlier prophets speaks to us in the utterances of Jeremiah. Amos and Hosea are demagogues, and even Isaiah, with the eye of a statesman standing above the parties, has a clear opinion as to the true causes of the national calamity, which cannot be relieved by joining either Egypt or Assyria. All three wish to probe deeper, and only expect the evil to be cured when the whole national life is more healthy. They express that in the spirit of their age, by an appeal to the will of their god, but in the formula which really suits the connection of events: "Do that which is right, according to the will of Jahve, and you will be healed." In Jeremiah, on the other hand, we find in opposition to this practical standpoint, a prevalence of the religious, non-worldly spirit, which has found its most distinct expression in the tenet of Christianity: "Seek first the kingdom of God, and all this will come to you of itself." It is a confusion between cause and effect that has made Jeremiah as a thinker inferior to his predecessors, but has also made him the favourite prophet of a development of religion which seeks its salvation in another world. The ideal world of seclusion, which gives escape from the world of flesh, is connected with Jeremiah.

(*c*) *The Influences of the Babylonian Captivity.* — The introduction of Deuteronomy as the legal code implied the victory of the hierarchical party; it was the codification of the hierarchy, just as the *Code Napoléon* was the codification of the civil society. Such legislation, which was too diametrically opposed to the demands of the real life of the people, was of course certain to meet with many hindrances in practice, and contributed largely to the destruction of the State; its original promoters, the priests, forced the king to revolt from Babylonia. But this code would only have come into full importance when no longer a people but rather a religious sect recognised it as the guiding principle. That which in the turmoil of national life must have led to the ruin of the people could, when secure under the protection of a powerful State, be further developed, and through the feeling of homogeneity with which it filled those who professed it, might become a factor in their economic progress. The component parts of the people of Judah, which had been led away into captivity in Babylonia, had been precisely those which were anti-Chaldæan; that is to say the priestly party, in short, those which were actually supporters of Deuteronomy. The rest, indeed, had remained

behind in the country. This is then the explanation how this community, in contrast to so many others which had been transplanted by Assyrians or Babylonians, held together and preserved a distinct individuality. They were from the first a religious sect, and as such they were further developed, since by the new environment they were thrown more together and brought into intimate relation one with the other. "Judaism" was developed in Babylon, a closely united religious sect in the midst of a great heterogeneous and, as they regarded it, foreign population.

On the other hand, it was quite inevitable that Judaism adopted much of the Babylonian culture in which it thus lived. Precisely as a Jew living in a modern great State shares in its intellectual and economic growth and is affected by its influence, so it was the case in Babylonia. We are still without materials to prove in detail how far the sphere of Jewish religious thought had been influenced by the Babylonian. Some evidence makes it very apparent that we cannot value this influence too highly; some day, probably, most of the institutions of Judaism, which seem to be "Jewish," will be shown to be Babylonian. What is apparently more characteristic of the spirit of this civilized Judaism, which is humiliated in a manner so strongly contrasted with its pride, than the penitential psalms, in which it implores forgiveness from its god? They were composed during the exile, and are mere copies of the productions of Babylonian intellect. Just as Judaism at a later age eagerly took part in the Hellenistic culture, and then in the Arabian, mediæval, and modern intellectual movements, so it tried then to turn to use the treasures of Babylonian wisdom. This clearly comes to light in the author of the Books of the Kings, who wrote in the exile. He found in Babylon a perfected system of records and a laboriously exact chronology. The chronological scheme, for which he found in his documents only an insufficient foundation, is elaborated on the Babylonian model, and is merely the result of calculations such as were prepared by the aid of Babylonian science. The Jew, who lived in Babylon, appropriated the stores of Babylonian knowledge; he studied even the cuneiform documents, and searched them for information about his own people. The same spirit, which meets us in the explanation of biblical accounts by the later Jewish commentators, led also to the proof that the patriarch Abraham had been connected with an expedition against Chedorlaomer (p. 96), who is known from Babylonian chronicles. We have here the result of chronological calculations, which were prepared in the same spirit as those of the Christian chronographers, Julius Africanus, Eusebius, etc. But at the same time we meet here the characteristic spirit of Judaism, which makes itself so unpleasantly prominent in Josephus and other still less congenial figures of Hellenistic Judaism; the Patriarch Abraham must defeat Chedorlaomer, the conqueror of the East. There is always the recurring effort to prove Judah to be the chosen people, both from history and from the accounts of other nations. Not only the Jewish religion, but all traditions of Judaism generally have been developed in the place where its cradle really stood.

Henceforward there was never a people of Judah. We possess no historical facts as to the time of the exile; but from what we have already ascertained, it follows that we must picture to ourselves the rôle of Judaism during this period to be the same as later. Even then it must have begun to expand, otherwise we can hardly explain to ourselves its extent in the following centuries. Such an expansion would hardly have been possible for the one or two thousand adherents

of the former priestly party of Jerusalem who had been led into exile, unless some closer connections and reciprocal relations with the Babylonish people had been formed, even if Judaism did not already play a part in the Babylonian empire similar to that played by it later in the Hellenistic States.

The closely compacted community, spiritually united through the rigid organisation given to it by the priesthood which was deported to Babylonia, naturally saw its home in Jerusalem and the true seat of Jahve in the temple on Mount Zion. In this connection we notice further a persistent idea of the old national god Jahve, who can only dwell in the land which he possesses, and who, since Hezekiah, has chosen Jerusalem itself for his dwelling place.

(*d*) *The Return.* — With the captivity begins also the intense longing for a return. Since this was out of the question under a Chaldæan supremacy, the Jews of Babylon waited longingly for the Saviour, who was destined to bring them freedom from the hated yoke. In the second part of Isaiah are expressed the often disappointed hopes with which men followed the vicissitudes of Babylonian history. The liberator came at last, and there was room for real rejoicing that the dominion of Bel and Nebo was broken. Cyrus occupied Babylon, and Judaism was now quite certain of its champion. It is tempting to look beneath the surface for similar influences to those which, as so often since, stood the cunning traders in Ptolemaic Egypt in good stead. Without being certain of their Cyrus, the Jews would not have been able so confidently to calculate upon him.

Cyrus, who on the whole followed the policy (cf. Sidon, p. 167) of granting to small communities their self-government, had nothing to say against an attempt of the Jewish zealots to sacrifice to their god in his own dwelling place. He granted the permission for the return. From this point we have as authorities only the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. With the post-exilic historical narratives, such as the Chronicles furnish to us, we are deprived even of the few facts which we were able to establish from the scarcely more connected compilation of the Books of the Kings. Ezra and Nehemiah in their present tradition are very untrustworthy authorities. They write in the spirit of the Chronicles; namely, from the standpoint of the hierarchical legends. If we are not enabled from any other sources to take up a secure standpoint as regards them, we must be content with the few notices of this period while conscious that the historical truth, such as the historian requires, would present different features on very many points.

Soon after the occupation of Babylon by Cyrus (539) a caravan of Jews (stated to consist of forty thousand persons, but no reliance can be placed on figures) started for the Promised Land under the leadership of Zerubbabel, a descendant of David and of the priest Jeshua; that is, the House of David and the priesthood must govern together the promised Jewish kingdom. The newcomers fared like all enthusiasts. They found everything otherwise from what their spiritual Utopias had made them expect. They could not be prominent in the middle of a population which did not care much about the Jewish people, and the kingdom of David was still a thing of the future, like the ideal States of so many a Utopian undertaking of later times. On the other hand, the temporal and spiritual powers, the prince of David's lineage and the high priest, soon fell out. Cambyses then forbade the completion of the temple.

A new stimulus (or rather subsidy) was given to the undertaking, in the year

520 under Darius, at the urgent request of the new community, which was voiced by the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah. The rich body of Jews in Babylonia and elsewhere in the empire went out of their way and exerted all their influence to effect the completion of the temple. At the same time the quarrel between the prince and the high priest was decided in favour of the latter. The high priest was recognised as possessing equal privileges. It must, however, have been clearly seen that the returned exiles had already begun to show themselves ordinary mortals in place of religious sectaries. Many, including indeed the leaders, abandoned their strict forbearance, and began to seek contact with the heathen world. It was seen from the very first of what spirit "this return from the exile" was the offspring. It is nothing but an attempt to realise the hierarchical ideals of Judaism with the support of the Judaism of the whole world. It is exactly the same situation as would be created if the Jewish plutocrats of the present day yielded to the pressure of pious zealots and caused a new Jewish Jerusalem to be founded. The history of Judaism, its power and its growth, would therefore, as ever, be enacted throughout the rest of the civilized world as that of a close community. The kingdom of Jerusalem would be nothing but a short-lived Utopia, supported by the money of this community, and only existing through it. There never was a State which has been independently developed on the basis of the Jewish code, and there never can be one; this code is the organisation of a religious sect. It arose as such, and was given out as such; but a State obeys the universal laws of the development of mankind, and these are different from those of a sect which lives under their protection.

There has never been any political history of Judaism, and least of all can the history of the unfortunate settlement which we are now examining be called such. A history of Judaism belongs to the internal history of the development of all civilized countries — in fact, of all nations living within the region of Western civilization, from the Persian era to the present day. The branch of Judaism, which hoped to attain its ideals in the Promised Land, was far from playing the most prominent part in this, and was only able to maintain itself through the former. Therefore, only the history of this attempt occupies us here. It has little or no bearing on the history of the world. Even Christianity has not grown up in the narrow sphere of this Jewish hierarchy, but in the wide domain of the civilized East flooded by Judaism as well as in the countries of Hellenistic culture over which it also spread. The Judaism, which was a power in the Persian Empire and at the court, was forced therefore to make a fresh advance, if it did not wish to acknowledge the ideals of its religion to be impracticable. It was powerful and sufficiently imbued with its faith to undertake even costly political attempts. Ezra, described by the tradition as a Jewish scholar from Babylonia of priestly descent, received in the year 514 permission from Darius (the tradition erroneously makes him out to be Artaxerxes Longimanus) to head the desired second great migration to Jerusalem, in order to realise the ideal State of the Jewish hierarchy. The undertaking was carried out with the amplest sanction and support of the State. Judaism accordingly was able to obtain a hearing for its wishes at court. But Ezra also with his trusted followers soon learned the power of the stern realities of life to the detriment of his ideals. He met at once with opposition from the most influential part of the already settled population, which was by no means very willing to submit to his peremptory demands.

There was especial opposition raised against the stringent regulation that non-Jewish wives should be put away, and mixed marriages avoided. Even the strict Jewish discipline had to give way before the force of the requirements of life. Ezra therefore relaxed to some degree his holy zeal.

Our accounts are vague, and give no actual facts for the ensuing period of his activity until thirteen years afterward. The hierarchical party, in order to secure for themselves the possession of Jerusalem, took steps to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. The secular party, as we will term them, who saw in this the consummation of the rule of the intolerant hierarchy, strained every effort in order to hinder the undertaking through the Persian officials and the neighbouring princes ("Tobiah the Ammonite, Geshem the Arabian"), with whom they entered into relations of every sort. But the strictly enforced orthodoxy had long been the firm bond of the Judaism which was spread through the empire, and thus the party of the pious won the day. The influence of the Jewish element which listened to them was stronger at court than that of the government officials; and Nehemiah, a Jew holding, it is said, the high post of cupbearer, was enthusiastic enough to devote his powers to the service of the holy cause. The Persian government had meanwhile perceived that the purely hierarchical organisation did not succeed. Nehemiah was therefore nominated Persian governor, and given full authority, which placed him above the secularised high priest. Armed with all constitutional authority, which the influence of the great Jewish party procured for him, he started for Jerusalem, and in the face of all the difficulties which his antagonists, supported and incited by the secular party, placed in his path, he carried out his purpose of fortifying Jerusalem with a wall. He thus offered to the hierarchy the means by which to exclude the influence of their neighbours, and thus to become masters of the parts of the population in the city which were in league with them.

Nehemiah is said to have conducted the affairs in Jerusalem for twelve years, and then to have retired to the court at Susa. But he had hardly turned his back, when the dominion of the orthodox party was again threatened; he was compelled to return if he was not to abandon the realisation of the ideal religious State. Once more he exerted all the power, which the influence of his sect conferred on him, in order to exercise compulsion on the refractory, and he converted them by threats and force to an acknowledgment of the strict demands of their religion. Even the family of the high priest was bound to admit that Israel endured no attack on its institutions. The Ammonite Tobiah, who was related to the high priest El-jashib, was expelled from the temple precincts; and a grandson of the high priest, who had married a daughter of Sin-uballit (Sanballat), probably the prince of Moab, — not as usually assumed, Samaria, — was driven out from Jerusalem. Orthodoxy reigned in its strictest form. The Book of Ruth seems to be a polemical tract of the secularised family of the high priests against the intolerance of orthodoxy on the question of marriage with foreigners.

(*e*) *The Priestly Code.* — The new order of things, such as Ezra and Nehemiah wished to introduce into the experimental State, received its legal confirmation by the publication of the book of the law, which comprised the institutions of Judaism, the priestly code (p. 188). The account that is given of the outward ceremonial of the solemn publication by Ezra is unimportant; as might be expected, he can

only tell us of the rejoicings and enthusiasm of the people thus blessed. The record of the difficulties which had been surmounted enables the historian to form a correct idea of the matter. It would be absurd to assume that any momentous event in the evolution of Judaism is to be seen in this publication. The law was neither a work of Ezra and Nehemiah, nor did they raise it to be the effective law of Judaism. It had been for a long time the standard round which Judaism in the empire rallied; and the introduction into Jerusalem signified nothing except the obligation of the ideal State, restored with the help of Judaism, to observe the law which it had been founded to fulfil. The real development of Judaism was not perfected on the soil of Palestine. The law is not a fruit of the evolution of a political community, however small, situated amid the development of States, but of a religious sect remote from the struggle for existence fought by the nations.

The spirit of the law itself, which thus had been long in force for Judaism in the empire, is tolerably familiar. It is the spirit which since then has prevailed and has only become more rigid — the spirit which Judaism has observed down to the present day.

K. The Persian Rule

Vague and scanty as are the accounts for this period of the vigorous activity shown by the new Jewish spirit in the process of its development, they are still more so during the ensuing period of the Persian rule. We can, however, reconcile ourselves to this without much regret. The hierarchy which was here established presents in no respect a momentous feature in the history of mankind. It is not even a unique phenomenon in the range of antiquity. Similar constitutions were possible even in the spheres of pagan religions, as is shown, for example, by the priestly State in Comana, in Cappadocia. We may fairly compare the Jewish State to the former States of the Church. The relation of the two to their "church" is the same, and their insignificance in comparison with the world-wide power of their religion is similar.

In the Persian period the development of the hierarchy continued to advance. Although Ezra and Nehemiah exercised a sort of secular power, conferred on them by the court, and were to some extent governors, and although from the first there had been the wish to uphold the hitherto recognised royal dignity of David, yet the power little by little was gradually concentrated in the hands of the high priest. The Persian Court looked quietly on at this growth, which threatened no danger to it, and was protected by the influential body of Jews. As punishment for an attempt to share in the Syrian insurrection against Artaxerxes Ochus, the Jews had to submit to the deportation of part of their population into Hyrcania; the satrap Bagoas is said then to have shown that Persia also would not tolerate any contumacy. Dissensions, which are reported then to have been rife in the family of the high priest and to have led to the murder by the high priest of his own brother, are certainly connected with the parties, but after all are not more momentous than the hostility between rival cardinals in the Middle Ages.

L. The Period of the Diadochi

(*a*) *Egyptian Influences.* — When Persia broke up, the Jews are said from the very first to have secured for themselves the favour of Alexander by adroit

compliance. From this point we possess accounts which are influenced, even more than those of the Persian period, by Jewish self-complacency. Josephus Flavius is an untrustworthy and, in his conceit, an irritating authority.

The disputes among the Diadochi severed Egypt from Babylonia. Syria was the apple of discord, but soon came under Egyptian influence (cf. Vol. IV, p. 149). During the prosperity of Egypt under the Ptolemies we see Judaism also powerful and prosperous, a welcome help to the government in all matters of trade and of administration.

Judaism undoubtedly did not then come to the front in Egypt for the first time. Just as one part of the hierarchical party had been brought by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylonia, so another had taken refuge in Egypt. Amongst others, during a later attempt at insurrection, Jeremiah, also as a friend of the Chaldæans, had been carried there by force. With the further spread of Judaism these fugitives and newcomers had there, as everywhere in the empire, gained in importance and played a prominent part. It was, however, quite plain that the real strength of Judaism lay there where the ruling power of the East was, that is, in Persia and Babylonia. The East was now divided, and we see at once two centres of Judaism, — in Babylonia-Syria and in Egypt. This is again an indication that the evolution of Judaism did not have Palestine for its scene. A Hellenic Judaism now comes into prominence at the court of the Ptolemies, which was able rapidly to appropriate the results of this ripening Hellenic spirit ingrafted on the East, and adroitly adapt them to their requirements. It was more through this transference of the centre of the power of Judaism from Persia and Babylonia to Egypt, than through the political conformity to the rule of the Ptolemies, that the Jewish State fell under the influence of Egyptian Hellenism. A production of the Egyptian Judaism is the Septuagint Version, intended in the first instance for the use of those who could no longer read the Holy Scriptures in the original language.

(*b*) *Antiochus III and IV.* — Toward the end of the third century, in the struggle between the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies the former gained the upper hand, and Judah became subject to Syrian supremacy. Antiochus III was in the first place received by the Jews with open arms. Assistance was even given in the siege of the Egyptian garrison in the Akra, the citadel of Jerusalem. Antiochus is said to have shown himself correspondingly gracious at first and in particular to have sanctioned a remission of taxation, which certainly must have been calculated to win men's hearts, since their own compatriots had already been known to be very active tax-collectors in the service of the Ptolemies. But when the power of Antiochus was afterward broken by the battle of Magnesia (190 B. C.), the greater advantage once more seemed to rest in an alliance with Egypt. Antiochus, in order to pay the war indemnity, was certainly forced to wring out from his subjects all that he possibly could; on the other hand, the influence of the Egyptian Jews, to whose support hopes were now directed, must have been powerful.

How far the ever restless spirit of enterprise had already ventured to cross from the land of the Pharaohs to the latter's powerful protectress on the Tiber, we do not know, but we can hardly place the beginnings of a Jewish colony in Rome at a much later date. In short, the influential and wealthy members of the Jewish body must now be looked for more and more in Egypt and the West rather than in the East, which at this time under the Parthian rule was quite severed from civil-

ization. According to this, Judah, which was thrown upon the support of those who held the same faith, was forced in its policy to incline more to the West than to the empire of the Seleucidæ now approaching its end.

In conformity with old tradition it was once more the orthodox party which leaned toward Egypt. The Seleucidæ attempted, with the support of the elements in Jerusalem which were inclined to Hellenism, to secure Judah for themselves. Jason, the brother of the high priest Onias, was favoured by Antiochus IV. For a time everything in Jerusalem followed the Athenian mode. The theatre and the palæstra attracted the Jewish youth, who were eager to ape their Greek ideals, and did not even shrink from painful remedies in order to conceal during the gymnastic sports the effects of their circumcision. The domestic quarrels of the family of the high priest with the Tobiadæ, the chief representatives of Philhellenism, are of no importance here. The accounts do not tell us how, after the failure of the Philhellenic pro-Seleucid efforts, an open breach with Antiochus IV was brought about; but Israel, as usual, is represented to have been an innocent victim. We shall have to see the reason for the intervention of Antiochus in the fact that the orthodox party really had the upper hand and was in sympathy with Egypt (and Rome). When Antiochus (168) returned from the expedition to Egypt, which had begun triumphantly and had been so suddenly interrupted by Rome (cf. Vol. IV, p. 152), he called the Jews sternly to account; they must have well known why. Jerusalem was stormed, sacked, and devastated, the walls razed, the inhabitants massacred and dispersed. Only the "renegades" remained behind and were reinforced by pagan settlers; all that could escape fled to Egypt.

But the destruction of Jerusalem was not enough. Antiochus knew perfectly well that the power of Judaism did not depend on its existence as a political State. He took measures against the entire body of Jews in his dominions, and must have had for his action deeper motives at bottom than his Philhellenism. He did not wish to extirpate the Jewish religion, as the traditions represent, but to disperse the community in his States, which had the seat of its power in the enemy's country and must therefore be naturally in favour of a union with it. His fury was not really directed against the Jahve cult and its unaccustomed manifestations, and he was no ardent supporter of Zeus. The two were nothing but Palladia, the acknowledgment of which implied the declaration in favour of Syria or of Judaism (in Egypt and Rome). Antiochus did not attack the Jewish religion, but the Jews, who in his empire courted Egypt and had in their religion a bond which kept them close together. It is no accident that the orthodox and the Philhellenic parties in the Jewish body collapsed. This was necessitated by the division of its conditions of power.

(*c*) *The Maccabees.*—Antiochus with his forcible intervention now met the resistance which brutal violence always finds from ideas and at all times, especially from stubborn Judaism. The Books of the Maccabees tell us of those who sealed their faith with their blood, many of whom have had their deeds extolled in verse down to our days. The more violent the measures taken by Antiochus, the more stubborn became the resistance, which finally found its expression in the characteristic method of the country, in the formation of a band of men, which grew from small beginnings among the mountains into a force that at last could not easily be suppressed. The famous rebellion of the Maccabees has been assumed to

be a glorious monument of Jewish heroism, owing to the now sufficiently familiar method of description adopted by our authorities; but it was nothing extraordinary and has its parallels by the score in the history of Oriental as well as of other peoples. The hero David was a sort of Judas Maccabæus, only a more successful one.

The course of the rebellion according to the account given us by the First Book of the Maccabees was as follows: In Modin, a place between Jerusalem and the sea, a priest, Mattathias, of the family of the Hasmonæans, resisted the violent Hellenising measures of the Syrians, and gradually collected a band, which was joined by the pious, and held its own among the mountains. He died soon (166 B.C.), and his son, Judas Maccabæus, took over the command. He was successful in defeating the detachments of Syrian troops sent against him. Antiochus, meanwhile, had started on his Parthian expedition, in the course of which he died. In the place of Philippus, the intended guardian of his son (Antiochus V Eupator) Lysias usurped the regency of the empire. This latter now sent a larger army against Judas, to help Gorgias, the commander of the troops in Philistia; but Judas was able by a sudden attack to defeat it also (165). When Lysias himself advanced against him in the same year, he had no better success. Judas was now able to reoccupy the pillaged capital, Jerusalem, with exception of the Akra, which was held by a Syrian garrison. The temple and the divine worship were restored, and in the name of the true God vengeance could now be taken on the "renegades," the adherents of Syria. But we have no particulars of their martyrdoms.

Lysias for two years desisted from operations, and Judas ruled with unlimited power as head of the orthodox party. The country, as is easily understood, does not seem to have found this in any respect a blessing. Numerous attempts at resistance (which our accounts naturally term contemptible raids) were made against the tyranny of a minority. It is clear from the records that the country was still far from being Jewish, and that the "liberation" by Judas was in fact a despotism maintained by force of arms, which does not lose any of its character simply because, from the point of view of our orthodox authorities, it championed the cause of right. The rebellion of Judas Maccabæus was in no sense a national insurrection.

It was a fortunate occurrence for Judas that Antiochus IV died on his expedition (164) and that Lysias's attention was thus evidently occupied with the arrangement of affairs. He therefore proceeded to lay siege to the Akra, which hitherto had been a refuge for the partisans of Syria. The question of active interference was now urgent for the government. Lysias therefore started with a nominally large army, accompanied by his ward, the young king Antiochus V, and marched against Jerusalem from the south. He defeated Judas in the field near Beth-Zachariah, captured Beth-sura, and besieged Jerusalem where the temple hill had been fortified. After a long resistance, negotiations were commenced which Lysias accepted, since he wished to turn his arms against Philippus in Syria, who in the interval had raised claims there to the crown. The contents of the treaty are not known; but since Lysias ordered the execution of Menelaus, the candidate for the high priesthood who had been previously recognised by him, we may fairly assume that the orthodox party had offered guarantees of their loyalty, and the trustworthiness of Menelaus had become questionable.

Soon after this, Lysias and Antiochus V were deposed by Demetrius I, who

seems on the whole to have given the Jews in Jerusalem a free hand. He had every reason to avoid a breach with Rome; however, even then the power of the ubiquitous Judaism was making itself felt. His appointment of Alcimus of the family of the high priests as "Ethnarch" proves that the power of Judas had as a matter of fact been restricted by Lysias. Alcimus, ushered in by an army under Bacchides, was accepted without resistance; since, however, he was a representative of the Syrian Hellenistic party, it would have been strange, indeed, if he had not very soon aroused the dissatisfaction of the orthodox. Naturally, according to the description in our account, Alcimus was the peace-breaker; but we may perhaps find a cause for this among the Maccabæans also, who on his appointment certainly, not of their own free will, had been forced to leave Jerusalem. So soon, therefore, as the Syrian army had withdrawn, the orthodox party broke out, and Alcimus had once more to fly. He was brought back by an army under Nicanor; the two were received with acclamations in Jerusalem. The Maccabæans, however, defeated Nicanor at Adasa, in the vicinity of Beth-Horon (161). The country was forced once more to recognise in Judas the "liberator," until Bacchides himself with an army, reputed to have been very large, advanced against him and totally defeated Judas whose whole following only amounted to eight hundred men (we may estimate from this the position of the "nation" to him). After a gallant resistance near Elasa, a place otherwise unknown, Judas himself was slain. The Hasmonæans by this lost their warlike leader, who had confidence in himself and his righteous cause.

The Syrian party was now once more quit of the blessings of the orthodox freedom, and Alcimus was instated in Jerusalem. No sort of restrictions were placed on the exercise of religion; and the pious would not have had the slightest excuse for discontent, if they had not regarded the supremacy as their own exclusive prerogative. Bacchides restored order in the country and cleared it of the marauding bands of Maccabæans. A part of them still held out under the leadership of Jonathan, a younger brother of Judas, and lived as bandits in the desert of Thekoa. To these circumstances, namely, to the struggle between the religious fanatics and to the fruitless efforts of an enlightened party to make the Jews absolute members of the Hellenistic society, the most remarkable book which the biblical canon has accepted, "the Preacher Solomon" (or Ecclesiastes) owes its origin. This writing gives expression to the pessimism of a well-meaning man who, while holding the post of a ruler, was anxious to guide his people aright, but at the end in despair lets his hands fall feebly into his lap. The suggestion is forced upon us that Alcimus the high priest was himself the author, and that the book might have been published after his death supplied with some additions in the same sense. Owing to its reception into the canon, which could not have been refused to the work of a high priest, it was afterward furnished with qualifying rejoinders in the spirit of pious orthodoxy.

Alcimus died in 159. When Bacchides soon afterward withdrew, the Maccabæans caused trouble once more. A message was therefore sent from Jerusalem to Bacchides imploring help. But since a *coup-de-main* on the castle of Jonathan failed, Bacchides concluded peace with him and acknowledged him as high priest. Jonathan had clearly already relinquished the orthodox policy of Judas, and had only taken steps to secure the power for himself. The acknowledgment of his rank signifies therefore neither a victory of the orthodox, nor an abandonment of

the Hellenistic party by the Syrians. Jonathan was no longer a zealot for the faith and the interests of (Egyptian and international) Judaism, but he fought for the establishment of a Hasmonæan dynasty. In order to attain this end, he ceased to be a "Jew" and made his peace with the Seleucidæ. Jonathan, in the wars between Demetrius I and Alexander Balas (cf. Vol. IV, p. 155) and under Demetrius II (145 to 138 B. C.), succeeded in holding his own and finally, notwithstanding his action against the Syrian party, obtained an acknowledgment from Demetrius II. He then joined cause with Tryphon. As a result of all his prevarications, he at last went to such an extremity that he set aside the influence of the Syrian party with the help of his orthodox followers and seemed to have the sanction of the court in doing so. At last the influence of Judaism over Tryphon seems to have died away; the latter advanced with an army into Palestine. Jonathan now presented himself at Akko to render account of his actions and was arrested.

In his place Simon Maccabæus took the management of affairs. When Tryphon wished to interfere, the former was skilful enough to frustrate all the designs of the Greek army, including an attempt to relieve the Akra, and to contrive to free the land from it. By means of giving the required hostages in the shape of his brother's sons, he at the same time got rid of any rivals. When the Syrians had left the country and meanwhile the walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt, he could regard himself without any obstacles as prince of Judah. With him the princedom of the hierarchy of Judah, that is, the high priesthood, was transferred to the Hasmonæans. Simon struck money in his own name, and dated it after his accession (year 1 = 142 B. C.). The Syrian party was thus overthrown, and orthodoxy could benefit the people in its own way. The records can speak only of tranquillity and happiness in the land. That may be so far correct, since Judah as a matter of fact, owing to its independent attitude toward Syria and the latter's inability to interfere, enjoyed peace for a period.

Simon was murdered (135 B. C.) by his son-in-law, who himself aspired to the power; but his son John Hyrcanus succeeded in securing Jerusalem and the crown to himself. The rapidly advancing downfall of the Seleucid empire was a favourable circumstance for him, for he could thus assert his independence. When he had successfully concluded an alliance with the Romans, he could proceed to demonstrate the splendour of the new realm and to realise the political ideal of his religion, namely, the restoration by conquest of the kingdom of David. His comparatively small territory was enlarged by a successful subjugation of Sichem, of Samaria (thanks to Roman intervention), and of Edom. It is obvious that in connection with this the true religion was disseminated by compulsion; for example, all the males of Idumæa were circumcised. John Hyrcanus is an ideal figure in the Jewish orthodox tradition; in fact it saw in this Hasmonæan the beginning of the political importance of its ideal State.

Hyrcanus was succeeded by his son Judas Aristobulus, who secured his authority according to Oriental custom (we see how far the civilizing doctrines of religion extended) by murder in the family. He died after one year. His widow, Salome, procured by marriage the sovereignty for his eldest brother, kept in captivity by him, Jannæus (Jonathan) Alexander (104–78). The latter first secured his position by the murder of one of his two brothers, and proceeded to complete the conquest of Palestine. As he was besieging Akko, he was hindered in the further

execution of his plans by the intervention of Egypt and was only saved from sterner consequences of his ambition by the efforts of the Jewish influence with Cleopatra, mother of Ptolemy Lathurus (100 B. C.). He then conquered Raphia and Gaza and secured to himself the country east of Jordan. But Jannæus here came into collision with an enemy stronger than himself, the North-Arabian empire of the Nabatæans; and he was defeated by their king, Oboda, in Gilead. When he returned to Jerusalem without an army, an insurrection broke out among the orthodox party, the Pharisees, which after many changes of fortune ended in a victory of Demetrius Euchærus, who had been called in by the insurgents, over Jannæus (88). But the indefatigable Hasmonæan was able to collect a new force round him in the mountains and after the withdrawal of Demetrius, to reoccupy Jerusalem. He wreaked his vengeance there, as Orientals only can, in party struggles (87). After Jannæus had thus firmly re-established his power, he renewed the war with the Nabatæan king, Oboda; but as the latter had meantime won for himself Coele-Syria, Jannæus was worsted and was forced to make peace. He then once more strengthened his power in the East Jordan territory, and died there on an expedition. He, like his father, had extended the Jewish dominion, although he did not possess the whole of Palestine. The map of this country, so adapted for petty States, presented even under him a very chequered appearance.

Jannæus always leaned on the support of the now powerful party of Sadducees, which tried to harmonise, in some degree, the unendurable bonds of Judaism with the demands of ordinary life. This led insensibly to a closer sympathy with Hellenism, and the Hellenic culture which dominated even the East. This feeling found an outward expression in Jannæus, and we can understand from this what had driven the Pharisees to revolt. He styled himself on his coins, which bear a great inscription, no longer high priest but King Alexander. His power rested on a foreign mercenary army. The house of the Hasmonæans, which had formerly entered the war on behalf of religion, had thus become a purely Oriental dynasty, which adapted itself to the requirements of religion exactly so far as was necessary to serve its purposes. Even the descendants of a Judas Maccabæus had not been able to realise their ideal.

Now, however, the whole State generally was only founded to realise this very ideal of a hierarchy in the sense of the "law," and not in order to call into existence a State, on the model of so many other empires, with a Jewish religion. The whole attempt had from the very first only been possible through the support of the body of Jews which strictly upheld their principles in foreign countries, and derived from them a continuously renewed vitality. Therefore, as soon as the State threatens to become secularised, that is, so soon as it begins to conform to the laws of human evolution, orthodoxy, strengthened and always upheld by the material and ideal support of the collected body of Jews, is anxious to lead it back to its hierarchical purpose. So long as this State exists, it will be constantly brought back to the path which it wishes to desert, until these attempts are ended by Titus and Hadrian.

Jannæus had not conformed to the demands of orthodoxy, nor could he do so, unless he wished to act contrary to his real interests; he had maintained his position with help of a mercenary army. On his death a reaction followed. His wife, Salome Alexandra, who had secured him the power, is said to have been devoted to the Pharisaic party. It is advisable not to follow too precisely the tra-

dition, which is steeped with the spirit of orthodoxy, in the notices of cause and effect; but it is quite a matter of indifference whether Salome now put the Pharisees at the head of affairs, or whether they entrusted the power to her. In any case a time now came for the pious. Salome in reality took over the government, which had been nominally conferred on her by Jannæus on his deathbed. Her son, Hyrcanus II, a feeble character, who was completely under her control, was appointed high priest, while his capable brother, Aristobulus, was passed over. This state of things lasted for nine years (78–69). Meanwhile the Pharisees governed after their own heart, and laid no restraint on themselves. Even the queen at last reached the limit of her powers. In foreign affairs, efforts had been made to avoid any disaster by clever statesmanship and payment of tribute; thus when Tigranes advanced from Armenia and besieged Akko (69), the threatening danger was averted by the timely money payments.

The country, however, could not possibly tolerate the Pharisaic rule for long, and Aristobulus gained more and more adherents. While the country was gradually coming over to him, Salome died, after she had persisted in refusing to carry out the stringent measures demanded by the orthodox party against her son and those of his followers who were in her hands. She, the supposed admirer of the Pharisees, would seem rather to have been pushed forward by them than to have voluntarily joined them. Naturally she is also an ideal figure of tradition. After her death there could be no more doubt to whom the kingdom belonged. The Pharisees had no sort of following in the country. They attempted a resistance and led their puppet Hyrcanus with the mercenary army against Aristobulus. But at Jericho, where the battle was fought, their troops went over to Aristobulus, and he was able without great difficulties to occupy Jerusalem. He was acknowledged as high priest and king, and Hyrcanus retired into private life. Tranquillity did not last long. Jannæus had appointed as governor in Idumæa a native convert to Judaism, Antipater, the father of Herod. This man himself cast longing eyes on the throne of Judah. He followed a policy of his own, and was in treaty with Hareth III, king of the Nabatæans. In the deposed Hyrcanus he found a suitable tool for his plans and he induced him to fly to Hareth, in order to ask the latter to restore him. His request was favorably received. The result was an expedition against Aristobulus who defended himself in the temple, while Jerusalem wavered between the two brothers (65). The long protracted siege was ended by Roman intervention. Pompey, busied with the regulation of eastern affairs, sent his legate Scaurus to restore quiet in Judea. Aristobulus made him the highest offer, so that the Arabians were forced to withdraw from Jerusalem, and Aristobulus momentarily triumphed over Hyrcanus, although the latter had part of the country on his side. When then (63) Pompey came in person to Palestine, after many prevarications on both sides, he finally decided against Aristobulus. The latter was taken prisoner; his adherents threw themselves into the temple, and gallantly defended themselves against the onslaught of the Romans, until they finally succumbed and the temple was taken by storm. This ended the rule of the Hasmonæans. Aristobulus was carried away as a captive to Rome. Pompey celebrated a triumph in honour of his victory, and had to endure many jests on the subject, including those of the consul M. Tullius Cicero.

Judæa became a component part of the province of Syria. The conquered divisions were again separated; as, for example, Samaria, so that only Judæa and Peræa

remained Jewish. Pompey granted the Jews liberty of religion and confirmed Hyrcanus in his office of high priest. The orthodox party loudly sang the praises of the great Roman, who so respected their religion and had treated their sanctuary with reverence; they preferred that Judæa should be tributary rather than non-Pharisaic. The new province, and with it Judæa, received as pro-consul in the first place Aemilius Scaurus (63–57), then Sabinius (57–55); the second of these took pains to rebuild the towns which still lay in ruins from the conquests of the Hasmonæans. Then came Crassus, and after his death on the Parthian expedition Cassius (52), until by the battle of Pharsalus Cæsar became master of the East and the West. He allowed the Jews religious liberty, and once more confirmed Hyrcanus in the office of high priest. He appointed as procurator his patron Antipater, the Idumæan, who was clever enough to make himself indispensable; Antigonus had vainly tried to obtain a recognition of his rights. Josephus furnishes many notices of Senatorial decrees and letters of the great Cæsar in favour of the Jews; if only he were a more trustworthy authority! In Egypt also the privileges of the powerful Jewish community were confirmed by Cæsar.

Antipater as procurator was the virtual lord of Judæa and acted as such. He placed his sons Phazael and Herod over Judæa and Galilee respectively, and conducted an organized government to the disgust of the Zealots, to whom an Idumæan, a semi-convert, would naturally be still more unacceptable as ruler. Herod was then nominated by Cassius to be prefect of Coele-Syria, and in the ensuing disorders always knew how to take the side of the conqueror at the right moment, so that he continued to sit on the throne. He and Phazael were nominated by Antony to be tetrarchs and rulers of Judæa.

Once more for a short time, through the intervention of the Parthians who had been called in by the Republicans against the Triumvirs, the power of the Hasmonæans revived for a time. The above-mentioned Antigonus had sided with the Parthians and was appointed high priest by them; he reigned for a year or so under the name of Mattathia. Phazael had been taken prisoner and was carried away to Ctesiphon; Herod escaped and sought help from his patron Antony, who knew him to be a good payer. He found what he wished, was proclaimed by the Senate "King of the Jews," and finally after all sorts of subterfuges was escorted back again to Jerusalem by Roman legions. Mattathia was taken prisoner and at Herod's instigation was executed by Antony. Herod was thus placed by force of arms as lord over a people, which could have no sympathy with him, the Idumæan; least of all could his government which was based on Rome be acceptable. Yet he was able, up to his death, to hold his own in defiance of all hostility and all political vicissitudes. His reign, which Josephus describes with much gossip, is an instructive example of the life of an Oriental despot of that age; but his success or his failure have not the slightest importance for the history of Judaism or of the rest of the world. However much he was at pains to put himself on a good footing with the orthodox party, and notwithstanding that he was the second builder of the temple, Judaism makes no peace with him. The anniversary of Herod's death was a day of rejoicing in the list of Jewish feasts.

One aspect of his work as a king has yet to be considered. He not only restored the temple of Jerusalem, but throughout the length and breadth of the country he displayed great activity in building. The town of Cæsarea was built by him on the site of the old "Tower of Strato" (i. e. Migdal Abdashtoreth), being intended

to be a harbour to replace the unsuitable Jaffa; and the Cæsareum, the temple of Augustus and of Roma, was one of the most splendid monuments of Hellenistic architecture. Herod felt himself to be no Jew, but a Hellenist. From his well-filled coffers he drew the means for raising public buildings everywhere in Greek countries. In Antioch, Rhodes, Chios, Actium, Athens, and Sparta, monuments of his liberality were reared; inscriptions testify to us even now the gratitude of the beneficiaries toward the Jewish king. Herod thus gained the fame which he strove after, and the hatred of the Judaism, which he despised.

After his death disputes arose between his sons, which were naturally fought out before Augustus, and a revolt in Jerusalem against the Roman garrison. The final result was that the kingdom of Herod was divided among his three sons, Archelaus, Philip, and Antipas. Archelaus, however, who had received Judæa, could not hold his own for long. The real cause of his deposition can hardly be looked for in the dissatisfaction of the emperor with his government, which was administered in the spirit of his father. We must see in it the influence of the stronger power, which regarded Judah as its State, and the efforts of which could only be conducted in the spirit of the orthodox party. The arms of Judaism reached far; just as it guided the destinies of Judah at the courts of Egypt and Persia, so now it showed its power in Rome, the mistress of the world. Augustus, at the wish of the whole body of Jews, took Judæa under his own administration and placed over it a Roman procurator who was subordinate to the legate of Syria. Both brothers of Archelaus reigned: Philip in Cæsarea-Paneas to 34 A. D., Antipas, the sovereign in the time of Christ, at Tiberias in Galilee, to 39 A. D. Both districts were then confiscated.

The new order of things, which Judaism had effected in hatred of the intractable Idumæan dynasty, could not but make itself very soon most acutely felt; for it was from the first an excluded possibility that a Roman administration, even if it rested in the hands of the most enlightened and conciliatory of men, would have satisfied the demands of the orthodox Judaism. These even the native princes, who were interested in its welfare with the best intentions, could not have been able to grant. Thus discontent was bound perpetually to increase under the conditions now introduced. The ceaseless grievances and complaints of "oppression" by the procurators were finally expressed in risings. In the year 66 there was a serious rebellion against Gessius Florus. When the legate of Syria occupied Jerusalem, he was compelled to evacuate the city and the country. Nero sent Vespasian with a strong army to suppress the rebels; the latter, after many sanguinary contests, forced the desperate fanatics finally back to Jerusalem. Having been proclaimed emperor, he left the task of finishing the war to his son Titus. Hitherto the aristocrats had held the government in their hands. After the rebellion in the country had been crushed everything was concentrated in Jerusalem. The orthodox party, under the leadership of John of Giscala, one of the chief movers of the rebellion in the country, now quarrelled with the aristocrats, whom they accused of lukewarmness and of readiness to treat with the Romans. A struggle ensued, and the orthodox were besieged in the temple. They sent into the country for aid against the "traitors," and actually received reinforcements, especially from Idumæa, with the help of which they utterly defeated their opponents. John of Giscala thus became master of the city, which was compelled to submit to his tyranny. A certain Simeon Bar-Giora of Gerasa, who had already distinguished

himself in the attack on Jerusalem by the legate of Syria, was called in to the rescue. He succeeded in forcing his way into the city, before it was yet invested by Vespasian (in the spring of the year 69), and at the head of the citizens he confined John — among whose partisans there were temporarily great dissensions — once more within the temple precincts.

Thus there were in Jerusalem two parties, which were in a state of mutual hostility for two years. At Easter, 70, when the city was filled with pilgrims, Titus appeared and invested it. Famine soon raged, and the Romans advanced to the assault. The besieged defended themselves with desperation and repulsed the first attacks. When the castle was taken, Titus ordered Josephus Flavius, the historian and partisan of the Romans, to summon them once more to surrender, but in vain. The city, therefore, whose defenders were already too weakened from starvation to fight, was captured step by step. The city and the temple were destroyed by fire. It was long before the traces of the rebellion in the country were stamped out; in some places resistance was offered down to the last man.

The rebellion was not due to merely local causes; Judaism had already become a power in the Roman Empire. It is seen from the decrees now issued that not merely the enemy who had been defeated in the country was to have been the object attacked. Jerusalem was to remain in ruins; the centre of the cult was therefore destroyed. But the religious taxation, by which the Jewish body in the empire had hitherto enabled their ideal State to exist, was henceforth to be paid to Jupiter Capitolinus, that is, to the emperor.

Thus the attempt of the powerful body of Jews, undertaken in the consciousness of their influence at the Persian court, and continued by their influence in Ptolemaic Egypt and in the rest of the East, had been ended by the will of Rome, to whom Judaism became obnoxious. The focus of the disorders was done away with; Judaism remained. Its further existence in Palestine is not affected by the change of conditions. The Jewish State had indeed always been only partially Jewish, and the evolution of Jewish religion and science could proceed there, as in the empire, without the semblance of a national existence. When this semblance had disappeared, the fact was then clearly discernible in the country, which had always been apparent outside of it, namely, that the representative of Judaism was not the State of Judæa, but only the religion. The embodiment of Jewish thought in the country was Pharisaism; but not the slightest alteration in Judaism is to be noticed in consequence.

Once more the religious ardour blazed up, when Hadrian built the colony of Ælia Capitolina on the site of the Jerusalem which lay in ruins. The inspired leader of the rising, Bar-Kochba, recognised as Messiah himself by a Rabbi Akiba, held his own for a time, until he was defeated by Julius Severus and his legions. Some half a million persons are said to have perished in the course of the revolt.

Since that time Judaism made no more attempts to realise the dream of an empire of David. From the very first no sort of political importance was inherent in this effort; seriously taken it could only have been supported from outside, in order, however, always to go astray once more on the path of natural development. Judaism itself continued to grow in strength and success. We are not sufficiently provided with records of the time of its rise — the period, that is, of the captivity — to gain a clear insight into the conditions under which it expanded in so unexpected

a manner. It received ideas and incentives from the Babylonian life, in connection with the Oriental culture of the time and subject to its influence. If we ever obtain a more distinct view, it will doubtless be seen that the ground was prepared for it by Babylonian conditions and doctrines in a similar way to that in which it again prepared the ground for Christianity. This is the only explanation for the fact that in the short period of the exile the whole civilized world had been permeated by Judaism. We find Jews in every place where their activity could find a remunerative field. They play an important part even in Babylonia itself, and then at the Persian court immediately on the commencement of the Persian rule. Their relations at a later period with the Ptolemies are most clearly attested. Josephus is unable to praise too highly their influence at court. We are not able to trace so minutely their influence in Rome, the third great centre, where they made their influence felt by the shifting of the political power; but even there the conditions are clearly visible in isolated occurrences. The movement against the murderers of the honoured Cæsar found strong support in the body of Jews, whose interests were seriously affected by his death. Judaism had become in Rome the mistress of the world, just as in Susa and Alexandria, a political power which had seriously to be taken into account.

The rapid growth of Christianity is only to be explained by the spread of Judaism over the whole civilized world. We are not more accurately informed of its beginnings from a historical point of view than of those of Judaism itself. One inference only we can draw from the teaching of Christianity, namely, that it forms the reaction of the needs of the ancient world, now breaking up, against the rigid ideas of a sect existing inside a larger community. It is Judaism enlarged for the needs of the whole world, which wishes to embrace not merely the Jew supported in his struggle for existence within its religious community, but all mankind. We have one or two pieces of evidence for the importance of Judaism in the East, which prove to us that the artificial and laboriously supported attempt to set up the ideal State in Palestine found elsewhere in the East, owing to the economic ascendency of Judaism, imitations which were still less able to realise the ideal. In other places, also, Judaism was promoted to be the official religion. Thus, in the Herodian age, the rulers of the kingdom of Adiabene (which comprised a great part of the territory of the old Assyria and Mesopotamia), Queen Helene, famous in Jewish history, and her son, Monobazus, adopted Judaism, and in the first centuries of the Christian Era we similarly find Jewish kings in South Arabian Sabæa before the introduction of Christianity. But all Arabia, even the north, was permeated with Judaism, and in a struggle against Christianity was already preparing the ground for Islam. Naturally there was no question here of an attempt to really carry out the demands of the orthodox, in the way in which they had repeatedly been enforced in Palestine. We must picture to ourselves that the relation to the population borne by Judaism, now the national religion, as well as the influence of its doctrines, was the same as that of an orthodox Christianity to modern national life. Just as the saying, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," is far from being realised in modern national life through religion, so this is far from being the case with the demands of the orthodox Judaism. That might, perhaps, have happened at Jerusalem, but even there only in perpetual conflict with the requirements of life, never in a large State lying within the sphere of universal national development.

13. ARABIA BEFORE ISLAM

WE have seen Arabia as the tract of countries which was the home of the Semites, before they penetrated into the civilized lands of Nearer Asia, in order to play the part there which has left its stamp on the history of the ancient, indeed the most ancient East, which is as yet known to us (cf. above p. 5). Nothing is more natural than the phenomenon of these migrations and the direction which they took. The peninsula (*vide* the map, p. 9), the area of which is about five times that of Germany, presents, when taken as a whole, the appearance of an immense plateau. Owing to its deficiency in water and the vast deserts of the interior, it belongs from the first to those countries which have at all times formed the home of nomads. The beginnings of culture and the formation of States are only conceivable in well-watered districts, and where such are to be found in Arabia, the former signs are also visible. The mountainous character of the country, however, precludes the existence of another condition requisite for the development of settled groups into wide districts of civilization; that is, facilities for intercourse. The Arabian rivers are mountain streams, swollen in winter and dry in summer, and not one of them is navigable. Arabia must thus have always presented the characteristic feature of all mountain countries, that of being split up into countless tribal districts.

It is more peculiarly the home of the Semites than any other part of the world. It has firmly impressed its stamp on all its peoples; everything which appears to us as a characteristic mark of the Semitic spirit follows naturally as a heritage of the old home. The poverty of thought, the entire lack of imagination, are easily explicable in nations whose characteristics have been developed in trackless deserts and on barren mountain tops; the Semitic mind has always remained as sterile as the desert. On the other hand, these phenomena harden men in the struggle for existence. The son of the desert has few wants, and is immeasurably superior in mobility to the inhabitant of more favoured lands. The dangers of the desert make his senses more acute, since they force him to win with incessant toil, under the pressure of necessity, that which nature spontaneously gives to the dweller in a fertile land. If the desert does not arouse the imagination, still it sharpens the faculties for the struggle for existence. All the nations whose origin we sought in Arabia have shown themselves clear headed in regard to the demands of their material advantage. The desert itself may not produce sufficient supplies, and may compel its inhabitants to seek booty in more favoured regions, but it is a characteristic of all Semites that they have appropriated the achievements in civilization of others, and have understood how to turn them to their profit, but they have never made any real advance toward a further development of them. These mental characteristics have continued in the Semites even when living amid civilization, however much the physical peculiarities of the race may have changed them. For we must see the physical type of the Semite in the sinewy Arab with his sharply cut, bold features, not in the type which usually seems to us "Semitic," such as is so strongly marked in the modern Jew, or in the Assyrian on his monuments (cf. plate, p. 203). In the north the district of desert and steppe adjoins the fertile and rich Euphrates valley. If then circumstances arose in Arabia, through which the land could no

longer support a part of its inhabitants — which is often the case in nomadic life — this was, therefore, the natural outlet for the superfluous population. There, in the first place, the nomad found food in abundance; there the man, whose only occupation, besides cattle-breeding, was plundering, was allured by the fabulous treasures of a culture, such as the modern East knows no longer. Even in Islam the Arab clearly and soberly expresses the motives which have determined this part of Oriental history, namely, the search for food and the capture of booty. His sober method of thought has never felt the need to conceal those events with a veil of poetry, such as European nations have drawn over their wanderings.

We have thus seen that the four great migrations which brought to Nearer Asia its Semitic population started from Arabia. It might conceivably be of the first importance to trace historically the conditions in the great national home of the Semites; but nations in their nomadic life leave behind no historical records. For this reason Arabia, before the time when, owing to the great Islamitic conquest, it entered into a close, although in no way a "national," alliance with the Oriental civilized world, is still historically as unknown a country to us as it is geographically, in an age when our planet threatens to become too small for the race of men. We may indeed assume that the inhabitants of ancient Babylonia, when it stood at the height of its civilization, were better informed as to the internal conditions of Arabia than Europe now is. Merely isolated facts can be collected from the still quite fragmentary records, and these do not render it possible for us to give even a tolerably connected description. One or two scattered notices of the earliest period, which must be interpreted by a comparison with the conditions of later and more clearly known centuries, are all that we possess down to the last centuries of Assyrian history, when the more detailed records of the wars of a Sargon, a Sennacherib, an Assarhaddon, or an Assurbanipal, scanty as they are, still give us comparatively more information. From this time onward Arabia is at least no longer quite out of sight, even if it still remains an unknown legendary land, and becomes more so the farther civilization shifts its gravity from the East to the West. The adventurous attempt under Augustus to open up Arabia Felix by a campaign shows in all points the complete unfamiliarity of Rome with the real conditions of Arabia.

What the nature of the country rendered impossible for the Roman arms was effected by the spiritual movement which dominated the East and made the classical civilization subject to it. At first Judaism spread over the whole East; then Christianity found admission everywhere in Arabia. Both conquered the cultivated parts and kept alive among their inhabitants a spiritual intercourse with the rest of the civilized world which, as a pendant to commercial and political phenomena, would afford us a more accurate insight into the existing conditions, if only more than a few scanty notices had come down to us from Byzantine archives.

Even of the conditions of the Arabs of the Syrian desert, who were kept by the Sassanidæ to protect the Syrian and the Babylonian frontier, we find only meagre records in the Byzantine chronicles. The Arabian tradition extends partially to the same period; but still less can be made out of the information contained in it. The only portion of it that is at all credible is limited to remains of pre-Islamitic poetry, collected in Islamitic times, and scarcely ever can be taken into account for important historical occurrences. Any other

fragments of historical tradition from the last decades before Islam which have been preserved, especially as regards Southern Arabia, are distorted and can only be available for history when accounts from other sources enable us to separate fact from romance.

Arabia did not remain untouched by civilization; in the north, owing to the Assyro-Babylonian and afterward the Syrian culture, it saw movements toward political institutions, which have left historical monuments behind them. All the hitherto known specimens (with the exception of one inscription belonging to the early Persian or the late Assyrian period from Teima; see Figs. 11 and 12 of the plate, p. 235) must be assigned to the beginning of the Christian Era, and come from the Nabatæan Empire. With its prosperity is connected the splendours of Palmyra which lay more in the domain of Syrian civilization. It is not necessarily to be assumed that, owing to this, all hope must be abandoned of finding some future day, even in Northern Arabia, historically valuable documents which reach back to a considerable antiquity. We must not by any means imagine that the nomadic life of the tribes inhabiting Arabia was devoid of all culture. Just as we shall find in the south a highly developed culture, so also the north, which nature treated less liberally, passed nevertheless through the most various stages and degrees of transition into the maturity of a settled mode of life. Even Bedouin tribes have had permanent centres and possessed towns. The through traffic created large towns everywhere in Arabia, which at the period of their prosperity must have reached a high stage of culture.

The rise of Islam coincides with a period of economic desolation in Arabia. We are disposed to think of the Arabian towns according to the picture drawn by the Islamitic tradition of the Mecca and Jathrib (Medina) of the period of the Prophet. But in the first place this tradition always endeavours to represent the circumstances according to diversity of Bedouin life; secondly, it can admit of no doubt that the Arabian tribes (Kuraish in Mecca, Auz and Chazradsh in Jathrib) which were then settled in the towns, had only recently occupied them in consequence of the decline of older and more highly developed conditions. The name of Mecca (Macoraba which Ed. Glaser aptly explains as the Sabæo-Minæan word, *makrâb* = sanctuary) and its importance, recognised also by Islam, as a sanctuary of the Arabs, prove that it must have existed for centuries as a town. The name of Jathrib is recorded for us in early centuries by Minæan inscriptions: it was therefore already at that time a leading commercial city, and at the period when Mahomet fled there for refuge, had evidently sunk from its high position, since it could fall into the hands of Auz and Chazradsh. Finally, we have already alluded to the Aramæan inscription from Teima, a place itself mentioned for us in Assyrian inscriptions, which by its contents, namely, a list of regulations as to the landed property of temples, shows a state of things which entirely corresponds to that of the rest of the Oriental civilized world, and especially to that which we shall further observe in Southern Arabia. It is not, therefore, right to estimate the historical gains to be expected from the future by the present desolation of Arabia, which was only begun by the Islamitic movement and the great migration. We must consider rather the fact that those apparently miserable heaps of mud hovels were once towns, which in their style and importance might well be put by the side of those South Arabian or even Syrian cities known to us from their ruins, and which may somewhere conceal monuments of the former greatness. What is

true of these will hold good of many other sites which hitherto no European foot has trod.

A real culture, which depended on something more than results of trade and rapine, was only developed in the southwestern part of Arabia, the so-called Yemen. Its prosperity also rested to a large extent upon trade — partly in the perfumes so valued in the East, partly the transit trade with India. The wealth acquired thereby was, however, so immense that here, at a considerable distance from the great civilized countries, and in a land rendered more fertile through better irrigation, an independent culture was attained. It is true that the different stages of human development, which the great civilized countries on the Euphrates and the Nile had already left behind them when they emerged from the obscurity of the earliest period, were not completed by "Arabia Felix." It was not a land living from the cultivation of the soil alone and showing the forms of permanently settled nations. The nature of the country is too thoroughly Arabian to suppress entirely the Bedouin life predominant in the north. Thus the south discloses to us the conditions of national life, which the Bedouins developed, having seized upon the treasures of culture, if they were not, as in the great civilized countries, themselves subject to it. South Arabia shows a high cultivation of the soil and a political society large enough to rear immense buildings and found mighty towns, and erect waterworks (cf. the celebrated dam of Mareb), which were to store the water of the streams which flow plentifully in the winter, against the drought of the summer. Notwithstanding all this, it has never developed the essential forms of human society which are the consequence and the condition of a civilization based on the arts of peace alone. Both in its political and its social aspects it shows conditions which might be termed a feudalism originating in the tribal organisation of the Bedouins and resting on their ideas, as contrasted with the culture of the civilized lands which depends on the unit of the family.

In Yemen the Bedouin tribe as a whole rules over the subject population, which, split up into castes, is engaged in the arts of peace, while the ruling tribe retains its old nomadic habits, although modified to suit the prevailing conditions, and lives for trade, warfare, and booty. A more civilized mode of life and the possession of fortified towns and castles naturally produce a transition from the social organisation of the Bedouin life to that of a political society; there is now a king and a body of officials. But the ruling caste, the nobility, still stands together in the clanship such as Bedouin life produces, and feels itself to be a unity within this tribe, not within the family. The tribe Hamdan or its subdivisions the Hashid and Bakil act as a body. They perform, or refuse to perform, military service for the king, under the leadership of the supreme commander acknowledged according to the laws of Bedouinism; but the individual noble does not fulfil his duties to the State. Just as in Bedouin life any important line of action by members of a tribe which was disapproved by the general body is inconceivable, and as common ideas lead to closer cohesion than the compulsion of any organisations of civilized life, so the tribes still form a compact group giving full effect to all the ideas and practical forms of Bedouin life. Even in the family life of the Minæan noble families, which set up inscriptions in a grammatically perfected language and a technically faultless script, the forms of nomadic life are still existing: polyandry is still known there. Whatever height of technical perfection, therefore, is exhibited to us by the monuments of South Arabian antiquity, its buildings and its inscriptions, yet its

EXPLANATION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS OVERLEAF

1—8. Six and two fragments respectively of two bronze vessels with dedications from the governors of the Tyrian possession Qart-chadast (Carthago), i. e. Citium in Cyprus. Found in Larnak (Citium). (Original in the Louvre at Paris.)

1—6. . . . . ? s k n q r t ch d sh t ' b d ch r m m l k ç d n m 'z j t n l b' l l b n [n] 'd n j b r' sh t n ch sh t	. . . (proper name), governor of Qart-chadast (Newtown), servant of Hiram (this can only be Hiram I, a contemporary of Solomon, or Hiram II, a contemporary of Tiglath-Pileser III), king of the Sidonians. What he has given (votive offering) to Baal from Libanon made of finest brass.
7 and 8. . . . t h b s k n q r t ch d sh t	. . . that (fragment of the name), governor of Qart-chadast. . . .

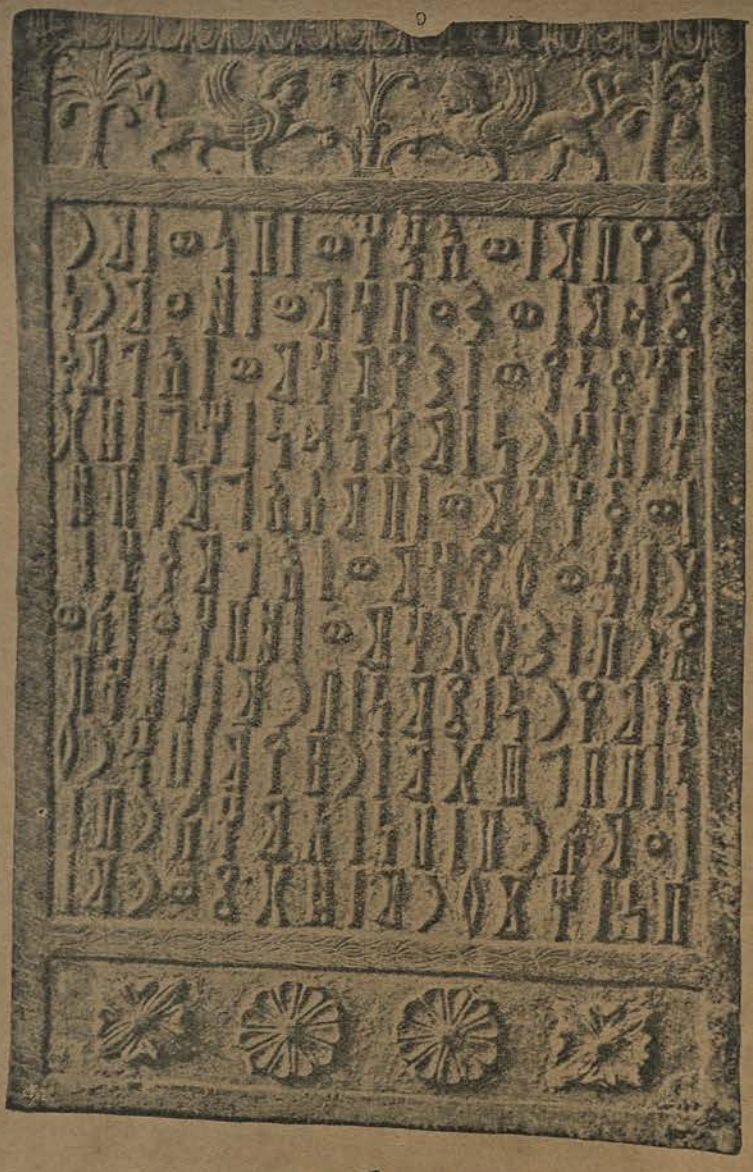
9. Bronze plate from Amran in Southern Arabia. (From the original in the British Museum at London.)

Sabæan votive inscription :

R j b^{m} w ' ch h w b n w m r th d^{m} w sh' b h w d h ' m r n h q n j w sh j m h m w' l m q h d h r n m s n d n h g d h t w q h h m w b m s' 'l^{m} b d h t h w f j h m w 'l m q h ç r b sh f t h m w d h b h w k w n m j r n th m n b r^{m} b d h h b n b b l t t^{m} r d h j^{m} b ch r f 'm k r b b n sm h k r b b n h z f r^{m} d h t th w r^{m}	Rijâb and his brothers, the "sons of Marthad" and the stock "of 'Amrân" have consecrated to their patron 'Almaqah of Hirrân this inscription, because he heard them in their supplication, since 'Almaqah favoured them with the harvest, which he gave them after that rye had been as dear as wheat in the seed-time. . . . In the year of 'Ammu-Karib, son of Sumhu-Karib, son of Hazfîr of Tathwâr.

10. Nabatæan inscription on a tomb from Hedshra in North Arabia.

D n â q b r â d î ' b d ' j d û b r k h j l û b r [2.] ' l k s j l n f s h w j l d h w' ch r h w l m n d î j n f q b j d h [3.] k t b t q f m n j d ' j d û q j m l h w l m n d î j n t n w j q b r b h [4.] ' j d û b ch j w h j b j r ch n î s u sh n t t s' l ch r t t m l k [5.] n b t û r ch m ' m h w l' n w d û sh r â w m n w t u n q j sh h [6.] k l m n d î j z b n k f r â d n h ' w j z b n ' w j r h n ' w j n t n ' w [7.] j w g r ' w j t' l f ' l w h j k t b k l h ' w j q b r b h ' n ô s h [8.] l h n l m n d î ' l â k t î b w k f r â w k t b h d n h ch r m [9.] k ch a l î q t ch r m n b t û w s l m û l' l m ' l m î n.	This is the tomb which 'Aidû, son of Kuhailû, son of [2] El-kasi (Alexios?) built for himself and his children and descendants, and for every man who brings in his hand [3] a valid document from the hand of 'Aidû, with directions from him and every one, to whom permission has thus been given to bury [4] therein by 'Aidû in his lifetime. — In the month Nisan, of the year 9 of Harith king of [5] the Nabatæans, who loves his people (42 A. D.). May Dûsarâ and Manawat and Qaisû [6] curse every one who sells this tomb, or buys it, or pledges it or gives it away or [7] hires it, or concludes any bargain about it of any sort, or buries any one therein [8] with exception of the above mentioned. This sepulchre and this inscription shall be sacred [9] as the nature of the sanctuary of the Nabatæans and Salamians for ever and ever.



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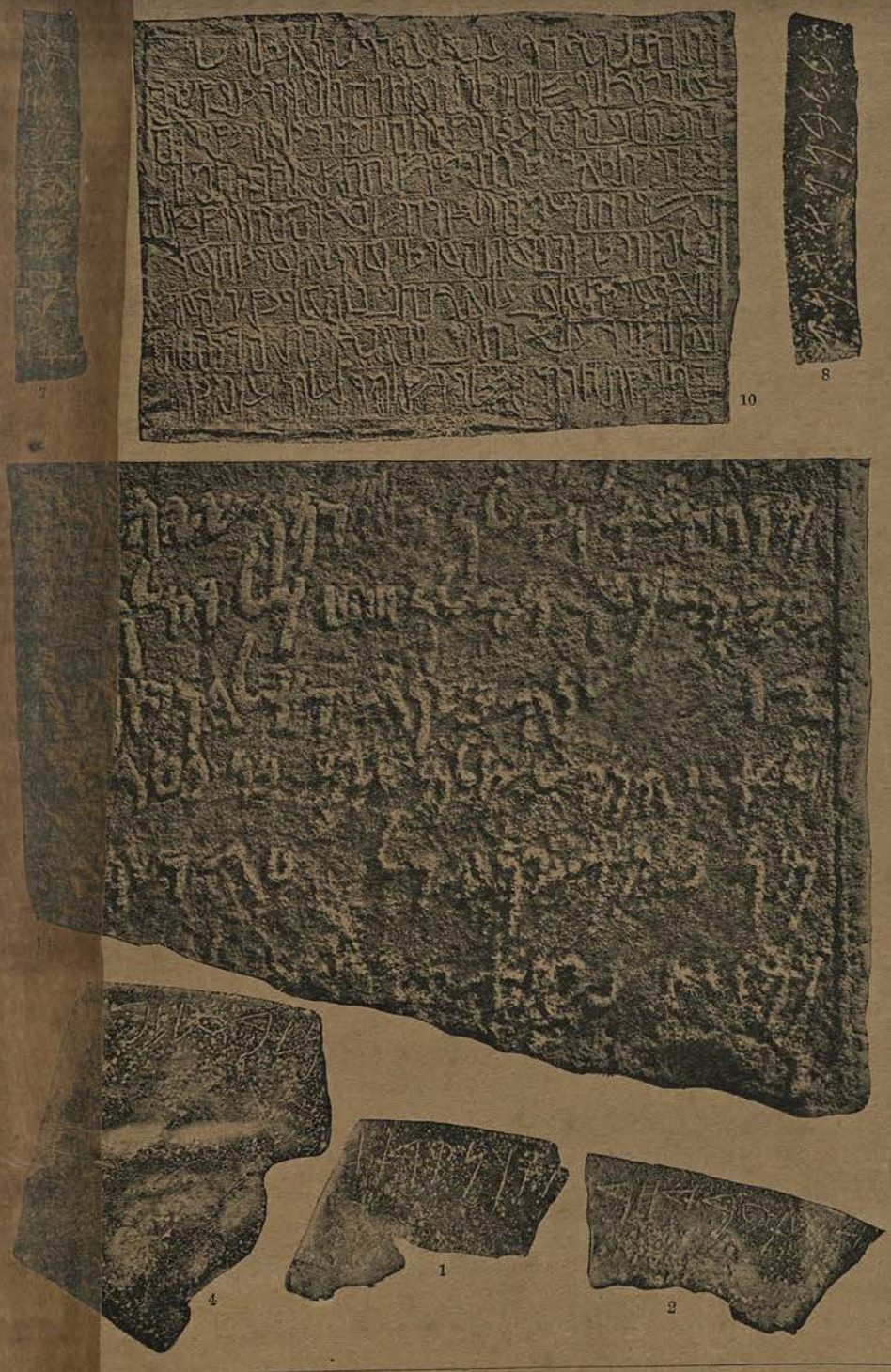
PHŒNICIAN,



ARAMAIC INSCRIPTIONS
Semiticarum)

in the domain of some civilization; it is inconceivable in the desert. Everything tends to prove that Yemama was superior to the west; it can be seen from the distorted Islamitic tradition that Mohammed had made terms with his rival in the east, — Musailima, "the little Moslim," as this tradition calls him scoffingly, — and that the latter was even then in possession of a power, when Mohammed first founded some such for himself. He clearly was an imitator of the former; not *vice versa*, as the Islamitic legend naturally represents. In any case the conception of the prophetic order shows that here also, as in the west and south, Judaism and Christianity must have struck root. Thus in the east, with its centre Yemama, there was a development similar to that of the other favoured places of Arabia. This part also, which is still entirely unknown to us, was as much influenced by Oriental culture as the others, and will therefore some day be equally important for an estimate of the whole state of civilization at that time.

A. The Times anterior to the Fourth Great Migration

As Arabia was the home of the four great Semitic migrations (cf. above, p. 8), a part of its history, so far as it is of importance for general history, is definitely settled from the first. We do not indeed know more of it than the general fact of the migration, and the conditions imposed by the nature of the country and the circumstances of life. Historical details are still entirely deficient, important as it would be for us to become acquainted with the motives for the migration at work in the original homes of the emigrants, and to learn something of the Arabia which was the arena of the later "Babylonian Semites," the "Canaanites," and the Aramæans. We must restrict ourselves, therefore, to the few notices of Arabia and Arabian relations to the civilized world.

We are not in a position to measure the extent and influence of the Babylonian civilization on the outer world by the scanty supply of the information hitherto known; on the contrary, in the most remote antiquity closer relations have often existed between more distant countries than in the historically better known times (namely, those when Assyria flourished). Naram-Sin made expeditions into Arabia for the sake of conquest; at the same period Gudea obtained stone and wood for his statues from thence (cf. above, pp. 10, 11). Trade communications and political relations must therefore have been kept up, and can only have been broken off later, possibly through the revolutions in consequence of the Canaanitic immigration. "Magan" and "Melucha" are the old Babylonian designations of Arabia. Melucha signifies the western part, the Sinaitic peninsula and the districts on the Red Sea. Gudea obtained wood from here. Whether by Magan, which is mentioned as the objective of Naram-Sin's campaigns and as the place where Gudea's stone was found, the eastern parts principally are intended, or whether Yemen is also included, must remain for the present undecided.

There is evidence that Egypt, as indeed would naturally be assumed, exercised an influence on the districts lying nearest to it, and thus especially on the Sinaitic peninsula. Even under the old empire copper-mines were worked there, of which traces are still extant. If Egypt encroached upon Palestine, it could not do so unless it held the tribes of the desert in check. And from the outset the lords of Northern Palestine and Syria were faced by the necessity of arranging their relations with the tribes who were masters of the Syrian desert either by treaty or by

force. The same conditions existed there at all times; the Bedouin greed for plunder was checked by payment and punishment. A picture of the conditions in the countries now under consideration is furnished by the so-called novel of Sinuhe (Saneha) an Egyptian grandee, who was compelled to fly from court and found an asylum with the Bedouins until circumstances were again favourable for his return; a typical incident, which may have recurred repeatedly in these countries.

The "Canaanitic" migration, about the middle of the third to the middle of the second millennium B. C., is still shrouded in darkness as regards all details. In the same way, as it gave a new population to Babylonia and Palestine, it establishes a recognisable connection with Arabia in so far that we see at the first glance that the conventional nomenclature among the newcomers in Babylonia and Palestine (therefore also among Israelites and other nations of the Old Testament) is, in the most essential components and forms, the same as in the Minæo-Sabæan inscriptions of South Arabia. If the "Babylonian Semites" meet us when already strongly "Babylonised," that is, with their religion and their life thoroughly remodelled by the influence of the Sumerian culture, we thus possess a most striking testimony to the homogeneity of the different branches. The Aramæan migration is recorded for us in the Assyrian inscriptions, so far, at least, as it affected the valley of the Euphrates, and as, on the rise of Assyria under Pudu-il, Ramman-nirari I, Salmanassar I, we find the Aramæan hordes in 1300 B. C. playing the identical part which the Arabian Bedouins play at the present time in the same districts. We have found the Suti (p. 54) named together with the Aramæans. After the middle of the second millennium these were the masters of the Syrian desert, and thus of Northern Arabia also; that is, they are what we find later in the "Arabs" themselves. They were known to the Egyptians as well as to the Babylonians as such, and Suti means the same as "Bedouins." We can illustrate from the Babylonian inscriptions how they were driven out of the steppe by Aramæans, Chaldæans, and Arabs, until finally under Sargon only some remnants were found between the Tigris and the mountains on the Median frontier. But their struggles in Arabia itself and their relation to the Arabian seats of culture are still quite unknown to us.

The Chaldæans, of the nationalities which advanced toward the valley of the Euphrates, would take their place next. We are very uncertain about their origin, since everything which we hear of them belongs merely to their Babylonian period and does not give any correct clue to their national character. But since it is, however, the most probable theory that they were Semites, and since, on the other side, their advance into Babylonia was clearly made from the Persian Gulf up stream (cf. above, p. 23), we must look for their home in Eastern Arabia, of which we otherwise know nothing. A later tradition mentions the Arabian seaport Gerrha on the Persian Sea as Chaldæan. The island of Bahrein, which in the very earliest times belonged to the sphere of Babylonian culture, was probably occupied by them. An inscription in old Babylonian script, with a dedication to the "Nebo of Dilmun (-Bahrein) Inzag," known to us from the Babylonian lists, has been discovered there.

B. The Beginnings of the Fourth Migration

The name Arabia (Aribi) did not originally belong to the whole peninsula, but, in the Assyrian inscriptions where it first meets us, designated only the north-western portion, substantially the Syrian desert and the adjoining districts; that is to say, the region occupied by the nomads who came into contact with the inhabitants of the countries on the Euphrates and of Syria. There, after 1000 B. C., the fourth great migration settled, that of the Arabs themselves, after whom the land henceforth was called. If we have previously spoken of "Arabia," that was an anticipation of later conditions, precisely as the name of the "Canaanitic" group of nations could only have been taken from their later home. The meaning of "Arab" is a somewhat idle question. It is usually impossible to settle the original meaning of ethnic names. In the Sabæan inscriptions, "Arabian" is used latterly as synonymous with "Bedouin," when mention is made of "Arabians of the mountain and of the seashore." But here it is clearly the question of the later extension of the meaning, since the Arabians, as Bedouins, must have lent their name as a universal designation, just as in the Tel-Amarna letters "Suti" has already begun to be used as a general title.

The Syrian desert stretches along the *hinterland* of North Palestine in its widest extent towards the north. Here to the east and the south of the district of Damascus was one of the most suitable points of attack for Arabian tribes. Here, then, we find Arabs mentioned for the first time. In the great army which Bir-idri of Damascus (p. 119) put into the field against Salmanassar II, the "Arab Gindibu" (the name is very ordinary in the Arabian form Djundub or Gundub) was also forced to furnish his contingent. We must regard him as an Arab sheik, who lived within the sphere of Bir-idri's power, and stood in a dependent relation to him, a position which we shall repeatedly find after this time. The mention of this fact signifies the beginning of the Arabian immigration into those parts; that is to say, the beginning of the same great movement which culminated in the spread of Islam. The Arabs, who followed on the Aramæans, now come into notice. The Aramæan migration is thus drawing to a close. We hear temporarily nothing more of the Arabs, since the Assyrians at first could not come into contact with them. So long as the empire of Damascus lasted and Assyria did not yet possess Palestine, up to the time, that is, of Tiglath-Pileser II, there was no possibility of coming into any closer connection with the Arabs. In the same way the Euphrates frontier had been secured against any disturbances of its territory from Bedouins through the advance guard of vassal States and provinces (Laki, Suchi, Chindanu) which Assurbanipal had subjugated. The inner Euphratean district, the subjection of which to Aramæan influence and its subsequent conquest by Assyria had just been effected, was thus for the time secure against new immigrants. This circumstance entails unfortunately the disadvantage that our only documents for this period, the Assyrian inscriptions, tell us nothing of the Arabs.

This is changed so soon as Assyria, under Tiglath-Pileser III, proceeds to break down the bulwark of Syria, Damascus, that had so long barred its road to the Mediterranean. Since an Assyrian governor resided in Damascus and Palestine, as far as the desert frontier, and up to Gaza, was subject to Assyrian supremacy,

it was necessary to arrange matters with the marauding sons of the desert, through whose hands the South Arabian and Indian trade passed. Like Persia and Byzantium later, Assyria now, in the place of Damascus and the petty States of that region, had to take measures for restraining the tribes as far as Central Arabia by concessions or by force from harassing the civilized country. Thus Tiglath-Pileser III made expeditions to Arabia, in which he traversed the whole Hedschas, and forced the tribes as far as Mecca to pay tribute. He was acquainted with a "kingdom" of Aribi in the north, in the Syrian steppe, which was ruled by queens (for instance, Zabibi), who paid tribute. Their subject condition, occasionally enforced by fresh chastisements, is recorded under Sargon, Sennacherib, and Assarhaddon.

Further to the west, in the land of Mussri, which adjoins the district of Southern Philistia and roughly comprises the Hedschas, Tiglath-Pileser III appointed a Bedouin sheik as Assyrian "overseer." The district, which hitherto presumably had been subject to South Arabian (Minæan) rule, thus became an outlying Assyrian State under native princes, appointed by Assyria. In the country through which lay the route of the caravans coming from Yemen in order to ship their wares in the towns of Philistia, especially Gaza, it was more than a mere question of guarding the frontier. Either the trade with Southern Arabia must be protected there, or it could be put under contribution there. Such a country is an Eldorado for adventurous Bedouin princes (robbery to a Bedouin was the exercise of his knightly privilege). The Assyrian overseer, Idibil, does not appear to have held his own for long, for under Sargon there is already another extraordinary governor of Mussri, who is no longer appointed by Assyria, but is dependent on the "king of Melucha." By this only the South Arabian king of Ma'in can be meant. In other respects this Pir'u of Mussri follows a completely individual policy, and is the constant opponent of Assyria. He had a share in every rebellion in Palestine, and had to be reckoned with in Jerusalem, in Gaza, Ashdod, and Moab (cf. p. 206). Many utterances of Judaic prophets refer to him, and the promises made by him; and the kings (for example, Hanno of Gaza; cf. p. 66), whose rebellions are unsuccessful, look to him. When Sennacherib, in the year 701, appeared in Southern Palestine, a relieving army of the "king of Melucha" and the Mussræans advanced, and was defeated near Eltheke. The warnings of Isaiah as to a helper who is no helper apply to him; only the later tradition, which no longer knew the national name, expressed Mussri as Missraim, and therefore up to our times Egypt has always been understood instead of Arabia. We have therefore here in the eighth century a State like that of Mohammed's in his first period. In its form dependent on the still flourishing empire of Ma'in, it is a type which must certainly often have been found earlier, and recurs, though somewhat altered to suit the changed conditions, in the Nabatæan State.

Arabia, as the country of roaming Bedouins, afforded to a population, which had advanced to a higher stage of culture and to a permanent town-life, less security and quiet enjoyment of their progress than the civilized countries. Yet, if these are frequently exposed to the conquest and immigration of the rapacious sons of the desert, this is naturally still more true of Arabia itself, where the feud between the Bedouins and the settled population was never checked in favour of the latter. The Semitic and populous Arabia continually produced fresh multi-

tudes which drove out in their turn the former conquerors, so that there is a ceaseless conquest of the towns, and a perpetually recurring creation of new States of a semi-Bedouin nature. The tribal organisation, indeed, which lies at the root of the Bedouin life, was not abandoned as rapidly as the towns were captured; and before a tribe could complete the transition to the social forms of settled life, it was itself once more driven out and destroyed. New nations were perpetually appearing on the scene, who occupied the regions known to us. The configuration of the country, with its scarcity of water and natural highways, is not favourable for the development of a culture which completely destroys nomadic life.

Until the year 670 B. C. only the kingdom of Aribi had been kept in strict subjection to Assyria. Assarhaddon then, in continuance of his Egyptian policy, attempted to bring Arabia completely under his dominion. Ambitious schemes must have prompted him to lead expeditions into the most unknown tracts of Arabia. We may notice in this connection, that, according to Assyrian, as well as early Hellenic ideas of the shape of the earth, Ethiopia and India were connected. He would have been able, by the possession of Egypt and Arabia, to turn the Red Sea into an Assyrian lake. Since the Persian Gulf had been closed to Babylonian navigation after the second millennium and was now commanded by Elam, the Indian trade had gone overland, and had enabled South Arabia to attain an early prosperity (cf. p. 246). If Tiglath-Pileser and his successors restricted themselves to establishing security in the north for the through-trade, the object of Assarhaddon's efforts was doubtless to get Yemen also into his hands, and thus to command the Indian trade, so far as it went to Palestine and West Asia overland, and to Egypt and the western basin of the Mediteranean through the Red Sea. The motive that urged him to his Arabian campaigns forms the efficient causes of the history of the countries of the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages. He tried to reach his goal in two ways: in continuance of his Egyptian policy he subjugated the Hedschas, and must have marched southward into the country of Mecca; and, secondly, he tried to penetrate beyond Yemama in the east (cf. above, p. 70). He died before he could attain his object; in the south about this time a revolution had been accomplished.

The discord between Assyria and Babylonia, which was accentuated by the victory of the military party and the accession of Assurbanipal (cf. pp. 30 and 73), destroyed all these successes won in the spirit of Babylonian influence. Shamash-sham-ukin sought help against Assyria where he could, and summoned into the land the Bedouins, who had been so long kept in check on the frontiers. Other tribes and peoples under their "kings" now meet us as allies of the Babylonians. Besides the kingdom of Aribi, which played a less aggressive part, there were in particular the Kedar, nominally a vassal people of Aribi, and west of these, where previously the Assyrian "overseer," or the Ma'initish governor of Mussri had ruled, the Nebajoth of the Bible, or Nabajati of the cuneiform inscriptions. The rise of this people was a clear consequence of the downfall of the kingdom of Ma'in, which had occurred meanwhile, and had left its northern territory free. The Nabajati possessed the Syrian desert up to the borders of the Assyrian province; they harassed the vassal States (Moab, Edom) situated on the border of the steppe and roamed northward as far as Damascene. They were, it is true, chastised by Assurbanipal's expeditions, and driven out of the civilized country (cf. above, p. 76); but it lies in the nature of the circumstances that they would only be

kept back as long as they continued to fear a power which at once anticipated every encroachment. When, therefore, with the death of Assurbanipal and Nabopolassar's declaration of independence, the beginning of the end drew near, the Arabs had a splendid opportunity. Naturally they immediately advanced once more. According to a notice in the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, which can be traced to the annals of the kings of Judah, Nebuchadnezzar undertook an expedition against the Kedar, and punished them by destroying their stronghold Hazor.

The want of native accounts from the Persian era deprives us also of any notices as to the relations with Arabia. The few materials, however, that we possess are at least sufficient to corroborate the idea of it which we must form from the preceding and the subsequent periods. So long as the Persian empire was firmly consolidated and adopted a strong foreign policy, even the Arabs had to curb their eager passions. At a later period they were restrained more by concessions and payments. When Cambyses marched against Egypt, they were compelled to supply to him, as to Assarhaddon previously in his operations against North Arabia and Egypt, the means for his march through the desert, more especially the camels. Darius mentions North Arabia (the Assyrian Aribi) among the countries subject to him; but since it is uncertain whether some other names of subject peoples refer to Central and Eastern Arabia, we do not know how nearly he may have reached the goal aimed at by Assarhaddon and attained by the Sassanidæ shortly before Islam, namely, the sovereignty of Yemen. In any case the advance of the Kedar against Palestine, begun under Assurbanipal and Nebuchadnezzar, assumed wider importance. Under Darius Edom is already in the hands of an "Arab" Gesem (the biblical Goshen). In Yemen the kingdom of the Sabæans was now flourishing; in the north political organisations, like those of the Aribi, Kedar, and Nabajati, were the medium of trade. We do not know when these peoples were replaced by others; and after all it does not signify what the names of the sheiks were who maintained relations with the Persian officials. The rule over the wild sons of the desert certainly was secured to them by this alliance, and yet they remained in all their sympathies and ideas no less Bedouins than their countrymen. They cannot indeed be compared with the Bedouin sheik who is only distinguishable from his poor fellow-tribesman, his "brother," by a larger share of cattle; they had by this time thoroughly well civilized themselves, so far as it was a matter of filling their purses. The inscription from Teima (see Figs. 11 and 12 on the plate on page 234), which belongs to the Persian or the New Babylo-Assyrian time, is indeed the solitary important document from that time, but is enough to give us a picture of the life and the organisation of the North Arabian towns and States with their sanctuaries. They resemble far more the picture which some of the towns of Palestine and Israel show us during the time of the kings, than that which the later Islamitic tradition has given of the conditions of the pre-Islamitic time. There is a city sanctuary with a specified domain, which is reserved for the maintenance of the cult and its priests. The hierarchy, at all times ready to open the doors of the temple to new divinities, was bound then to take measures for their support. The necessary means were partly derived from the temple income, partly from the royal revenues; even the king had therefore his "fiscal" domain. The language of the inscription is not Arabian (this was not written until Mohammed), but Aramaic. This result of civilization was therefore borrowed from Assyria or Babylonia, where Aramaic was the written and

spoken language of commerce; the portrait of the high priest Çalm-ushezib shows Assyrian finish, and he himself bears a name constructed on Babylonian analogy. With the written language were borrowed also the terms for the not less valuable results of civilization, a secured tenure of land and a system of taxation, for which the uncivilized Bedouin had not the perfected ideas and words. The words for "temple income" and "crown estates" are the corresponding Assyro-Babylonian terms, such as had been adopted by the Aramaic of the countries on the Euphrates.

C. The Kingdom of the Nabatæans

The fall of the Persian Empire would have been a welcome opportunity for the Arabs to invade the civilized countries, had not more energetic opponents soon arisen in the Hellenistic States. In addition to this, civilization had already taken a somewhat firmer hold of these countries. The beginnings, which are shown by the kingdoms of Aribi with the inscription of Teima, have grown during the Hellenistic era into the kingdom of the Nabatæans (see map, p. 87), which now exists for some three centuries as a marvellous creation of the mixed civilization of North Arabia, thoroughly preserving its national Arabian character, on the borders of a civilization which was once Oriental but now impregnated afresh with Hellenism.

We possess fairly uninterrupted notices of these successors to the Kedar and Nabajati (with whom they have otherwise nothing in common; their names have only an apparent similarity). During the period of the Seleucidæ they formed the State through which the trade with Yemen was conducted, and thus developed considerable prosperity. In the south their chief seaport was Leuce Come; they possessed, therefore, the country almost to Medina. They thus completely controlled the overland trade; and they endeavoured to make the maritime trade, which went direct from Yemen to Egypt, as profitable as possible to themselves by piracy. Their territory extended far into the interior, so that they might be reckoned the heirs of the former Aribi. At Hidshr especially, about half way between Medina and Teima, many of their graves and inscriptions have been found. Their capital was Petra, where extensive ruins and rock-hewn graves with inscriptions still testify to the former prosperity of this peculiar civilization. Their territory extended further north to Damascene. They possessed Damascus itself shortly before the Christian Era and quite at the end of their independence.

We are acquainted with the list of their kings and are tolerably familiar with their relations to their neighbours in the civilized country. The kings mostly bear the names Hareth (Aretas) and Oboda, well known from the Books of the Maccabees and the history of the Hasmonidæ (cf. p. 224). They were able to hold their own under the Seleucidæ. Their power grew under the Parthians, since the latter did not concern themselves about trade and did not pursue the far-reaching plans of the Assyrians and Persians. They could only gain by the division of the east into a Parthian and an originally Hellenistic, but later Roman half. Herod, who as an "Idumæan" (cf. above, p. 225) was partially an Arab, and in any case showed more of the Arabian-Nabatæan than the Jew in his character, proved a dangerous rival, with whom they fought many a battle to the bitter end. After Rome was supreme in Palestine they endeavoured with Arabian cunning to put themselves on the best possible footing with her. When Augustus wished to resume the policy of an Assarhaddon and tried to get into his hands the fabulously exaggerated

wealth of Yemen, that is, he wished to secure for the Romans the route to India through Southern Arabia, which was barred by the Parthians, the Nabatæans were his natural allies, as their predecessors had been those of Assarhaddon. It was only with their help that the march unprecedented for European troops as far as Mareb, the capital of the Sabæans, could be accomplished under Ælius Gallus. If they had not been supported by the viceroy, Syllæus, not a single Roman would have come back. Complete ignorance of the country and its difficulties had prompted Ælius Gallus to make the attempt; when it proved fruitless, a scapegoat was required, and this was found in Syllæus. He had hoped by his loyal services toward Judæa to reap the advantage and to win for himself the royal diadem of the Nabatæi; but he was accused at Rome of having caused the failure and the heavy losses of the expedition by his treachery and was executed. The Nabatæan kingdom lasted, as an "ally" of Rome, until the time of Trajan; then, after it had taken up an equivocal position during the Jewish rebellion under Titus, it was confiscated and made the Roman province of Arabia.

The Nabatæan civilization is attested by numerous remains, of which a part, at least, has become familiar to us. In particular, the rock sepulchres of Petra and Hidshr are covered with inscriptions, occasionally of considerable length. These also are written in Aramaic. The Aramaic script (cf. Fig. 10 of the plate, p. 234) already exhibits the character of cursive letters written with the pencil or brush. This, although inappropriate for the purposes of inscriptions on stone monuments, proves the development of an extensive system of writing and of a literature. It forms a preliminary step to the old Greek script and the later "Kufic" alphabet, in which at first Arabic was written.

The Roman administration was a period of great prosperity for the former Nabatæan kingdom, at least for its more northerly parts, which lay in close contact with the old civilized country. The part which lay south of Petra was not adapted for the government of a people that had no relations with nomadism. In Damascene, more especially, a rich and prosperous civilization was maintained even under the Roman rule. The Hauran, now a sparsely cultivated upland tract, was then covered with flourishing settlements; the Lava districts, lying to the east of it, which are now completely desolate, were then cultivated. Nabatæan inscriptions as well as those in a peculiar language and alphabet, show that these now deserted regions supported a population which the inexhaustible nursery of nations, Arabia, was continually driving away towards the civilized country. The "peculiar" inscriptions show a different alphabet from the Aramæan in use hitherto in Northern Arabia. It is plainly derived from the South Arabian "Sabæan," and may thus support the account, which the post Islamitic tradition, otherwise useless for historical data, gives of a migration of South Arabian tribes towards the north.

D. Palmyra

In the meantime the confiscation of Nabatæa resulted in the prosperity of a new Arabian commercial State, which now became the connecting link between the civilized countries and the interior of Arabia, a region still inaccessible to civilization. The Babylonian Kadashman-charbe had already attempted once to secure the route through the steppe to Damascus (p. 18). He must then have included Palmyra in his line of halting-places. The town, which forms a junction

for the caravan routes to Damascus and Hamath, in Syria, as well as to Thapsacus and Hit, where the Euphrates is crossed, is not mentioned in remote antiquity (the supposed mention in the Bible under Solomon is a transcriber's mistake). It must, however, have already attained some prosperity in the days of Babylonian culture; for even in those times when Hellenistic and Arabian influences were at work, it preserved the old Babylonian cults, and its Aramaic shows words which must have been retained from the Babylonian age. The ruins which are easily to be reached in three or four days from Damascus, and are famous as the object of numerous visits by tourists, lie in the middle of the desert, including the remains of the colossal "temple of the Sun," which must be called a product rather of Greek than Arabian architecture; the ruins of this ancient capital show the traces of more numerous and grander buildings than those of any other town of that time. Palmyra as an old civilized city assimilated the Greek spirit more easily than the Nabatæan kingdom. Its language was mixed; Greek and Aramaic were equally recognised for official documents, as was bound to be the case in a State which was the link between the Hellenistic East and Arabia with its Aramaic writing. The Aramaic script of the numerous inscriptions resembles the so-called square writing of the Hebrews, derived from Babylonia, in which the Bible is written.

The Parthians attached little importance to their "west" provinces, and the Romans were not in position to be masters of the steppe. These are the political conditions which enabled the State of Palmyra to play a rôle which for a time went beyond that of a commercial State and a mere *entrepôt*. As usual, our first information comes from the time when there were disputes with the Great Power; we are indebted to its annals for our information. After Valerian's annihilation by the Persians and under the anarchy during the reign of Gallienus (260–268), Oddenath of Palmyra was master of the situation in the East. He once more took Mesopotamia from the Persians, who were certainly as unwilling as the Parthians to hold it, and ruled the Arabian steppe as far as the banks of the Balich; he was recognised by Gallienus as co-emperor for the East. After his assassination his wife Zenobia became regent; under her government Palmyra maintained its position, until the war with Rome put an end to it for ever. Aurelian (270–273) defeated Zenobia at Antiochia and Emesa, besieged her in Palmyra, and destroyed the town. By this again a State was destroyed, which was calculated to form a dam against the inroads of the Bedouins.

Once more the Saracens, a Babylonian Aramaic name, probably adopted from the inhabitants of Palmyra, by which the Arabs inhabiting the steppes are usually designated, found the civilized country open to them, whenever the Roman power was unable to protect the frontiers with a firm hand. In the wars of the Romans, Byzantines, and Sassanidæ, they played an important part as lords of the desert, and as valuable allies in the struggle for the broad districts on the Euphrates so easily traversed by them.

Both Byzantium and the court of the Sassanidæ were unable to extend their frontiers further than the old civilized country reached, and were compelled, like the Assyrians and Persians, to allow the Saracens to retain their territory. As usual, it was thought to be enough if the sheiks of the adjoining tribal districts were won over and brought into loyal relations with the empire. Just as Idibil of Mussri was appointed by Tiglath-Pileser (p. 236), and as the Nabatæans were

the allies of the Romans, so now the Byzantines and Persians favoured the formation of Arab States on their frontiers, the "kings" of which, by their support from the Great Power, and with titles conferred on them by it, ruled over the sons of the desert. With an organisation superior to the Bedouins, they formed a protection both for the Persians and Byzantines against the advance of subsequent tribes. In this way both the princely house of the Ghassanidæ, on the Byzantine frontiers in Syria, and the Lachmidæ, in the capital Hira, on the Babylonian frontiers, ruled under Persian supremacy as the connecting link and barrier between civilized country and steppe. They discharged this function, perpetually warring against each other, both on their own initiative and in the service of their lieges, with ceaseless skirmishes and raids, which the earliest Arabian poets known to us have sung. Finally, the pent-up power of the tide of nations in the heart of the country broke a way through, and under the flag of Islam once more flooded the countries of civilization, helping the "Arabian migration" to force its victorious way, and at the same time rolling on the last wave of the Semites, which the history of the world knows. In the ninth century B. C. we found the first Arabs on the frontiers of the civilized countries pressing on after the Aramæans; in the seventh century A. D. twelve hundred years later, the Islamitic movement inundated the East. Another twelve hundred years have elapsed, and we cannot perceive any new movement in the cradle of the Semitic nations.

E. The Arabian Coast of the Persian Gulf

Before we come to Yemen, the goal of the far-seeing Roman and Assyrian policy, let us bring home to our minds the little that we can ascertain as to the East, with the coast districts on the Persian Gulf, and the still completely mysterious centre, Yemama. The Chaldæans, or Kasdim, whom we meet in the civilized zone first in South Babylonia, certainly came hence into the light of history (cf. above, p. 235) simultaneously with, and thus forming a branch of, the Aramæan immigration. So far as they became Babylonians, they no longer concern us here (cf. above, p. 24, etc.). But as the western districts already occupied by "Arabs" present, even in the time of Assurbanipal, distinct traces of their earlier Aramæan inhabitants, we may equally conjecture that remains also of the Kasdim were left in Arabia itself, until they were absorbed by the onward movement of the Arabs. The Bible is acquainted with Arabian Kasdim, who are to be found in the East, that is to say toward Yemama; in these may fairly be seen the first stratum of the great migration. At a later period they are regarded in the introduction to the Book of Job on the basis of ancient tradition as being with the Sabæans, the rulers of Central Arabia.

A part of the Kasdim must have occupied the Arabian maritime districts of the Persian Sea. As the Chaldæans of the South Babylonian sea country were masters of all that was still left of Babylonian navigation and commerce on the Persian Sea, so these Chaldæans also must have occupied the island Dilmun-Bahrein, which in ancient times was in close connection with Babylonia. Under Sargon, their king Uperi, after the capture of Babylon (p. 28), entered into the relations with the Assyrian, which he had hitherto kept up with Merodach-Baladan, the king of the "sea country" and of Babylon. Whether this king was an Arab, or still a Chaldæan, must remain uncertain. Assarhaddon records his expedition into

the interior of Eastern Arabia, called by him Bazu, the biblical Bûz; it can hardly be looked for elsewhere than in Yemama. Eight "kings" and queens are enumerated, whose "towns" had been captured. If ever information should reach us from this still unexplored corner of the earth, we shall become acquainted even there with the traces of a culture, of which notices are found in Arabian writers.

Strabo, following old accounts, can speak of Chaldæans on the sea, whose capital and seaport, Gerrha, formed the emporium for the trade with the interior. Antiochus the Great, after the rebellion of Molon, once more secured the eastern provinces of his empire and resumed friendly relations with the Indian kings. Further, on an expedition undertaken against the maritime districts of the Persian Sea, in return for a very considerable "present" (cf. Vol. IV, p. 152), he confirmed the independence of the Gerrhæans, who were all important for the commerce on the Persian Sea and with the interior of Arabia (in 205 B. C.).

Under the dominion of the Parthians, who did not trouble themselves about such trifles as the command of the sea and trade, a successor of the former Chaldæan "sea country" arose in the shape of Messene, or Maissan. This was a State which, in the centuries about the Christian Era, ruled the delta of the Euphrates and Tigris, as well as the adjoining coast districts, and thus controlled the trade with Babylonia, so far as it yet existed on the Persian Sea, and did not go through Yemen. From some notices of classical writers and from coins, we are acquainted with a series of kings of Maissan, who were subject to the influence of Hellenism and Parthia, and had a preponderance of Aramæan subjects, but nevertheless are certainly to be claimed as Arabs. Possibly, the head of the dynasty was a Hadad-nadin-ach, whose inscription has been found in Telloh, the town of the old Babylonian kings and Patesis of Lagash (p. 10); he had, therefore, built his palace there. The inscription is bilingual, being written in Aramaic and Greek.

F. The Southwest Corner of Arabia

The most important part as seat of a peculiar civilization was played in antiquity by the south, or rather the southwest corner of Arabia, the so-called Arabia Felix. This name was, perhaps, originally given it, owing to a miscomprehension, which took the Arabian meaning of Yemen, the land lying to the right of the Arab looking toward the east, in the sense of the augur, to whom the right side was the propitious quarter. The country, a lofty mountain plateau, with isolated higher elevations and better watered than the north, although only by mountain streams, was always carefully cultivated in the times which the inscriptions record. Here also the rivers forced the inhabitants to take measures to dam up the precious water in times of brimming streams, and to store it against the dry seasons. The dam of Mareb, the ruins of which are still standing (cf. p. 231), appeared to the Arabs of the desert as something marvellous.

Numerous ruined sites have been already discovered, the old names of which are mentioned in inscriptions still visible; but little has been done toward furnishing science with what is on the surface, to say nothing of all that is hidden in the earth, to which those remains bear witness. Where even of the inscriptions themselves only the copies are forthcoming, hastily made by an intrepid

traveller at the risk of his life, it is impossible to form any idea of the remaining ruins; and the temples and the buildings, which the inscriptions record, and the site of which they notice, exist for us only in name. Only a small part of the numerous inscriptions which have been found there — more than two thousand — is at present accessible in a trustworthy form. We feel that the riddles with which we are here faced could be solved, if the materials were in the hands of the explorer.

(*a*) *Ma'in.* — Many details of buildings and dedications are recorded for us; but it is impossible at present to draw a connected picture of the political development. The most ancient inscriptions which we possess belong to an epoch which ends in the eighth and seventh centuries. It must, however, have lasted many centuries, as the number of the names of the kings already known to us demonstrates, so that we can hardly place its beginning later than 1500 B. C. This is the empire of the kings and the people of Ma'in, the Minæans, who had their home in the mountain country lying north of San'a, the Dshof. Their chief towns were Jathil (ruins of Berakish), Neshk, Karnau. Their kingdom represents the rule of one people. When it began, what changes took place in it, and what it found already existing — of this we know nothing.

A proof that the culture of this period does not imply the beginnings of a settled mode of life in these regions and the resulting progress, and that even before this links must have been forged with the great civilized countries, is shown by the character of the script. This alphabetical writing, which has been developed from the general Semitic alphabet, with the invention of some additional symbols for the greater variety of sounds in this South Arabian Ma'initic or Minæan language, represents in the perfection of its form a completely independent effort (cf. Fig. 9 of the plate, p. 235), as compared with the North Semitic alphabet of the Aramæans and Canaanites (Phœnicians), whose most ancient documents do not extend beyond the eighth and ninth centuries. Alphabetical writing was invented in Babylonia (p. 171). There the Canaanites and Aramæans became acquainted with it; and from thence it made its way to Yemen, at a time when no Minæans as yet were in power. There are no records of this extant; but the actual fact shows that the same, or perhaps a still brisker intercourse was then maintained with the civilized countries on the Euphrates, than in the times on which light is gradually being cast by inscriptions. We found indications of this intercourse in the ancient Babylonian inscriptions of a Gudea and a Naram-Sin, which record their relations to Magan and Melucha. The very same streams of nations, which can be traced from the south of the peninsula so far as the civilized countries of the Mediterranean during the Islamitic age, were flowing at the time when the "Canaanites," and later the Aramæans, flooded the East.

Melucha, of which the most ancient Babylonia speaks, and to which it stands in more intimate relations than the afterward better known Assyrian age, is the designation of Western Arabia, which toward the end of the second and in the first half of the first millennium was subject to the Minæan rule. Sargon, Sennacherib, and Assarhaddon also mention it. They were acquainted with the prince or governor of Mussri (p. 236) as vassal of the king of Melucha, in their time still king of Ma'in. It was then that Palestine hoped for liberation from Assyrian dominion by the assistance of the South Arabians. The Minæan rule did not fail to leave

traces even in Northern Arabia; in el Oela, not far from Hidshr (p. 239), numerous Minæan inscriptions have been found, which date from the period of Minæan greatness. In the struggle with Assyria the Minæans had a natural antagonist in the North Arabian empire of Aribi, which adjoined their province of Mussri, on the east, and was subject to Assyrian supremacy. An inscription mentions also a war between the "lord of the south" and the "lord of the north."

(*b*) *Saba.* — The tribe of the Sabæans (Saba), which submitted to Assyria, is mentioned as early as the reigns of Tiglath-Pileser and Sargon. Of all these then mentioned, it is the one which dwelt farthest to the south. Their adhesion to Assyria signified, therefore, a hostility toward the Minæans, the masters of Yemen. We find them in this character in the Minæan inscription just mentioned. After Sennacherib and Assarhaddon, who on his expedition into the interior of Arabia had taken prisoner a "king of Melucha," such kings, as well as their northern province, Mussri, disappear from the Assyrian inscriptions. After the time that the "Arabian" Kedar and Nabajati fill the place of Mussri, the Assyrians were no longer able to stretch their arms out to the south. In the north, therefore, "Arabs" became masters of the country in the place of the Minæans; for as a result of the Assyrian wars, the Minæan power, which hitherto had supported the States of Philistia and Palestine, had been broken. At the same time in the south, also, inscriptions mention attacks of "Arabs." These inscriptions, however, are no longer composed in the language of the Minæans, but in a dialectic variety. The new masters of the south are the same people whom we have recognised as allies of the Assyrians, namely, the Sabæans. Approximately about Assarhaddon's time, perhaps in consequence of the capture of the "king of Melucha," and favoured by the Assyrians, the Sabæans became masters of the country in place of the Minæans. For a half century, therefore, we now meet with "kings of Saba" as masters of Yemen and its civilization.

The "treasures of Arabia," henceforth, according to Oriental ideas, belong to the Sabæans; Sabæans now meet us in the Hebrew inscriptions, in place of the Minæans, and the intercourse with the south is now maintained by the Kedar in place of the Minæan province of Mussri. It is seen that Assyria had once more to her own advantage separated the masses of nations in Arabia. The position of the great nation of Ma'in, which dominated the south and north, and commanded the routes as far as the ports of the Mediterranean, was now taken by two peoples of different stock — the Kedar are "Arabs," but not the Sabæans — who, being enemies, acted as a counterpoise to each other and rendered it easier for Assyria to rule. Assarhaddon had shown himself here, in continuation of his Egyptian policy, to be one of the acutest Oriental statesmen. If finally the "Assyrian policy" had not prevailed over the "Babylonian" (p. 73), the trade of Arabia would have been carried on under the control of Assyria. The struggle between Assyria and Babylon destroyed all this; for although the Kedar could be chastised, any influence over the south was lost. The Sabæans were able to withdraw from this Assyrian guardianship and to assert their self-dependence. The realm of Saba had its most important towns situated south of the Dshof of the Minæans. The capital is Mareb as it appears up to the Himyarish conquest. The kingdom remained purely Sabæan for several centuries. Then other nations obtained the supremacy, and their rulers styled themselves "kings of Saba."

The period of Ma'in and Saba, from circa 1500–300 B. C., was that of Yemen's greatest prosperity; for all that time it commanded the trade with India. Babylonia was then cut off from the Persian Sea by the Chaldæans. Egypt was not in a position to hold the Red Sea, and thus it was a prosperous time for the intermediate trade, which went through Arabia from Yemen by land northward to the Philistine towns, or from the ports of Western Arabia to the harbours of Egypt. On the caravan route which led from Kosseir (Leukos Limen) on the Red Sea to Thebes and Koptus, the main line of communication of the Thebaid to the sea, Minæo-Sabæan inscriptions, besides the numerous Egyptian ones, have been cut into the rocks, testifying to the former commercial greatness of South Arabia. Abyssinia, also, was occupied, and then received its Semitic population. Sabæan inscriptions prove how the "Ethiopian" language, when it received a literature owing to Christianity, was forced first to abolish the existing literary language, the nearly cognate Sabæan; probably in consequence of a national rising of the Ge'ez tribes against the previously ruling Sabæans, or whatever else they were called. While the Sabæans were dependent for their intercourse with Palestine and the Euphratean countries on the services of the North Arabian Kedar, and afterward of the Nabatæans, through whose land they passed, the Minæans had reached those districts directly; in Warka (Uruk, cf. p. 9), in South Babylonia, a monument of these relations has been found in a Minæan inscription.

When once more the Orient came under a dominion which embraced the old seat of culture in Babylonia, and at the same time was able to revive the Babylonian ideas in place of the Persian feudal economy, the conditions were then altered to the disadvantage of South Arabia. Alexander had been crowned in Babylon as king of the Asiatic civilized world; from Babylon he proceeded to resuscitate the old traditions of a Babylonian world empire. He certainly followed old plans when he wished once more to adopt the sea route round Arabia; his intention, moreover, was to set free the direct trade route to India. Both schemes were frustrated by his death. Babylon otherwise would have become once more the head of the world-ruling trade, if not the seat of a new world-ruling dynasty, and the Sabæans would have thus forfeited their place as the transmitters of Indian trade. Their interests must have been greatly prejudiced when the Ptolemies really set free the sea route round Arabia, and must have thus actually used it for trade, while the Seleucidæ reckoned with the Nabatæans and Gerrhæans (p. 243) as middlemen. Ptolemy II Philadelphus in his wars with the Seleucidæ circumnavigated Arabia and made an attack on the Seleucid possessions on the Persian Sea. He and his successor founded on the western coast of the Persian Sea, as far as the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, Egyptian colonies, which sapped the vitality of the Sabæan commerce with Abyssinia and Egypt. These colonies undoubtedly formed stations for a direct Indian trade. In Adulis (Zulah), where the communications between Saba and Habesh crossed, Ptolemy III Euergetes erected an inscription commemorating one of his victories. Thus it was not a revived Babylon of Alexander that became mistress of the Indian trade and the ruin of Saba, but Alexandria.

We must place in the third or second century B. C. the internal commotions to which the realm of Saba was exposed. These brought another people into power, the Himyares, who had settled originally in the southwest corner of the peninsula and occupied the capital at this time. Their kings, just as their predecessors, style

themselves "kings of Saba," but add to this title "and of Raidan," the name of their Himyarish ancestral fortress. Thus, then, no longer Sabæans but Himyares rule in Saba.

At the same time, or soon afterward, the lords of Abyssinia, whither formerly the Sabæans had driven their superfluous population, began, as the Egyptian power dwindled, to extend their dominion beyond the seas. Starting from the reoccupied Adulis, where one of their kings had his inscription cut by the side of that of Ptolemy Euergetes, they crossed to Arabia and first gained a firm footing on the coast. There they had possessions as early as the first century B. C.; that is, the sea, or at least the intercourse with Abyssinia, was barred for the rulers of Saba, who were exposed to continual attacks of the Abyssinian governors. The same king who perpetuated his name at Adulis by the side of Ptolemy's then subjugated the whole Arabian coast to Leuce Come, the former seaport of the Nabatæans, and Yemen, so far as the Sabæan royal title, which became gradually wider, laid claim to it. From that time, from the second or third centuries A. D., Sabæa is subject to the suzerainty of Abyssinia.

This sovereignty did not escape opposition; the South Arabian Himyares made many and occasionally successful attempts to eject the Abyssinians from the country. They succeeded indeed for a considerable time in once more winning their independence under the standard of Judaism, which in the last centuries before the Christian Era (p. 228) conquered Arabia and led to a revival of power in the old State of Yemen. Our information does not go so far as to recognise the political parties and currents from which the new prosperity was developed; from the nature of things, however, the general condition of affairs may be approximately ascertained. Judaism was a power to be reckoned with in all the great empires of civilization, and played a foremost part in the kingdom of the Nabatæans and was especially prominent in Egyptian business life. In its still eager desire to proselytise it was spread by commercial connections into Southwest Arabia, whither the civilized empires could not go with their armies, although they had long cherished a wish for the land, the possession of which would have put the Indian trade into the hands of its masters. The prevailing religion there was that of the old Sabæans. The shrewd Jewish men of business were opposed to this heathenism. While the ruling nobles who owned the land clung to the old religion, the missionaries of Judaism found receptive hearers where it was possible for men to appreciate in their own persons the value of their promises of happiness, among that section of the population, namely, which was engaged in trade and industries. In contradistinction to the nobility, it must have been the town population which received Judaism. By its connection with Judaism this population acquired new strength; the land-owning nobility lost more and more in influence before the increasing wealth and power of the commercial class. Finally the kingdom saw itself compelled, as for example in Adiabene also (p. 228), either by peaceful or by violent changes, to side with the *bourgeoisie* rather than with the nobility, and to accept Judaism; that is to say, the organisation of the feudal State formed by the Himyarist conquest had been transformed into that of a mercantile *bourgeoisie*. This reorganisation put Yemen in a position to expel the Abyssinians from the country. For some centuries now Jewish rulers held the dominion as "kings of Saba."

This independence did not, however, serve the interests of the Great Powers.

The attempt of the Romans under Augustus to obtain possession of Yemen had been made in a period when the Himyares were weak and yet it had failed. Judaism had led to a recovery of strength; then the spiritual power could only be opposed by a spiritual power, and this constituted Christianity. Even the dominion of Judaism in Yemen had its dark side and could not but meet with a period of decline. Christianity, the religion of the poor, which followed on its traces, was able to find a fertile soil here. Just as Judaism had once formed the standard under which the vigorous components of the people rallied against a ruling class which was no longer competent to discharge its duties, thus all who were excluded from the government joined forces under the sign of the cross.

The legends of the Christian saints recount terrible sacrifices of human life, which the movement against the ruling class cost. Despite all the zeal of the Christians in the lands of civilization they could not win an unaided victory. The attempt had to be made indirectly. After about the fourth century Abyssinia was won for Christianity from Egypt. The relations maintained with the Ptolemies were once more resumed, and were kept up by the Church, since Abyssinia always received bishops from the patriarch in Alexandria. Since Egypt was Byzantine, the kings of Abyssinia were on friendly terms with the court of Byzantium, and both shared in the common desire for the treasures in Yemen. Since at Byzantium the lesson once taught to Augustus had not been forgotten, the desired goal could only be reached by the former conquerors, who had been driven out by Judaism; an attempt was therefore made to incite these to a new attack. In the year 525 A. D. the Jewish-Sabæan empire fell, after a valiant resistance by the last Jewish king, Joseph dhu Nuas, who is represented in Christian martyrologies as a monster, but is better appreciated in the otherwise obscure Islamitic tradition. Yemen became more Abyssinian and was governed by an Abyssinian viceroy, who was very independent. Tradition knows of four, one of whom is recorded in inscriptions. This state of things had lasted some seven hundred years.

The Jewish monarchy thus fell, but the old nobility was not yet destroyed; the latter was forced naturally to place its hopes on the opponents of the Byzantines, the Persians. A descendant of the noble families went first to Babylonia and then to the Persian court in order to obtain help from that quarter. Chosrav Anushirwan actually equipped an expedition; this crossed over to Arabia and drove out the Abyssinians (c. 575 A. D.; cf. p. 286). Yemen became a vassal State of Persia, then a province under Persian governors. Christianity and Byzantium were thus overthrown. The old nobility and paganism by this once more enjoyed a brief renaissance under Persian rule, until some fifty years later the great union of all Arabia under Islam was completed.

In the rise of the power of Mohammed also the opposing forces which were at work in these circumstances are recognisable; the threads which ran to Byzantium and the Sassanid court can be taken up in Mecca. The nobles of Mecca who commanded the trade of the important caravan station were closely connected with Yemen. Even until late in the Islamitic era this was seen by the contrast between the Arabs of the south and of the north (p. 253). The former go hand in hand with the family of Abu Sufjan (p. 262), the leader of the party of the Meccan nobility, from whose house the Omejjades claim descent. Mohammed, however, having failed to find help from Judaism, looked for support against this party, strengthened by the paganism of Yemen, from the Abyssinians, who even then had

possessions on the Arabian coast. It was not until he had founded a power for himself in Medina in the true Arabian fashion, by plundering, that he broke off with Christianity and proceeded to act for himself. But the old forces and contrasts of civilization outlasted the conqueror and his bandits. The party of the nobility reached the throne, and the contrast between Northern and Southern Arabia, between Kelb and Kais, is continually reappearing in the history of the following centuries.

II

MOHAMMEDAN WESTERN ASIA

By DR. HEINRICH SCHURTZ

1. MOHAMMED AND THE BEGINNINGS OF ISLAMISM

A. Arabia and its Inhabitants

ALTHOUGH the northern regions of Western Asia were for centuries the scene of the rise and decay of mighty provinces and empires, the peninsula of Arabia lay all the while unheeded to the south, in the safe keeping of its deserts and mountains, a poor but free country, a land that was neither desired nor feared. It is true that there are fertile strips of land in many parts of Arabia, especially where the sterile elevated plateau of the interior descends in terraces to the seas; and also in the southwest, where the country is exposed to the moist winds of the Indian Ocean: but the thinly populated agricultural districts of the eastern and western coasts, and the habitable portions of the elevated plateau — among which may be included the central province of Nejd — have always been too insignificant to entice foreign conquerors into expeditions across the glowing desert wastes.

Nevertheless it is strange that a region of steppes and deserts, like Arabia, could have remained for so many centuries without producing any decided effects on the fertile lands of its neighbourhood. In all parts of the world where the inhabitants of the steppes dwell in proximity to agricultural districts and flourishing towns, the nomadic tribes, attracted by the prospect of plunder, sooner or later develop a spirit of aggressiveness. And however often their bold attempts at conquest may fail, the time is sure to come, when weakened by internal dissensions or become effeminate through luxury, the power of the assaulted nation fails, and its dominions pass into the hands of the sons of the desert. The history of China is filled with accounts of struggles with the Mongolian and Turkish inhabitants of the steppes; and the chronicles of Persia tell us that the land of Iran was many times exposed to the same dangers. As late as the Middle Ages the nomadic hordes of Central Asia advanced into Eastern Europe. The fact that the conquests of the Arabs took place at such a late period — indeed, their effects were all the more powerful for that — was chiefly owing to the peculiar character of the Arabian people.

The inhabitants of Arabia are separated into two distinct classes as a result of differences of occupation and manner of life. Even during the period of temporary union at the time of the Mohammedan conquests, the cleft caused by these differences was but superficially bridged over. The free Bedouin nomads who dwell in tents on the pasturages of the steppes, whose possessions are their flocks and herds, look down with hatred and contempt upon the agriculturists, who cultivate the

scanty fertile regions — "dragging the plough with their own hands like slaves" — and crowd together with labourers and menials in the villages and towns. On the other hand, the agricultural classes, superior to the Bedouins both in numbers and in education, return the predatory nomads of the desert their dislike in full measure. Nevertheless the Arabians never succeeded in making a mark in history until both elements forgot their differences, and were welded into temporary unity by a higher power.

No unifying force can emanate from the Bedouins, for their whole endeavour is toward disintegration; moreover, the poverty of their land is in itself an insurmountable obstacle to their joining together in large bodies. The tribal sentiment, that transcends all other instincts and emotions, excludes the conception of nationality; and constant feuds only increase antagonisms, and hinder all mutual understanding. Even the possibility of the scattered races being forced into union by the sword of an ambitious ruler is small; for every attempt of this nature has first to reckon not only with the independent character of the Bedouins, to whom servile obedience is unknown, but also with the all-powerful clan interests, before which the very idea of individuality vanishes Before the time of Mohammed, however, the thought had never occurred to any Bedouin that he might make use of religious fanaticism as a means for union: few races of Western Asia are so completely devoid of the religious emotions as are the inhabitants of the Arabian steppes. In this respect the Arabs stand in sharp contrast to their Semitic relatives, the Jews of Palestine, as well as to the ancient Semites of Babylonia, whose ability first to extend their influence over the lands of Sumeric culture, and finally to attain a position of supremacy, seems to have been due almost entirely to their advanced religious development. There was no such thing as a perfected mythology in Arabia. Nothing more than a cult of rude images — which originated, no doubt, in the worship of ancestors — and a veneration of certain stars and trees, together with an indefinite belief in a supreme being, Allah, was exhibited by the Arab of early times. Even to-day the true Bedouin has but little interest for matters of belief, and is far enough from being a fanatic; to him the prohibitions and dogmas of the Koran seem scarcely to be in existence.

This scanty development of religion and insuperable indifference to matters of faith is an outcome of the poverty of imagination of the Arabian people, a characteristic which has also left unmistakable traces in the later civilization of the peninsula. Glowing passion, a tendency toward romantic unrestraint, and finally the gift of brilliant oratory, easily conceal in the Arabs their lack of creative genius. Herein lies the most profound difference between East and West. Europe is a continent of discoveries and unlimited progress, a land of nations that constantly endeavour to extend their influence and power; on the other hand, the Mohammedan East, imperturbable in its self-sufficiency and composure, is a region that recognises neither labour nor war as other than a means for obtaining sensual enjoyment and undisturbed pleasure of life. Thus the Oriental, and above all, the Arab of the steppes, conceals behind the veil of romance a spiritual inactivity which he is never able to overcome. The only art that is cultivated in the desert, the poetry of the Arabians, is very different from the poetry of Europe. The Arabs have never succeeded in the free and imaginative forms of composition that seem to be the peculiar gift of Aryan Indians and Persians, as well as of Europeans: he is fettered to the actual; to present facts in bold comparisons and images

is his greatest glory, and dexterity in the manipulation of metre and rhyme is to him an indispensable acquirement. The Arabian mind is chiefly distinguished by its mastery of dialectic; and naturally this feature is also reflected in Arabian verse. The poet is a warrior in the world of intellect; with biting metaphor and satirical play on words he falls upon the enemy of his clan. He proclaims in triumph the glory of his tribe, and with mingled praise and scorn spurs on the soldier to heroic deeds. In this sense, at the time of Mohammed, poetry was almost a common possession of the Arabs, and the ability to make verses was even more necessary to the success of a leader than his sword and lance. The development of Bedouin poetry played an important part in the unification of the Arabian tribes, and had its beginnings about a hundred years before the birth of Mohammed.

B. Mohammed

Before the birth of the prophet it seemed impossible that a vast, passionate, spiritual movement, capable of bearing an entire people along with it, could arise in a race of men such as the nomadic Arabs; nevertheless, nothing short of such a movement could have rendered the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula a danger to the neighbouring world. On the other hand, the material foundations for a national upheaval were already in existence. For centuries tribes of Arabs had been advancing into the steppes of Syria and Mesopotamia; the progressive decay of these ancient centres of civilization could not have been otherwise than favourable to Arabian expansion. Bands of Arabians were everywhere to be seen on the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Jordan: small pastoral and occasionally predatory groups — so they appeared — but capable of developing into a tremendous power when united by a common cause. Nor did these bands of Arabs remain uninfluenced by the culture of their new dwelling-places. The propaganda both of Jews and of Christians had made considerable progress among them — especially in Yemen, where after a period of government by Hebrew princes, Abyssinian Christians gained the upper hand — and it seemed possible that these foreign influences would gradually become stronger and stronger, and finally lead to the establishment of closer connections with the civilization of the West. But such hopes were not to be fulfilled. At the very centre of the Arabian world, a movement arose — at first of a religious nature, but later national — which gave to the people of Arabia a dominion over Western Asia that was to last for centuries. This movement began in Mecca, and its leader was Mohammed.

(*a*) *Mecca and Medina.* — The rise of Mohammedism was closely connected with the character and history of two cities, Mecca and Medina, both of which are situated in the steppe lands of Western Arabia, the former not far from the coast, the latter further inland, and close to the elevated plateau. The two cities differed from one another in every respect, and seemed to have been predestined to rivalry from their very origin. The doctrines of Mohammed could have arisen only in Mecca, and it was nothing else than the hostility between Meccans and Medinans that saved them from destruction.

Mecca was the Rome of Arabia, the central point of the feeble religious life of the old pagan tribes. In a barren, desolate valley, that was but seldom exposed to the ravages of sudden rain-floods, was situated a very ancient sanctuary, the

Kaaba, a square temple built of unhewn stones, in the wall of which was inserted the famous "black stone" — a meteorite, believed once to have been white, and to have descended from Paradise. According to a later legend, accepted by Mohammed, the temple was known as the oldest house of God; and was supposed to have been built by Adam and restored by Abraham after the flood. For a long time the Kaaba, like so many other Arabian sanctuaries, may only have been occasionally visited by the Bedouins who dwelt in the neighbourhood, until finally a small settlement arose, the existence of which in the midst of the desert was probably rendered possible through the discovery of a spring called Zemzem. The water of this spring, which in later times became one of the most venerated objects in the Mohammedan world, is at the present day drinkable, indeed, but strongly impregnated with mineral salts. Perhaps the water was originally valued on account of its medicinal properties; it is possible, however, that the presence of foreign elements may also have been due to the bad drainage of the city that gradually grew up about the spring.

In the middle of the fifth century A. D., under the leadership of Kuzâi, the Qurâis (a branch of the stock, Benu Kenâna) forcibly obtained the custody of the sanctuary and settled down about the Kaaba, which at that time had long been an object of pilgrimage. The restless, predatory Bedouin tribe soon found a rich means of livelihood in sheltering the pilgrims and in supplying them with food and water, and was thus led to exchange its old nomadic pursuits for commerce. In a short time the favourable location must have greatly furthered the prosperity of the city. The pilgrimages to the Kaaba — in which no less than three hundred and sixty tribes placed their clan deities under the protection of the black stone — had during early times led to the custom of looking upon certain of the months of the year (the first, seventh, eleventh, and twelfth) as sacred, during which every feud must cease, and the pilgrims be permitted to travel undisturbed to the places of worship; at the same time a way was opened up to inland trade and intellectual communication between the isolated Arab tribes. Long before the city of Mecca was founded, the pilgrims had been in the habit of assembling at certain places during the holy months for the purpose of holding fairs, exchanging not only material wares, but also products of the intellect. The most celebrated market was that of Okaz. Even when the rise of Mecca caused a falling off in the commercial prosperity of this city, as late as the time of Mohammed the boldest and most eloquent poets of the tribes of Arabia assembled there in order to recite poems, competing with one another in singing the praise of their clans and celebrating the deeds of their countrymen, or striving to win the prize offered for the best love songs. The sheiks of the tribes under the presidency of a "king of the poets" were the judges in the competition, which took place during the months of peace, and of which the result was awaited with intense interest throughout entire Arabia.

Thus during the months of the pilgrimages the attention of the whole peninsula was directed toward the sanctuaries, of which there were several in addition to the Kaaba. But as soon as the inhabitants of Mecca began to take advantage of their opportunities for commerce, their city became the centre of Arabian life, the single point at which a union of the scattered tribes could take place. There are many indications leading to the conjecture that in the course of time a monotheistic belief, either the Jewish or the Christian, would gradually have taken possession of the sanctuaries and have filled the pilgrimages with an entirely new spirit,

had it not been for the fact that a strange religion intruded in its place — a religion that, although it arose from external sources, became essentially Arabian in nature, having its development in Mecca, and through which the politically unimportant land of Arabia was suddenly assured dominion over a boundless empire.

In contrast to Mecca, a settlement of Bedouin nomads of the Mahadite race, who are not townsfolk at all in the ordinary sense of the word, Medina was inhabited by various tribes of the hostile group of stationary Arabs, called Yemenites after the most important of their provinces. Medina is situated in an oasis of the innermost terrace of the elevated plateau, copiously watered by springs that flow down from the neighbouring mountains. The finest dates of Arabia, as well as barley and wheat, are cultivated in the Medinan district.

At the time of Mohammed's birth the people of Medina were industrious peasants, who guided the plough with their own hands and irrigated their own date groves, but showed little interest in either cattle-raising or commerce. To this material difference between Meccans and Medinans was added an intellectual contrast which only increased the mutual hostility of the two races. Several of the stationary tribes in the neighbourhood of Medina had turned to the Hebrew religion; and although the bulk of the population of the city remained faithful to the old animistic belief and joined in the pilgrimages to Mecca, nevertheless the inhabitants of Mecca, ever watchful of their own interests, looked upon the Medinans with increasing apprehension, inasmuch as they had discovered signs of Jewish propaganda in their own city. The Medinans certainly showed themselves to be true Arabs; there were constant feuds between the two chief tribes of the city, and thus all united action was rendered impossible. Not until Mohammed arose did these dissensions end.

The religious-military movement that commenced after the appearance of Mohammed was at first limited for the most part to a severe struggle between the two cities, the true Bedouins of the desert appearing on the scene only as predatory spectators, or as auxiliaries; never once did they have the decision of an important battle in their hands. This is partially explained by the fact that the more intelligent of the Arabs dwelt in the cities; but the number of inhabitants of the towns, ridiculously small as it may appear to Europeans of the present day, was also an important factor. By reason of their close concentration the town dwellers possessed a vast superiority over the scattered Bedouin hordes. Judging from the size of the army that fought under the flag of Mohammed at the time of his attack on Mecca, the population of Medina and its immediate neighbourhood could not have exceeded sixteen thousand souls. No doubt the agricultural districts of the town were incapable of supporting a greater population, for even to-day, in spite of the advantage of processions of pilgrims and consequent traffic, the number of inhabitants of the same territory can scarcely amount to over twenty thousand. Mecca had been exceptionally favoured from the very beginning, and apparently possessed a somewhat denser population. Of the other towns of the Hedjaz, Tayef, to the southeast of Mecca, alone seems to have been of any importance. In fact, Mohammed had first looked to Tayef as a place of refuge instead of Medina; but his plans fell through because of the determined hostility of its inhabitants.

(*b*) *The Prophet.* — The conjectured date of Mohammed's birth is April 20, 570 A. D. His family, although old and distinguished, had become impoverished

at the time the prophet was born, and had fallen into the background. Mohammed's father, Abdallah, who died two months after his son was born, left to his heirs a very modest fortune; and when Amina, the mother of the future prophet, died a few years after, the boy was thrown mainly upon the charity of relatives, one of whom his uncle, Abu Talib, although himself poor, treated him with the greatest kindness. For a long time Mohammed was unable to better his condition; he was compelled to hire himself out as a shepherd, and even later, when he first entered the service of Kadija, the widow of a rich merchant, he seems to have accepted a very humble post. Although opinions are divided as to whether or not Mohammed made various commercial journeys to Syria and Southern Arabia with his uncle, it is beyond doubt that after his twenty-fifth year he several times accompanied the caravans of Kadija, and was thus brought closer into touch with the adherents of more developed religious beliefs. In the meanwhile the chief sources of inspiration for his doctrines were to be found in Mecca itself, where there was no lack of proselytes to Judaism, and whither germs of Christianity — to be sure in a very garbled form — had been brought by traders and slaves from Southern Arabia and Ethiopia. Mohammed, who was decidedly unpractical by nature, seems not to have been a success as a merchant, when suddenly he was freed from his material cares by an unexpected event. Kadija, although considerably older than he, chose him for her husband and married him in spite of the opposition of her relatives. Until his fortieth year the prophet lived the life of a quiet citizen in Mecca; and how little he thought of an attack on Arabian polytheism during these years was shown by the fact that he named one of his sons Abd Manaf, that is to say, servant of the deity Manaf. It may be remarked here that of the numerous children Mohammed had by his several wives, all, with the exception of a daughter, died before him and consequently do not figure in the history of Islam.

Finally Mohammed, whose inquiring mind had eagerly absorbed ideas from both the Hebrew and Christian religions, became convinced that he was called upon by Allah to do away with the polytheistic worship of the Arabians, to transform the Kaaba — to which as a true citizen of Mecca he held fast with unshakable faith — into a temple of the One God, and to construct from the fragments of Christian and Hebrew doctrines with which he had happened to become acquainted, a new and purely monotheistic form of belief. His activity was therefore confined to simplification and re-establishment of that which was already in existence, rather than to creative reconstruction, for which to him as an Arab the necessary intellectual qualifications were lacking. The imaginative descriptions that appear in the Koran concerning either the delights of Paradise or the terrors of hell, are nothing more than confused echoes of the folk-tales and myths of other races which were employed by the prophet chiefly in order to supply a historical foundation for his doctrines, such as is possessed by the Old Testament. The scoffing assertion of unbelieving Meccans, who claimed that many of the sayings of Mohammed were clumsy imitations of those fabulous Persian stories that in later times formed the nucleus of the "Thousand and One Nights," and which had just then penetrated to Arabia, was significant enough. In general, the revelations of the prophet concerned matters of practical life and civil morality — in fact, the simple ethical code of the Koran is the best and the most powerful portion of the Mohammedan faith.

When in the fortieth year of his life Mohammed experienced the vision in which he alleged that the archangel Gabriel revealed to him his mission, a portion of the inhabitants of Mecca had already received a certain preparation for a reform in their belief through their intercourse with Jews and Christians. However, the personality of the new prophet aroused at first but little confidence. His family, the most important factor in the life of an Arab, had a good name to be sure, but nevertheless was impoverished. Mohammed himself, although distinguished in appearance and of benevolent nature, did not possess such characteristics as were likely to make the greatest impression upon Arabs. He was a bad poet, and the smallness of his right to boast of warlike virtues became more and more evident as time went on. "Could n't God have found a better prophet than you?" was the cry that greeted him on his first appearance in Tayef. He had the mystical qualities of his nature to thank for his final victory, and although these very characteristics were ultimately to be traced back to an epileptic complaint, they were always looked upon by him as a gift from heaven, and announced as such with evident sincerity. He himself was the first convert to the visions and dreams in which his constant meditations on the true faith became plastically embodied. He learned how to heighten his states of ecstasy through fasting and long hours of prayer, and gradually succeeded in developing the tenacity of purpose and undaunted confidence which rendered his personality irresistible, and were a constant source of new adherents. At first he had no thought whatever of deception; but as time went on, the inner voice frequently showed a most remarkable docility in respect to the prophet's personal affairs and intentions, and more than once was the cause of his falling into the disagreeable situation of having to retract his own utterances. Nevertheless, it would be completely false to see only an arrant impostor in the Mohammed of later years. No longer a prophet, he was then the ruler of a vast and constantly growing empire; and it was the necessity that arose from his position which forced him into a half involuntary combination of sincerity and dissimulation, a characteristic that finally becomes a second nature to all leaders of multitudes. In later years, also, his visions were associated with serious attacks of disease, which he could scarcely have shammed. His wife Ayesha relates that on one of these occasions "the messenger of God suddenly fell into a fainting fit, as was usually the case before a revelation. They covered him with his robe, and placed a leather pillow under his head. . . . When Mohammed finally came to himself again, he sat up and wiped from his forehead the drops of sweat that rolled down like pearls, although it was a winter's day."

The leather pillow stuffed with palm fibres was often mentioned by Mohammed as an important article of household furniture, and as a token of the poverty and simplicity in which he willingly lived for all his days. In truth, the prophet was exceedingly modest in his requirements, setting aside his passionate sensuality, which constantly led him to increase the number of his wives, and prepared for him many a mortification. Fortunately the Arabians, like most Oriental peoples, are very lenient in regard to this point. While always favourably impressed by simplicity in food and drink — in regard to the use of which he possessed far more wisdom than the average Northern European — the prophet looked upon celibacy or even temperance in sexual matters rather with suspicion than confidence, and for Christian monasticism he had but little sympathy.

(*c*) *The Doctrines of Mohammed.* — It was naturally with no finished teaching that Mohammed first appeared. For a long time his position in respect both to Christianity and Judaism, neither of which he thoroughly understood, was undecided, or perhaps he may have looked upon them as identical with his own dogmas; in fact he even displayed a passing inclination to recognise as a matter of policy the chief gods of the Meccans, at least in the form of intermediary spiritual beings, a concession, however, that he soon hastened to withdraw. The germ of his teaching was from the very beginning a pure monotheism bound up with a simple but impressive doctrine of immortality. Beyond doubt, the minute descriptions of heaven and hell produced a deeper impression on the pagan Arabs, whose conceptions in regard to the life beyond were extremely meagre, than did any other portion of his doctrines. Thus by combining the visionary accounts of what was to take place in the future with his easily understood ethical teachings and the indispensable prescriptions of ritual, — all of which factors were calculated to keep his adherents in a constant state of tension and to fill them with ideas of unity, — Mohammed succeeded in creating a religion that was throughout adapted by reason of its simplicity and directness, not only for awakening the interest of a half-civilized people, but also in a certain measure for subjecting them to discipline. The Koran, which gradually arose as a firm pillar of the religious edifice, was not written by Mohammed himself — indeed it is doubtful that the prophet knew how to write at all — and it was not until after his death that the fragments of his revelations and sayings were united into a book.

Owing to his innate bashfulness it was long before Mohammed could summon up enough courage to appear in public. His first disciples were the members of his own family. The prophet's wife Kadija, his daughter, and his nephew Ali, later his slave Zaid, and finally a friend, the honest Abu Bekr, were the earliest converts, to whom as time passed other adherents, such as Othman, who later became caliph, and, above all, Omar, the true representative of the Mohammedan policy of aggression, joined themselves. Not until the fourth or fifth year after his first revelation did Mohammed resolve to preach to his fellow-tribesmen, and his first efforts were attended with very small success. All the while his family protected him after the Arabian custom, at least from the ill-usage with which the innovator who attacked the worship of the gods and therewith the commercial prosperity of Mecca was constantly threatened. The greater portion of his disciples, many of whom were members of the lower classes or slaves, and who, through their defiant behaviour had aroused the anger of the citizens of Mecca, fared far worse than he, and in all probability were the cause of the at first cool, not to say hostile, attitude of the higher ranks of society. For a time a number of the converted turned to the Christian Abyssinians — an incident that was perhaps not without its influence on the later doctrines and views of the prophet. Mohammed himself, although safe from bodily harm, was in a most disagreeable situation. Especially unpleasant were the jeers of scoffers who requested that he should give proof of the genuineness of his mission by working miracles, or the apparently benevolent proposal to send for a celebrated physician in order that he might be cured of his lunacy. After the death of Kadija and of his uncle Abu Talib, his position finally became unbearable. He was compelled to look about for a place of refuge where men were not unalterably hostile to his teachings.

(*d*) *The Hegira.* — After having been driven from Tayef, where he had sought assistance, Mohammed's choice fell upon Yathrib, the jealous rival of Mecca, which he afterward named Medina. Pilgrims were in the habit of making annual journeys to the Kaaba from Yathrib, as from almost all other parts of Arabia. The prophet, who possessed relatives in Medina on his mother's side, had established connections with some of these Medinan pilgrims, and was favourably heard by them; for they had already become partly estranged from the worship of a plurality of gods, owing to Jewish influence, and, unlike the inhabitants of Mecca, were not prejudiced against his doctrines because of apprehension for their material interests. A Mohammedan community arose in Medina, that soon far exceeded the settlement at Mecca in number; and finally the prophet himself determined to emigrate there with his followers, although at first he, as well as every other true Meccan, was an object of hatred and of suspicion to the people of the rival town.

Thus was the first great step taken toward the unification of Arabia. Religion was victorious over tribal sentiment; and from the very moment that Mahadites and Yemenites joined together under the banner of the prophet, the period of Arabian empire began. It is not without reason that Mohammedans reckon time from the year of the Hegira (622).

The number of emigrants capable of bearing arms, who gradually arrived from Mecca, could scarcely have been over one hundred; but the accession of the greater part of the inhabitants of Medina, who placed themselves under Mohammed's orders as *ansâr*, or "helpers of the prophet," furnished him with an army at one stroke, and rendered his final triumph certain. The prophet scarcely met with a single irreconcilable opponent in Medina; but on the other hand he had the greatest difficulty in establishing even a moderate amount of unity in the loosely banded community that practically acknowledged no chief, and he was at first obliged to be content with reconciling so far as was possible the two principal tribes into which the population was divided. This he accomplished by means of his great influence, and through the erection of a mosque, the first centre of the Mohammedan faith. However, all his attempts to convert the Jewish inhabitants of the region, in whom he had placed great hopes, failed; and even the concession first granted to the Jews, permitting men in prayer to turn toward Jerusalem instead of toward Mecca, remained without effect, until finally the favour of the prophet turned to hatred, and he resolved on the destruction of the Jewish tribes.

(*e*) *The Conflict with Mecca.* — Soon afterward Mohammed's entire attention was taken up by the quarrel with Mecca. He saw that it was absolutely necessary for him to subdue the inhabitants of the spiritual centre of Arabia, if he ever expected to gain any great influence over the widely scattered tribes that only forgot their disputes during the months of pilgrimage, when within the walls of the sacred city. The circumstance that Mecca, as an artificial settlement, was dependent upon its traffic and the importation of food products, opened to Mohammed the possibility of worrying and injuring his unbelieving countrymen by watching the roads and making sudden descents on caravans in the usual fashion of Arabian private warfare. However, he had but little success at first; and on undertaking a plundering expedition during one of the holy months, the displeasure of his adherents was aroused. A short time afterward, having failed to meet with a large caravan returning from Syria to Mecca, which he had determined to attack, his forces

encountered an armed force that had been sent out from Mecca for the protection of the threatened caravan; and thus the first pitched battle took place — at the wells of Bedr. Although greatly outnumbered the Moslems won; and Mohammed, who had viewed the struggle from a distance, sent rich spoils and triumphant news of victory to Medina. This was in the year 624.

The wealth and distinction obtained by Mohammed through the victory at Bedr enabled him to establish still more firmly his position in Medina, and above all to come to a settlement with the irreconcilable Jewish Bedouin tribes of the neighbourhood. First of all the Benu Kainukah, who were able to put seven hundred armed men in the field, and possessed a strong fortress not far distant from Medina, felt the weight of the prophet's wrath. They called in vain for assistance from one of the chief clans of Medina, with whom they had been once allied. A safe conduct to Syria was alone granted to them; their possessions fell to the Moslems. In the autumn of 624 the believers finally succeeded in capturing a Meccan caravan on the road to Babylon. But in the spring of the next year the grave tidings reached Medina that an army of Qurâis, strengthened by the addition of several Bedouin tribes, and numbering some three thousand warriors, was advancing against the city under the command of Abu Sufiyan, a distinguished sheik of Mecca, who had been tacitly chosen to be leader, and who was now determined to wash away the ignominy of the defeat at Bedr in the blood of the Moslems. Mohammed would gladly have awaited the attack within the walls of Medina, but the impatience of his companions, who saw that their fields were being laid waste, soon necessitated his setting out against the Meccans at the head of about a thousand fighting men. The prophet met with the enemy near Mount Ohod, and was immediately deserted by three hundred of his followers, who fled at the very sight of the enemy. The battle ended in the rout of the Moslems; and the prophet, who wore a coat of double chain mail and an iron helmet, and this time had himself taken part in the struggle, escaped being made prisoner by a mere chance. The "battle" resulted in the loss of some seventy of the faithful and of about twenty of the Qurâis, and in spite of its insignificance was a severe blow to the reputation of the prophet, placing him in a most critical position. The Meccans, delighted with their triumph, straightway marched back to their native city.

Mohammed, who had met with several other misfortunes at about the same time, sought to awaken fresh courage in his followers through an attack on the Jewish tribe Nadir. He invented a flimsy pretext for the quarrel, caused all fruit trees that grew in the hostile territory to be destroyed — an unspeakable outrage in the Arabia of the period — and finally compelled the Jewish Bedouins to emigrate to Syria. Thus the prophet was now in a position to reward his faithful disciples with possessions of land; and all had time to settle themselves in their new homes, an expedition that had been planned against Mecca falling through owing to the unusual dryness of the next few years. But this delay gave the indefatigable Abu Sufiyan an opportunity for forming a league against Medina, which was joined even by tribes of Central Arabian Bedouins, who had been roused to action by the Jews, and who were also well aware how greatly their liberty was threatened by the growth of Moslem power. The religious influence of Mecca was in this instance of the greatest assistance to the Qurâis. The Quraidhah, the last Jewish tribe that had been permitted to remain in Medina, were also concerned in the alliance. This time Mohammed's plan of remaining on the defensive met with no opposition;

a deep ditch was dug for the protection of the single vulnerable side of Medina, on the advice of a Persian freedman, and behind it the prophet and the three thousand armed men then at his disposal took their position. This primitive fortification, the first defensive work ever seen in Central Arabia, was completely successful in preventing the hostile army, three times as large as that of the defenders, from undertaking any serious operations; and the approach of winter finally rendered it necessary for Abu Sufiyan to withdraw his forces. The Qurâis had no sooner disappeared than Mohammed marched forth and fell upon the Jewish Quraidhah; the men to the number of seven hundred were beheaded, and the women and children were sold to the Bedouins.

All the while Mohammed was, and remained at heart, a Meccan. To be sure, it was his object to lead the monotheistic belief to victory, but he also recognised that it would be better for the future of his cause not to destroy the beginnings of a common Arabian cult, such as existed in the sanctuary at Mecca, but rather to adapt the latter to the requirements of his own faith. His attachment to Mecca sufficiently explains the fact that he had always retained in view the object, first, of becoming master of the sacred city without any unnecessary bloodshed, and finally of obtaining the right to take part in the general pilgrimage of Arab tribes to the Kaaba at the head of his Moslem followers. Early in the year 628, during one of the sacred months, the prophet appeared with a small force before his hostile birthplace; but it was in vain that he demanded entrance to the sanctuary. Nevertheless the expedition was a decided success: the Meccans, weary of the constant injury suffered by their trade, concluded a ten years' truce with the prophet, and on his promising to withdraw this time, granted him permission to visit the Kaaba with his followers the next year. Thus was the first step taken toward the peaceful conquest of Mecca; the Qurâis yielded the very point they had been most anxious to defend.

During the truce Mohammed was not idle in extending his power. The oasis of Kheyber, about sixty miles north of Medina, into which a portion of the expelled Jews had retired, was conquered, and the land divided amongst his followers, who now united with the Islamites who had previously emigrated to Abyssinia. The number of believers constantly increased; the prophet's growing sense of importance found expression in his sending letters to the sovereigns of neighbouring regions, in which he demanded that they should submit to his rule and embrace his doctrines. These messages were not as a rule received in a way likely to arouse any sanguine hopes of success. More important was the pilgrimage to Mecca that took place in 629. The Qurâis retired from the city for several days in order that there might be no cause for trouble with the Moslems while the latter were fulfilling their mission. It became more and more apparent that there was no one in Arabia capable of withstanding for any length of time the steadily increasing power of the Mohammedans. One after another the Bedouin tribes surrendered: and soon the prophet turned his eyes toward Syria, where the Arabs, having received a smattering of higher culture owing to the proximity of the Byzantine Empire, had here and there united into small States. An army sent out against one of the minor Arabian rulers of the region to the south of the Dead Sea, was severely defeated at Muta. The time for conquests beyond the borders of Arabia had not yet come.

On the other hand, Mecca fell into the hands of the prophet without a struggle. A trifling dispute furnished him with a pretext for suddenly putting an end to the

truce with the Qurâis; he immediately summoned his adherents in full force, and appeared before the astonished city in January, 630. Resistance was not to be thought of; soon the most distinguished Meccans stood before the victor imploring grace and repeating the customary Mohammedan confession of faith. Reason and love for his home led the prophet to impose mild conditions of peace upon his humbled foes. He angrily took away the banner of a Medinan sheik, who had announced in triumph that the day of reckoning had come, and that no one would be spared, and he commanded that pardon should be granted to all Qurâis, with the exception of a few opponents, for whom he cherished especial hatred. The Kaaba now stood open to the conqueror, who knocked the idols to pieces with his staff and permitted the black stone alone to remain in its place as a symbol of the One God. The Meccans came forward in crowds to repeat their confessions of belief, and thus to take their places among the ranks of the prophet's adherents. It was now recognised by all, that Mohammed had no intention of destroying the holy city, but was striving rather to exalt it.

The work of Mohammed as a prophet was crowned by the act of taking possession of and purifying the Kaaba. The permanence of his doctrines was now assured, at least in Arabia, inasmuch as he had succeeded in transforming the centre of the old religious life into a sanctuary of the new belief. It was also evident that sooner or later all the tribes of his race would be compelled to recognise his teaching, and that even his death could not check the progress of Islam.

(*f*) *Final Successes and Death of Mohammed.* — Immediately after the fall of Mecca, the prophet, assisted by a levy of Meccans, set about reducing the neighbouring regions to subjection. During a fight with the Bedouin tribe of Havayins, the result of which hung in the balance for many hours, the Qurâis acted in a decidedly suspicious manner; indeed, a true conversion could not yet be looked for from the greater portion of the Meccans; but Mohammed once more put his old tribesmen to shame by his magnanimity, allotting to them a larger share of the plunder than was received by his own Medinan followers. The inhabitants of Tayef, who had more than once insulted the prophet during his earlier years, again bravely withstood the Moslems, and refused all proposals for capitulation. Not until many months had passed were they forced to come to terms, owing to the complete isolation of their city following the conversion of the tribes that dwelt in their neighbourhood. Their ambassadors naturally sought to obtain the most favourable conditions from Mohammed, and expressed, moreover, the remarkable desire that they might be permitted to worship their favourite goddess, Allat, for another year. The prophet would have agreed to these conditions had it not been for the influence of Omar, the most energetic and fiery of his adherents. The Tayefites were ordered to surrender unconditionally, and Allat was destroyed amidst the woful howls and lamentations of the women and children.

During his long career, Mohammed had also to contend against the satirical rhymes of the poets of his enemies. How greatly imbittered he was by these attacks was shown at the capture of Mecca, when he sentenced to death a woman named Sara, who had delighted the Qurâis with her derisive verses on the new prophet. It even happened that the conversion of a certain tribe came about through a poetical competition, — Mohammed, who possessed neither voice for song nor the gift of making verses, choosing the best poet among his adherents

to be his representative. This extraordinary event took place in the year 630. The envoys of the Beni Tamina assembled before the house of the prophet and sent in a formal challenge; but finally, after the singers of Mohammed had capped the climax of their opponents' blustering with a still greater display of bombast, and had fairly shouted them down, the challengers confessed, with great mortification, that the Moslem public speakers and poets were better than theirs, and that their voices, too, were much louder, and forthwith made their confession of faith. Gradually all the poets of Arabia united their voices in praise of Mohammed, and it was only from the tents of distant Bedouin tribes that now and then a poisoned dart of song was launched against him.

The increasing feebleness of the prophet, who had again taken up his residence in Medina, only allowed him to participate in one more warlike expedition against Southern Syria, the region by which the Arabian Peninsula is connected with the rest of Western Asia. The campaign began in the year 630, and was attended with no decided success, aside from the subjection of a few frontier tribes. The pilgrimage to Mecca in 631, although not led by Mohammed, but by Abu Bekr, nevertheless signified a further step in the conversion of Arabia to Islam. The prophet commanded it to be announced in the Kaaba, that from this time forth unbelievers would no longer be permitted to take part in the pilgrimages, and that all men who desired to approach the sanctuary must first make a confession of faith. This only showed how certain Mohammed was of the final success of his cause. In fact, at that time the whole of Arabia, with the exception of some of the most distant regions, formally acknowledged the supremacy of the prophet. The minor princes of Arabia Felix, and the Persian governors who after the expulsion of the Abyssinians by a Persian army ruled a portion of Yemen, also gave notice of their subjection, and so did numerous chieftains of the Syrian frontier.

Mohammed's last pilgrimage to Mecca, the ceremonies of which became a model for all time, took place in the year 632. The prophet solemnly walked round the Kaaba at the head of countless believers, performed the rites with scrupulous care, and delivered an address to the assembled multitude from Mount Arafat, in which he summarised and established in their final form the moral laws of Islam. The words with which he recommended to his followers, his cousin and favourite, Ali, against whom various complaints had arisen, played an important part in the later history of Islam: "He who loves me, will choose Ali for a friend (*maula*). May God be with them who protect him, and desert those who are his enemies." Since the word "*maula*" may signify either friend or ruler, the claims of the sectarian Shiites, who recognised Ali as the lawful successor of the prophet, rested above all on this statement.

Three months after his return from Mecca, Mohammed fell ill of a fever. The damp malarial climate of Medina that had caused the death of many a Meccan fugitive, also proved injurious to the health of the prophet, already enfeebled by the constant exertions and excitement of the last twenty-four years of his life. The sick man was able to withstand the disease but a short time; on July 8, 632, the twelfth day of the third month in the year 11 of the Hegira, Mohammed, who had been looked upon by his followers as immortal, and who himself had not opposed this belief, died in the apartment of his favourite wife, Ayesha.

The faithful were filled with confusion, and a great uproar immediately arose; but the work of the prophet had been accomplished, and was no longer to be

destroyed. The Arabian nation arose in the place of the visionary, and countries in which no man had ever heard of Mohammed during his lifetime soon became subject to the dominion of his heirs.

C. The Koran

The new religion derived its firmest support from the sayings of the prophet, which had been written down by his most trusted followers, at first circulated merely in fragmentary transcripts, but later collected and arranged by scribes at the command of Abu Bekr, the first Caliph. The one hundred and fourteen chapters, or "suras," of the Koran (Q'urân), when chronologically arranged, fall into two groups, the Meccan and the Medinan. Owing to the fact that in many cases these chapters were closely connected with the life and adventures of the prophet — who frequently endeavoured to obviate difficulties among his adherents by means of well-timed revelations — and also by reason of their numerous contradictions and repetitions, they form a remarkable commentary to Mohammed's chequered career and final triumph. The style and substance of the revelations underwent a striking change as time passed: the earlier, composed in short rhymed lines in the vague, obscure language of the prophet, occasionally display true poetic power and bear witness to the genuine inspiration of their author; the later suras are more prolix and tedious, and were obviously intended to produce a shrewdly calculated effect. The reason for this is very plain. During his life in Mecca, Mohammed attacked the polytheistic belief of the Arabs with clear and powerful arguments in favour of the unity of the Divine Being — such arguments as immediately presented themselves to his simple and ill-trained, but ardent and ingenious mind. In Medina, the prophet's time was largely taken up with polemical utterances delivered against Jews and Christians; moreover, it was also necessary for him to exercise all his powers of intellect in order to govern and control the unruly, warlike community by which he was surrounded.

It was entirely owing to the already mentioned necessity of governing his followers that Mohammed's most lasting work — his moral and legislative doctrines, which, together with the ritual, the prayers, ablutions, and fastings form the skeleton or framework of the Mohammedan religion — arose. The simple, in no wise profound, but nevertheless admirable moral code of Islam is the most valuable gift which the followers of Mohammed brought with them to less civilized peoples. In the main these doctrines rest upon a foundation of old Arabic custom, refined, however, through the influence of Jewish-Christian precepts. Many a fundamental principle was a result of the personal inclinations of the prophet; for example, the unfavourable position that he assigned to woman was not in reality in harmony with the true Arabian spirit, but originated in Mohammed's own sensual, jealous nature. His attitude in regard to the deeply rooted Bedouin custom of infanticide, which he immediately prohibited, was more deserving of praise. Moreover, on grounds of mere national economy he was wise in his action. The doing away with superfluous children originally arose from a desire to prevent the scanty pasture regions of the Arabian peninsula from becoming over-populated; but as soon as the prophet had pointed out to his countrymen the road leading to the fertile lands of the north and west, this danger was removed for many years to come.

The position of the prophet at Medina gave rise to a new religious impulse.

THE FIRST HALF OF THE FIRST SURA OF THE KORAN

The verso of the second page of the splendid manuscript of the Koran (Orient. MSS. fol. 36) in the Royal Library at Berlin. The manuscript dates from the Sixteenth Century, and contains 295 folio pages.

Translation

In the name of God, who is merciful and pitieth! Glory to God, the Lord of the world, who is merciful and pitieth, and is Lord on the day of Judgment. To Thee we pray and to Thee [we cry for help. Lead us in the straight way, the way of those to whom Thou givest Thy grace, whom Thou scornest not and who go not astray in error!]

The second half of this first Sura of the Mohammedan "Lord's Prayer" is reproduced in vol. i. of A. Müller's "Islam in the East and West," written in 1885 (Oncken II. 4), the beauty and accuracy of his reproduction being but little inferior to our own. The manuscript itself has been minutely described by W. Ahlwardt in vol. i. of his "Catalogue of Arabic MSS." No. 371. ("The Catalogue of MSS." in the Royal Library at Berlin, 7 vols., Berlin, 1887.)

THE FIRST HALF OF THE FIRST SURA OF THE KORAN.

Mohammed soon found it necessary to harmonise his doctrines of immortality with the injunction to wage a religious war, as well as with the doctrine of fatalism, that under different circumstances he would scarcely have made so prominent in his teachings. In fact, preordination or necessity were in direct contradiction to the earlier portions of the Koran. Although the glowing descriptions of the delights of paradise promised to the champions of the faith did not prevent Islamite armies from taking flight upon occasion, they proved to be an excellent means for awakening fanaticism in simple minds, especially among the newly converted, to whom the doctrines of Mohammed must as a whole have been very difficult of comprehension. And this was all the more important, for, owing to their small numbers, the Arabs were soon obliged to draw upon all men capable of bearing arms who dwelt in the conquered regions, putting them into the field in order to preserve their own force.

Thus the Koran gradually became, as it were, the nucleus of Moslem power, and the centre of the spiritual life of all nations that subjected themselves to its law. Its effects were not immediately shown; it may even be said that the Mohammedan world retained the freshness of youth, and contributed to the progress of the human race just so long as the doctrines of the Koran were not completely assimilated, and had not yet destroyed all capacity for independent thought among the Arabians and their dependents. The more Islamite scholars devoted themselves to the study of the sacred book, the greater became the differences of opinion in regard to doubtful passages and obvious contradictions; and a separation of the believers into numerous sects was an inevitable consequence. Indeed there were other considerations besides these, that in very early times contributed to the division of the Mohammedans into various more or less fanatical parties — above all the question, who was to be the legitimate successor of the prophet.

D. The Dispute as to the Succession

Mohammed's one surviving child was his daughter Fatima, the wife of Ali, who as cousin and perhaps earliest disciple had always enjoyed the especial affection of the prophet; and it was to Ali that a more or less obscure declaration of Mohammed in regard to his successor seemed to apply. Had this claimant triumphed, a hereditary monarchy would have been established; however, the coveted position was obtained by another with the result that the Mohammedan government became an elective sovereignty, which was more in harmony with the democratic spirit of the Arabian people. The affairs of the time were favourable to Ali, but unfortunately he was not the man to take advantage of them. During the course of his life Ali had constantly shown that, for all his courage in battle, he possessed a weak character and inferior intelligence. He was invariably put aside by others, even when he believed himself to have been the determining factor. This time also he neglected to make the best of his opportunities, wasting his time in useless employments, and entirely losing sight of his political goal, — the attainment of which he believed to be absolutely certain.

Since the choice of a Caliph was intimately connected with the general condition of affairs that had arisen in Arabia on the death of the prophet, a certain insight into these conditions is indispensable to a correct understanding of the history of the period. Although Mecca had once more come into favour, its temple

being recognised as a sanctuary, and although the majority of the Arabs had at least externally adopted the new faith, it was nevertheless certain that Medina was the centre of Mohammedan power, and consequently the place where the election of a successor should be held. The class differences that had caused the people of Arabia to be divided into sects and parties, on this occasion had but small influence on the decision in regard to the Caliph; for the choice lay chiefly in the hands of the original and most faithful adherents of the prophet. But these "Defenders" nevertheless proved themselves to be true Arabs, inasmuch as it was not long before they gave the elements of discord that existed between the separate groups, and had been but superficially effaced by Mohammed's personal influence, an opportunity for reasserting themselves with renewed power.

The eyes of the prophet had scarcely closed when the party of Meccans, who had left their native city, and the inhabitants of Medina independently made up their minds each to choose a successor, in order thus to obtain the ascendency in regard to political affairs. Ali, who would perhaps have been received with favour by both parties, was not present at either election. The Meccans chose Abu Bekr, the old friend of Mohammed and father of Ayesha, his favourite wife, to be their candidate, while the Medinans selected for the position their influential leader Zaid. The prudence and foresight of Abu Bekr, who knew well how to turn the old enmity that existed between the two chief tribes of Medina to his own advantage, obviated the risk of any serious rivalry between himself and Zaid, and this in the very nick of time; for the news of the illness of the prophet alone had been sufficient to cause rebellions to break out in various parts of the peninsula, and as soon as Mohammed's death became known, the whole of Arabia revolted, threatening utterly to destroy the life-work of the prophet. The faithful, who had been installed as commanders of troops and governors of provinces, fled to Medina from all sides; and to make matters worse, there was no army at the disposal of the Moslems; for in fulfilment of one of Mohammed's last commands — and perhaps to rid himself of the presence of the discontented Medinan tribes — immediately after his election Abu Bekr had despatched all available fighting men to the Syrian border.

E. The Rebellion of the Arabians

The insurrections in Arabia were a demonstration of the profound impression which the appearance of Mohammed had made upon his countrymen. It was no longer a land of pagans that arose against the Caliph. The most dangerous of the rebels were under the leadership of new prophets who sought to imitate or to excel their prototype. Even before the death of the founder of Islam, tidings were brought to Medina, that in Yemen Abhala the Black had assembled a powerful army and brought almost the entire region under his dominion. Soon afterward Musailima, another prophet, raised aloft the banner of insurrection in Yemama; and in Nejd the discontented tribes collected about a leader of their own race, called Tuleiha. In the neighbourhood of Medina such serious disturbances had taken place that an attack on the city itself was feared; for here also, although no "prophet" made his appearance, the dissatisfaction with the new political conditions and above all with the taxes, that at Mohammed's command had been imposed on all believers, was sufficient to occasion a revolt.

Abu Bekr's most striking characteristic was an unshakable belief in the future of Islam. He was a man who had never once lost faith in the prophet; and for this very reason during these times of trouble, when even the boldest of his adherents despaired, he proved himself to be the one leader most fitted for the situation. Fortune also came to his assistance. He knew that the various groups of rebels were not acting in concert, but were constantly at war with one another. It was not long before the most dangerous of his enemies, the prophet in Yemen, was murdered by his followers, who then acknowledged the sovereignty of the Caliph. A small campaign against the revolted tribes of the neighbourhood of Medina met with decided success; and as soon as the army that had been sent to the Syrian frontier under the command of Usama, in order to quell disturbances among the border tribes, had returned to Medina after completing its task, the Caliph was in a position once more to begin the subjugation of Arabia. Khâlid, a man of vast energy but of doubtful character, to whom Mohammed himself had given the name, "the sword of God" (Saifallah), was appointed commander in chief of the Moslem forces, and directed his first campaign against Tuleiha, the prophet of Nejd. After a severe struggle Khâlid routed the army of his opponent, and put the prisoners and wounded to death with the utmost brutality. He then turned to the district of Yemama in the southern part of Nejd, where a still greater army of rebels had collected about the standard of Musailima, after having defeated two bodies of Mohammedan troops. Their resistance was stubborn in the extreme, and the position of Khâlid would indeed have been desperate had he not succeeded in separating Musailima from the main body of his troops, compelling him to retreat to a walled estate; there, after the gate had been burst open, he caused the entire garrison to be murdered in cold blood. Never before had so many Arabs fallen in battle. The Moslems also lost such a great number of men that Abu Bekr is said to have immediately resolved upon the collection of the scattered fragments of the Koran before any more of the old companions of the prophet, who had stored up his sayings in their memories, had lost their lives.

While Khâlid was engaged in subjugating the interior plateau of the peninsula, other divisions of the Caliph's army succeeded in enforcing obedience from the districts bordering on the Persian Gulf, Bahrein and Oman, and in once more establishing the supremacy of the Mahommedans in Yemen and Hadramaut. Neither the wounded nor the defenceless were spared; entire tribes were annihilated, until finally the whole of Arabia fell into a palsy of terror. The victory of Islam was complete. But no sooner had Abu Bekr the entire peninsula once more under his control, than he again took up the plan that Mohammed had already sought to follow during the last years of his life, — namely, the dissemination of the Mohammedan religion, and the establishment of Moslem rule over all countries bordering on the peninsula of Arabia.

F. The Period of Conquest

During the following period of expansion, forces and influences that had apparently been hidden or conciliated during the lifetime of Mohammed again asserted themselves. Mohammed had, indeed, temporarily succeeded in stifling the ancient feuds and disagreements between the Arabian tribes; but he had not been able entirely to destroy them. The single clans still preserved their prejudices

and mutual hatred, and the great chasm that separated agriculturists from shepherds and Yemenites from Mahadites, that appeared to have been bridged over by the affiliation of the fugitives from Mecca with the agricultural people of Medina, soon showed themselves again with effects even more far reaching than before. Mohammed himself had with difficulty suppressed his inborn dislike for cultivators of the soil, and while still in Medina had once permitted himself to be so far overcome by his feelings on seeing a plough as to utter the words: "Never does such an implement come into a house without bringing disgrace."

To these old prejudices new ones were soon added. The ancient tribal nobility of the Arabian race were suddenly confronted with a new aristocracy set above them that laid claim to political supremacy, and had now succeeded in overcoming all opposition. This aristocracy was composed of the faithful friends of the prophet, the "Defenders" and the "Emigrants," the flower of the devout, who we may be sure were not wanting in intellectual pride and ambition. It has already been mentioned that they were by no means united among themselves, and had almost come to blows over the division of the spoils; moreover, the demands of Ali and the jealousy of the emigrated Meccans for the Medinans were sources of constant disturbance.

Naturally the warlike devotees were looked upon with but little favour by the freedom-loving Bedouins. But the inhabitants of Mecca, the Qurâis, who as guardians of the Kaaba exercised an immense influence over the whole of Arabia, soon showed themselves to be the most dangerous enemies of the new régime, as soon as they had begun to recover from the effects of the humiliation that had been inflicted upon them by Mohammed. Ever since they had ceased to oppose Islam they had been endeavouring to place themselves once more at the head of the religious movement; and however much the first Caliph strove to suppress the aspirations of the Meccan nobles, the leadership of whom was now in the hands of the Omeyad family, and to exclude them from participation in the government of the empire, their old influence, and the importance of the sacred city proved irresistible. It was not long before men, who during Mohammed's lifetime had overwhelmed the prophet with hatred and scorn, stood at the head of Moslem armies and provinces. The nobles of Mecca, who were not too scrupulous as to the fulfilment of the precepts of their religion, and who ever held aloft the ideals of old Arabian life, were far more sympathetic to the common people than were the gloomy fanatics of Medina; and all the while that the faithful were stretching forth their hands toward world dominion, a storm was gathering over their heads, and the blessings of the prophet proved to them finally a curse. At first an endless vista of victory and plunder opened itself to the comrades of Mohammed. The armies of Abu Bekr departed from Arabia, — finally subdued after unspeakable horrors had taken place, — in order to throw themselves upon the rich possessions of the Persians and Byzantines.

2. WESTERN ASIA BEFORE THE CALIPHATE

WHEN after the death of Mohammed the Arabians founded a vast empire, of which the central point lay in Western Asia, they temporarily succeeded in uniting almost all the countries of this region into one State, just as had once been done by

the rulers of ancient Persia, and finally by their conqueror and successor, Alexander the Great. Between the end of the Alexandrian epoch and the beginning of the Arabian conquests there was a long period of disintegration. While the eastern countries of the Mediterranean region, Asia Minor and Syria, had been brought into closer contact with the European and African shores of the sea by Greek civilization and Roman arms, and had gradually become able to dispense with their original manner of life, the races of Persia won back for themselves the right of self-government, reasserted the old traditions of the days of the Achæmenidæ, and set up the religious doctrines of Zoroaster in opposition to Christianity and the mythology of Greece. Thus the antagonism between Persia and Rome characterised for many centuries the history of Western Asia. The region, however, that had once beheld the rise of a flourishing civilization in the midst of widespread barbarism — the same region that had long served as the treasury of corn of Western Asia, the valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris, including Mesopotamia and Babylon — fell more and more into a lamentable state of ruin and decay; and having lost all traces of independent life became a scene of constant war between the Roman emperors and the dynasties of the Arsacidæ and Sassanidæ, that continued until the new reign of terror was instituted by the Moslem Caliphs.

The sad fate of the land of ancient Babylonian civilization is but a single feature of the vast world-historical panorama in which is embraced a complete view of the development of Western Asia. It was here that the struggle between nomadism and agriculture, between rude freedom and the culture that is attached to the soil, between toilsome construction and sudden annihilation, repeated itself in countless different forms. That it should have been the destiny of this region to be the theatre of constant war arose from its geographical character, in the sharp contrasts visible in its conformation. The greater portion of Western Asia belongs to the zone of deserts and steppes which extends from the centre of the continent over Persia, Syria, and Arabia to Africa; it is the great domain of nomadic tribes, the original home of the raiding and conquering races. Western Asia was looked upon by the nomads as their rightful property; and again and again they sought to make good this claim, their troops of horsemen repeatedly surging forward in furious onset against the Roman legions. However, steppes and deserts were not present on every side: mountains and forests encircle the elevated plateaus of Iran and the rolling hills of central Asia Minor. Armenia is a land of rugged mountain chains; and on the borders of the plain, that extends from Syria to the Dead Sea, peaks arise to an altitude far beyond the limit of perpetual snow. Rivers and streams flow down from the mountains into the arid regions, and wherever they appear the landscape brightens; the agriculturist digs canals through his thirsty fields that offer but little reward in return for the pains thus bestowed upon them. Flourishing towns and cities arise in the fertile regions, and within their walls manufactures prosper, and the sciences and arts develop. Thus in many regions the territory of the pastoral races is intersected by zones of civilization; the desire of the nomads for wandering is checked, their power broken. Often, however, the rising tide of the desert has broken through all dams and obstructions; the lances and sabres of nomad horsemen have brought destruction to the permanently settled races of the plains. Cities have disappeared in fire and blood, and again a wilderness of steppes broadens out over a region where once thousands of men lived and laboured; the herds of the patriarch seek their scanty subsistence amidst the ruins of palaces.

As a result of constantly renewed devastations, Western Asia, once the cradle of civilization, now lies in a state of melancholy decay, in sharp contrast to the prosperity of Europe. Many years indeed elapsed, and terrible blows were dealt before the once flourishing land sank into its present hopeless condition. It can well be said that no other portion of the earth has suffered so much as Western Asia; but her greatest period of affliction began with the Arabian conquests that temporarily destroyed the power of the Persian nation, and at the same time opened up to the races of the steppes a way into the rich countries of the West, that had so often before been assailed in vain. The failing power of the Eastern Roman Empire was then no longer able to ward off the storm that threatened from the northeast; and the degenerate Caliphs of later days vainly endeavoured to exorcise the wild spirits that had been called up by their forefathers. It is true that the Persian Empire itself, during the period of its prosperity, had brought evil enough to Western Asia; nevertheless the significance of Iran during the time that followed the age of Alexander the Great consisted above all in its forming a powerful barrier protecting Mesopotamia, Syria, and Asia Minor from the turbulent highland races of the northeast. The Persians were, indeed, not well fitted for such a task, inasmuch as the Iranians themselves were closely allied to nomads, and constantly assimilated Central Asian elements, so that finally the Persians of Roman times presented a striking resemblance to the robber hordes of the North and East. The bands of plunderers and murderers of Arsacidæan and Sassanidæan origin that advanced upon Syria and Asia Minor acted in very much the same manner as did the Mongol and Turkish hordes of later times; and Turanian blood and temperament can clearly be recognised in the character of many an Arsacidæan ruler. Nevertheless the bulk of the Persian people were agriculturists. Their civilization arose for the most part in towns and cities, many of which had been founded during the time of Alexander; and the fire-worship of Zoroaster was, in its nature and effect, the religion of a stationary, industrious race, that did not seek expansion in wild expeditions of conquest, but looked to the arts of peace for its sources of development.

Not only are many different geographical features united in the highlands of Persia, but the situation of Iran itself, in respect to its neighbour countries, must also have had a profound influence on the history of the home of the religion of Zoroaster. In the interior of Persia, an arid district of deserts and steppes, incapable of yielding a return to the agriculturist, broadens out to the northeast, where it is separated from the Turanian frontier by a comparatively insignificant mountain range. But these low chains of mountains are of the utmost importance to Persia; here, where nomadism again and again sought admittance to the West, between the southern shore of the Caspian Sea and the mountains of Afghanistan, lies the province of Khorassan, the true bulwark of Iran, from which, during times of prosperity, the Persians advanced their power as far east as the Oxus, even to the river Jaxartes, however often they may have bowed before the onset of the horsemen of the steppes. The circumstance that the eastern part of Persia, with its high mountains, is sharply divided from the western provinces by the desert plateau of the interior, has given to the former a character of self-dependence of which the effects have frequently been seen in history; danger from without is not to be feared from the East, where India, with its unwarlike inhabitants, extends far out beyond the mountain wall. Often enough the Hindoos beheld armies of

Iranian conquerors marching down into their land of fabulous story, but never once did they themselves venture on an attack beyond their borders. The eastern regions of Persia were only occasionally disturbed by the nomads of the North, when the latter penetrated into Persian territory in order to make use of the mountain passes that led to the valley of the Indus.

The southern Persian boundary has but small significance from a political point of view, and consists only of the bare coasts of the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf, poor in harbours, and separated from the interior by rugged mountain slopes. On the other hand, the vast mountain chains that have their beginning in the south and expand fan-like into the west of Persia, form the true centre of the country, the dwelling place of the most advanced and industrious of the population, and at the same time a powerful protecting wall separating Persia from Mesopotamia. The warlike races of these mountains were dangerous neighbours to the civilization of Assyria and Babylonia — just as the folk of Elam climbed down from the mountains of Western Persia and established their monarchy in Babylon, and in later times Cyrus the Great, advancing from the East, destroyed the later Babylonian Empire — so also did the Parthian and Sassanidæan rulers successfully contest with the Romans for the possession of the Mesopotamian plain, which for centuries was little more than an appendage of the Persian Empire. Of much more moment to Persia are the geographical features in the northwest. Here the Iranian mountains do not lie in direct contiguity with a plain, but extend along into Armenia without a break, thus forming a continuation of the mountain systems of Asia Minor and Caucasia. In consequence, all natural boundaries are lacking in the northwest. The warlike Armenians had gradually developed out of various originally very different elements under the influence of an Aryan race, and although they showed themselves willing to adopt the civilization of Iran, nevertheless retained their national character and language. Even to the south of the Caucasus there dwelt a number of freedom-loving, martial tribes, whose permanent subjection by the Persians was not to be thought of. Thus Armenia, together with the Southern Caucasian nations, of which Iberia was the most important, soon developed into a more or less independent "buffer State;" nor did many years pass before it became an apple of discord between Rome and the Persian Empire; in fact, once, before the Romans had completed their work of conquest, Armenia rose to the position of a power of the first rank. The Persians had many reasons for turning their attention to affairs in the Caucasus as well as to Armenia. Not only was Khorassan an object of attacks delivered by the Asiatic nomadic races, but also beyond the passes of the Caucasus from time to time disturbances arose, threatening the very heart of the Iranian Empire. It is highly probable that the little nation of the Ossetes, who preserve to this day the Persian language, developed from Persian military colonies established on the Kasbek for the protection of the mountain roads.

The northern boundary of Persia is for the most part protected by the Caspian Sea. Here, between the high Elbruz range and the coast, extend the fertile, densely populated provinces of Gilan and Masenderan. The mountain districts of the Elbruz, Dielem and Tabaristan, are to be included among the most important of the Persian provinces, and are also in many ways to be considered a centre of Iranian power. The terraced plains of the interior that extend from

the western mountains and the Elbruz to the steppes, have been cultivated for ages. There stood, and still stand, the most important cities of Iran: Pasargada, Persepolis, Ecbatana, Teheran, Ispahan, and Kashan. It was only during the period of Persian conquest that the seat of the Iranian government was transferred to the West, — to Sufa, on the western slope of the mountains of Chusistan, during the days of the Achæmenidæ, and to Ctesiphon on the Tigris, under the Arsacidæ and Sassanidæ.

As a result of the wars of Alexander the Great, the Persian nation was suddenly cast down from its position of supremacy, and placed under Greek rule. The dominion of the Seleucidæ, who took a prominent position in Western Asia as the heirs of Alexander, also rested upon a Greek foundation, and found its most powerful support in the Hellenised cities of Syria and Mesopotamia; in Persia, strangely enough, the civilization of the Greeks took firmer root in the eastern mountain districts and in Bactria than in the more ancient western provinces of Iran. The Seleucidæ soon recognized the impossibility of holding together their vast empire, and decided to move the centre of government to the West; but by so doing they lost the opportunity of winning over to their side the Iranians, who were once more arising to influence and power. The advanced posts of Greek civilization in Bactria were also of but little avail to them, for the governors of this district did not seek their welfare in establishing connections with the Seleucidæ, but rather in the development of their own powers.

Even during the most gloomy times, the Iranian civilization and religion had not been wanting in a place of refuge. Atropatene, a small Persian State, had all the while preserved its existence in the mountainous country of the northwest, in the neighbourhood of Lake Urumia. This district was either overlooked or intentionally spared during the stormy period of Alexander; for according to all appearances it was no temporal power, but a region sacred to the priest class of Persia, a sort of Iranian ecclesiastical State that Alexander did not venture to destroy. During later times also the country remained undisturbed. An attack by Antiochus III, planned in the year 222, was fortunately avoided through a formal submission; and the priests of the sacred fire were allowed to preserve the traditions of their people in peace until the dawning of a better day.

(*a*) *The Empire of the Parthians under the Arsacidæ.* — This period began with the overthrow of the empire of the Seleucidæ. It is a significant fact that the foundations of the Parthian nation seem not to have been laid by a man of Iranian blood, but by a Turanian, a member of one of the nomadic tribes, of which many had already won for themselves a secure position in the steppe lands of Central Persia. The wandering races are born to dominate; a nation-forming power is inherent in their very nature; and it is also in an intellectual sense that they possess that broad, commanding view which is granted to them by the immeasurable horizon of their steppes. Nevertheless, it is only by acting as a leaven, or ferment, that the nomads produce great effects, as is demonstrated by the history of the Parthians; for wherever a pastoral race breaks into a land in overwhelming numbers, its activity is solely destructive, as Western Asia experienced many times — almost to the total ruin of her civilization. The Turanian ruling house that gained the position of supremacy in Iran had already become conversant with Persian customs and culture before its advance to power; indeed, it consciously

walked in the footsteps of its great Persian forerunners, tracing its origin back to Artaxerxes III, the Achæmenidæan.

The early history of the Parthian Empire was so devoid of interest that the contemporary Greek chroniclers hardly mentioned the affairs of Persia, and have left to us little more than a few bare statements; moreover, since all Parthian kings were known by the name Arsaces on their accession to the throne, many changes in the succession must have taken place, of which we now possess little or no knowledge. It is probable that Arsaces I, the founder of the dynasty, reigned but a short time. In the year 248 B. C. he made way for his brother and successor Arsaces II. Tiridates I, who, profiting by the neglect into which the eastern provinces of Syria had fallen, greatly enlarged his dominions at the expense of the Seleucidæ. Unfortunately the extent of the territory originally occupied by the Parthians is no longer known with certainty. There can be no doubt but that it was situated in the northeastern part of Persia; and that it must have consisted largely of steppes may be inferred from the fact that the bulk of the Parthian army was made up of cavalry. Although the Parthians were not of pure Iranian descent, both the language and civilization of the empire were Persian.

Tiridates I also added to his empire the province of Hyrcania; that included the greater portion of the Khorassan of to-day, and of which the inhabitants were especially nearly related to the Parthians. The rulers of the neighbouring kingdom of Bactria, that remarkable Greek State on Iranian soil, were, naturally enough, at first unfriendly to the new empire. With the assistance of the Bactrian king, Diodotus I, Seleucus Callinicus expelled Tiridates from his kingdom in the year 238; but Diodotus II reversed the policy of his predecessor, joined forces with Tiridates and compelled Callinicus to withdraw. At the end of these wars the Parthian Empire may be looked upon as firmly established.

The mountainous country in the west was also conquered by the Parthians; and the old Medan capital, Ecbatana, likewise came into their possession. The ecclesiastical State of Atropatene entered into a close relationship with the new empire, without, however, becoming merged in it. In later times it even happened that this curious nation of priests at times assumed a position of decided hostility to the Persian rulers (who were never looked upon as true Iranians), and allied itself with the Romans. That Antiochus the Great planned a campaign against Atropatene after crushing the rebellion of the Medan governor Molon (222–220 B. C.) only proved how dangerous this little State had become, now that the Iranians had entered into a conflict with Hellenism, and the religious influence of the priesthood was beginning to transform itself into a political agency. Artavasdes, the governor then in office, escaped the storm through timely submission in 220 B. C. The king of the Parthians, Arsakes III, Artabanus I (214–196), was also compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the Seleucidæ when Antiochus advanced with a powerful army into Iran, and penetrated as far as India in 209; but this acknowledgment was little more than an empty form, and the campaign of Antiochus remained for a long time the last attempt made by the Seleucidæ to maintain their prestige in the East.

The vigorous efforts toward expansion of Antiochus the Great in the West, and the rise of the Bactrian kingdom in the East were great obstacles to the development of the Parthian State. Not until the accession of Arsakes VI, Mithridates I, who came to the throne in the year 174, did circumstances become more

favourable to Parthia. While the empire of the Seleucidæ was in a state of hopeless confusion, Mithridates invaded the western provinces of Iran at the head of his multitudes of horsemen, and advanced into Media and Persis; he next broke through the mountain passes, subdued the Elimaei, who inhabited the southwestern slope of the Iranian mountains, and finally appeared on the broad plain of Mesopotamia — a region that was destined long to remain a field of action for the hordes of mounted Parthians. In the East, also, the decay of Bactrian power furnished an opportunity for entering into a successful war, as result of which Bactria lost several provinces, and finally acknowledged the sovereignty of the Parthian king. An attempt to reconquer Western Iran, made by Demetrius II Nicator, terminated in the capture of the Syrian king, B. C. 139. Mithridates gave Demetrius the hand of his daughter in marriage, and then endeavoured to place him upon the throne of the Seleucidæ as a vassal of the Parthians. Although this effort to extend the influence of Parthia failed, the Seleucidæ were unsuccessful in winning back their lost provinces; the vast army that Antiochus VII assembled in the year 130 was attacked and for the greater part destroyed at its winter quarters in Mesopotamia, almost without assistance from the Parthians, by the non-military inhabitants of western Iran. With this event the period of wars between the Seleucidæ and the Parthians ended. The former contented themselves with their western provinces until they were overcome by the Romans; the latter were soon obliged to defend themselves against new enemies.

The two endangered frontiers of the Persian Empire have already been mentioned: the western, that bordered on the European and later on the Arabian sphere of civilization, and the northeastern, along which the troops of Iran held constant watch against the nomadic races of the Central Asian steppes. Once more a violent storm whirled through Khorassan, the eastern gateway of the empire. Arsakes VII, Phraates II, who, as successor to Mithridates, continued the struggle with Syria, obtained troops of Scythian, that is to say, Turkish horsemen for the reinforcement of his army. The Turks, however, arrived too late on the scene of warfare, and were told that they would have to return to their Turanian home without receiving either pay or plunder. This was most displeasing to the Scythians; they forthwith attacked the Parthians, who sought to strengthen their army by enrolling among their ranks the prisoners captured during the campaign against Antiochus. In the midst of the struggle the prisoners of war went over to the side of the Scythians. The Parthians took to flight, and King Phraates was slain on the field of battle (127 B. C.). It is true that the Scythians, laden with booty, now returned to their native steppes; but their disappearance was followed by a new and still more serious invasion of the nomads.

Another great movement had taken place among the Central Asian races — a movement similar to the many that were constantly recurring in this measureless region. The nomadic tribes of the Yuetshi, a Turkish-Mongolian mixed race, driven from their homes in the north of China by the Hiung-Nu at the beginning of the second century B. C., had thrown themselves upon the regions lying to the south, but were again dislodged and driven still farther southward by the Usun, a race that had likewise been disturbed by the Hiung-Nu. After marching through the plains of Turkistan, the Yuetshi finally descended upon the eastern provinces of Iran, and took possession of the kingdom of Bactria, about the year 126 B. C. Thus the Parthian Empire also was threatened by a formidable enemy on its very borders.

The danger was not so easily to be warded off as had been the case before during the attack of the Scythians, for the Yuetshi soon succeeded in firmly establishing their power, and by conquering the northern valley of the Indus as well as a portion of Turkistan, secured for their ends the assistance of populous territories. The life-long endeavour of Arsakes III, Mithridates II, perhaps the most able of all the Parthian kings, was to subdue the Yuetshi, and also to force back the Scythians, who had again attempted to take possession of the western provinces of Iran. In the West, the activities of Mithridates were necessarily limited; but it speaks volumes for his political sagacity that he sought to extend the influence of Parthia over the rising nation of Armenia.

On the death of Mithridates II, in the year 76 B. C., it soon became apparent that the wars in the East had not only weakened the Parthian Empire, but had also endangered its position in the West. The kings of Armenia, in pursuance of their newly instituted policy of expansion, took possession of northern Mesopotamia, and even of the sacred State of Atropatene, and with the latter they also obtained a certain political influence over the whole of Iran. Tigranes, king of Armenia, at that time considered his power sufficiently great to warrant the assumption of the title, "King of Kings," which, as a highly valued inheritance of Achæmidæan times, had descended to the Parthian Arkasidæ; in other words, Armenia made preparations for supplanting the Parthians in their leadership of the Iranian nation. Tigranes, however, soon became entangled in the wars of Mithridates, king of Pontus, against Rome and lost his kingdom. When Pompey took control of the affairs of Roman Western Asia, there were repeated disputes with Arsakes XII, Phraates III, king of Parthia, who laid claim to the Euphrates as the western boundary of his dominions; but the moderation of the Romans and the internal disorders that followed the assassination of Phraates by his son Mithridates III, Orodes, prevented the outbreak of a serious conflict. The attempts of the Parthians to regain possession of the provinces that had also been torn from them by Armenia led to no open warfare. In the year 54 B. C. the civil war in Parthia came to an end; and Orodes, now sole ruler, was in a position to enter into the first great struggle with the Roman Empire.

That Rome was unable to gain a permanent success in this war, and that the Roman legions failed to make their way to India across the mountainous frontiers of Western Iran, following in the footsteps of Alexander, are facts of vast historical significance. The civilization of the western world which had once been borne by Alexander as far as the Indus, was destined for more than a thousand years to be cut off from all contact with the world of the East; for the small flame of Greek culture that shed its feeble rays over Bactria counted for little and was soon extinguished. It is true that Greek art lived on in India for many years longer; but it finally became degenerate and lost all resemblance to its former self in the hands of the Hindoos. It is also true that the teachings of Indian sages were echoed in the western world of esoteric sects and schools of philosophy, but the mutual labour of civilization was completely broken off. Persia was no mere physical barrier through which at least the rays of intellectual life could penetrate; broad and massive it lay between the worlds of the East and West, exulting in its isolation and independence, above all in its religion, the believers in which beheld in pagan Greeks no less than in Christians, Brahmans, and Buddhists only enemies worthy of hatred. The isolation of the Persian Empire proved in the long run to be any-

thing but a blessing to the Iranian people. Even the literature of Persia did not begin to flourish until the Arabian conquest had broken down all barriers and temporarily united Western Asia under the banner of the prophet.

Commerce also was hindered in performing its labour of civilization in Iran. The fault certainly did not lie in any want of commercial enterprise among the Persians; on the contrary, they had been celebrated as merchants from the very earliest times, and during the age of the Parthians also they tenaciously held fast to their important monopoly of Chinese silk. It is much more probable that the trouble lay in an excess rather than a lack of the commercial spirit, whereby the Persians were led to assume the profitable and secure rôle of middlemen, and hence found it advantageous to put a stop to all direct trade between the different peoples of their neighbourhood. Thus it happened that although the products of India, Central Asia, and even of China were to be found in the markets of Mesopotamia, it was only in the rarest instances that Roman merchants succeeded in traversing Parthia and in bringing back to their native city news of the lands that lay far beyond to the East, or that the Persians themselves paid a visit to the West.

When the Parthian Empire first made its preparations for war with the Romans, no one would have ventured to prophesy that the power of Rome would be unable to penetrate beyond the Tigris, or that the Euphrates was destined to become the eastern boundary line of Latin influence. The land ruled by the kings of Parthia was great and populous, it is true; but it was possessed of small unity, being rather a conglomerate of small and more or less independent kingdoms held together only by the iron hand of the emperor and a common religious belief. Everywhere, especially in the mountainous districts, small dynasties had been preserved, some of which had originated as far back as the times of the Achæmenidæ; and inasmuch as every conqueror had been contented with a merely formal acknowledgment of supremacy, they had for the most part retained their independence throughout the storms of the Alexandrian period. These minor princes, to whom their own subjects were far more loyal than to the distant emperor, played an important rôle in the struggle between the Seleucidæ and the Parthians for the possession of the mountain regions of Western Iran. In the wars with the Romans, however, they took a less prominent part, because the scene of conflict lay farther to the West in the Mesopotamian plain.

The most distinguished of the lesser dynasties — one, moreover, that was frequently independent of Persia — was the Armenian. In this, as in several other instances, the Arsacidæ had succeeded in placing a member of their own family upon the throne. It is worthy of note that in Eastern Persia also, after the government had been overthrown by the Yuetshi, Arsacidæan dynasties soon came to the front again and acknowledged the sovereignty of the Parthian emperor. Unfortunately we have but little exact information in regard to these occurrences; nevertheless, it appears to be certain that the same course of events took place here as has so often come about in other regions, especially in China. The native population, owing to the superiority of their civilization, succeeded in despoiling the conquerors not only of their national character, but also of their dominion, so that it finally became an easy matter for the Parthians to overthrow the feeble government of the foreigners, and through the installation of a branch of the house of the Arsacidæ, once more to unite the eastern provinces to Western Iran. It was no doubt owing to this event that the Parthian kings were enabled to oppose the Romans with the undivided strength of their empire.

There was also another small Arsacidæan kingdom in Persia; but of this our knowledge is very indefinite. It appears that on their accession to power the family of the Arsacidæ came to an understanding as to the division of the spoils. One branch obtained the imperial dignity, and the others were granted semi-independent dominions, most of which were situated in the northern part of Persia, in conformity with the location of the earliest possessions of the Parthians. Certain hereditary offices also seem to have been given to the relatives of the imperial family, for example, the Suraship, a bearer of which title (Σουρήνας) commanded the forces sent against Crassus in the year 53 B. C. The Sura was also possessed of other important functions, and his title seemed to signify both an office and a family name, somewhat in the way that the name Arsaces (*Arsaka*, *Arsak*) was adopted by all the emperors as a title as well as a surname. In general, the relatives of the ruling dynasty must have been a firm support to the emperor; at all events they were much more loyal than the princes of the imperial line itself, whose position was so temptingly near to the throne that they must often enough have endeavoured to usurp the prerogatives of the emperor.

The effects of the loose union of the Parthian Empire were also visible in its badly organised army, in the efficiency of which there had not been the least improvement since the times of the Achæmenidæ. The lessons of the wars of Alexander had fallen upon barren soil. On the outbreak of a conflict the separate nations of the empire were called upon to furnish their quotas of irregular horsemen, who assembled in helpless masses, differing greatly from one another in armament as well as in methods of battle, loosely united through the influence of the general in command or the emperor, and ever ready to scatter in wild flight on the death of their leader. There is also but little to be said in favour of the Iranian infantry. The strength of the army lay in the organised cavalry, consisting mainly of Turanian mercenaries, and it was before these horsemen that the Roman legions, for all their uniformity of equipment, and their magnificent tactics and discipline, were constantly compelled to retreat. Archers, who overwhelmed the opposing forces with a hail of arrows, formed the bulk of the Parthian cavalry, and behind them rode heavily armed lancers, ready at any moment to break through the weakened ranks of the enemy. It was fortunate for the Parthians that the decisive battles against Rome were fought on the plain of Mesopotamia, where the hordes of Iranian cavalry found an unlimited place of exercise, and a field well adapted to their peculiar methods of fighting. The effects of the heavy blows dealt by the well-tried Roman legions were completely lost on the endless plain, and the clumsy pilum and short sword were useless against the scattered Parthian squadrons, that, fleeing before the legions, poured back upon them a storm of lances and arrows, and returning from all sides, surged over the awkward masses of Roman infantry, as storm-tossed waves dash over a sinking ship. The hot sun that beat down upon the arid plain was the best ally of the Parthians, for it placed many a body of hostile troops almost defenceless in their hands, and proved but a small obstacle to the movements of their desert-bred horses. Thus, it was with true nomadic weapons that the Parthians fought and conquered in a region thoroughly adapted to their national methods of warfare.

However, the Romans were not completely lacking in allies. There were still remains of former civilization and abundance to be seen in Mesopotamia along the banks of the rivers. After the conquest of Alexander, a number of towns and

cities were founded there by the Greeks, the inhabitants of which in later times were by no means inclined to acknowledge the supremacy of the rude Parthian emperors. As long as the Seleucidæ ruled over Mesopotamia, these cities had been the firmest support of their power — indeed it seemed then that the whole land would be Hellenised and permanently united to the culture of the West. After the downfall of the Seleucidæ, the Romans became the representatives of the western world. It is true that they were less sympathetic to the Greeks than the Seleucidæ had been; nevertheless, they were far more acceptable to them than the hated Iranian races. That the Romans were able to establish themselves at least in the northern provinces of Mesopotamia, was due in a large measure to the influence of the Greek cities.

As soon as Romans and Parthians had become close neighbours, a conflict was only a question of time. Julius Cæsar himself looked upon war as inevitable. Nevertheless, the outbreak of the first struggle was due entirely to minor considerations. M. Licinius Crassus was elected consul for the second time in the year 55 B. C., and received from the senate a commission to restore order in the eastern provinces. This important but comparatively humble task promised as little gratification to his ambition as it did plunder to his greed for possessions. Moreover, his being sent to Asia was little more than a compensation granted to him by his allies, Cæsar and Pompey, in return for the pitiful part he had already played elsewhere. However, he now resolved to make the most of his opportunities. The deeds of Lucullus, who had returned from Asia with boundless treasure, awakened in the vain man a spirit of rivalry, and it was not long before his lively imagination presented to his eyes a vista of a campaign even greater than that of Alexander.

Affairs were not entirely unfavourable to Crassus when he first arrived in Western Asia. The struggle for the Parthian succession between Arsakes XIII and Arsakes XIV had just been brought to an end by the assassination of the former, and the new emperor had as yet scarcely time for seating himself firmly on the throne. King Artabasus I (Artavazd) of Armenia voluntarily allied himself with the Romans; and the Mesopotamian cities welcomed Crassus as a liberator. But the consul was unable to take advantage of his position. To be sure he crossed the Euphrates in the year 53, without making a very deep search for a pretext, won several victories over the surprised Parthians, and occupied a number of cities that offered but little opposition; but in the autumn he recrossed the river in order to seek more comfortable winter quarters, and left the conquered cities under the protection of disproportionately feeble garrisons. The Parthians took advantage of this laxity, and collecting their forces marched against the Romans.

The two armies met not far from the city of Charran (Carrhæ), on the river Bilikh. The Romans were able to effect little or nothing with their short swords in face of the showers of arrows that were shot into the closely formed legions from all sides as they toiled painfully onward in the hot rays of the sun. After a contest that lasted for two days, the remnants of the Roman army took refuge behind the walls of Charran. Crassus was treacherously put to death whilst negotiating with the Parthian general, and his troops were soon forced to lay down their arms (June 9, 53 B. C.). This unlucky campaign cost the Romans more than thirty thousand of their best soldiers, of whom about ten thousand were taken prisoner by the Parthians, and sent to the eastern provinces of Iran. But the

Parthians did not follow up the victory, and so lost its natural fruits, Mesopotamia alone falling into their hands. They also failed to reap any advantages from the wars between Cæsar and Pompey, although the latter had prevailed upon them to become his allies. Cæsar's plan to invade Iran was only shattered by his assassination in the year 44. On the whole the Parthian successes amounted to very little indeed; everywhere they had been foiled by the stubborn valour of the Romans.

Yet Antony's expedition (35 B. C.) was entirely unsuccessful. He intended to avoid a battle on the Mesopotamian plain, and by invading the mountainous districts of Iran thought to avail himself of the superiority of his infantry. But he neglected to make proper arrangements for provisioning his vast army. When he had advanced as far as Atropatene, he began to lay siege to the city of Phraspa with insufficient war materials at his disposal, and was soon obliged to retreat and to seek refuge in Armenia, after suffering severe losses. The faithlessness of the Armenians, who did not send the promised reinforcements, contributed not a little to the defeat of the Romans, who soon afterward led away the Armenian king, Artavasdes, a prisoner to Alexandria (30 B. C.). Shortly after the retreat of Antony the king of Media and Phraates IV quarrelled, and as a result the repulse of the Romans led to no further Parthian successes. Antony was even able to form an alliance with the Medes.

During the following years Phraates IV was fully occupied in maintaining his position on the throne, and consequently he treated the Romans with great deference. In the year 20 B. C. Cæsar Augustus received back from the Parthians the captured insignia and the prisoners of war, to the general satisfaction of the Roman people. Neither Phraates nor his incapable successor took any important part in the Armenian-Roman wars. Several Parthian princes were educated in Rome, not, however, to their advantage; for when one of them, Vonones I, became emperor, his preference for Latin institutions made him so unpopular that he was soon forced to abdicate in favour of a rival, Arsakes XIX, Artabanus III, in the year 16 A. D. Artabanus was scarcely more successful than his predecessor; his endeavours to reconquer Armenia failed. A powerful party of his own subjects rose against him with the assistance of the Romans, and finally drove him into the eastern provinces. On his return he concluded a treaty with the Emperor Caligula, was once more obliged to flee, but nevertheless died as emperor A. D. 40. The civil war continued under his successors also, and disturbances in Armenia and in the East caused the empire to tremble to its very foundations. In the years 58–60 the Romans and Parthians were once more on such good terms that they finally succeeded in bringing the Armenian question to a peaceful issue. The Parthian prince Tiridates went to Rome in 62, and was there ceremoniously invested with the sovereignty of Armenia, as a dependency of the Roman Empire.

The decay of the Parthian Empire made further progress during the years immediately following. It is obvious that the Parthian people became less and less energetic, and that the isolated Iranian provinces and principalities gradually gained in independence; indeed, at one time the empire seemed to have been divided into several independent States. Rome, surfeited with conquest, was no longer able to send forth the colonial expeditions that had once disseminated her power and culture over almost the entire known world; for Italy, the centre of the empire, had long been drained of its population. For many years the emperors showed no inclination to take advantage of the disturbances in the Parthian

Empire. Trajan was the first to resume the policy of conquest of the age of the Cæsars, and the affairs of Armenia once more furnished a pretext. The great weakness of the Parthian Empire was shown by the feeble resistance offered by the emperor of the period, Arsakes XXVI, Khosrū I; in fact, scarcely any opposition was encountered except that of the minor princes of the frontiers, when Trajan, after the conquest of Northern Mesopotamia, crossed the Tigris, and then, with the aid of a rapidly constructed flotilla, advanced as far south as Ctesiphon, capturing the golden throne of the Parthian emperors, and even penetrated as far as the Persian Gulf in the year 116. Serious disturbances in the newly conquered region rendered it necessary for the victorious emperor to withdraw his forces after having ceremoniously — but of course fruitlessly — appointed a Parthian prince as ruler in his stead.

The death of Trajan in 117 brought his unsuccessful undertaking to an end. Hadrian, his successor, hastened to recall the Roman troops from Armenia and from beyond the Euphrates, and thus re-established the old boundary line. Hadrian realised that the days of great conquest were past. Not until the time of Marcus Aurelius — when the Parthian king Arsakes XXVIII, Volagases III (Valagas, 148–191), once more began the struggle with Rome, but after early successes received a terrific defeat and was even compelled to evacuate Ctesiphon — was Mesopotamia permanently occupied, and the boundary of the Roman Empire pushed forward to the upper Tigris. Some of the lesser princes of the Parthian frontier became entangled in the Roman wars of the succession, and as a result Severus opened a campaign that ended in Ctesiphon once more being conquered and looted in 198. The wretched condition of the Parthian Empire finally enticed Caracella also to seek for easily won laurels through a treacherous attack on the unsuspecting Emperor Arsakes XXXI in 216. Artabanus V, Macrinus, the next Parthian emperor, was obliged to content himself with the possession of Mesopotamia. Shortly afterward a complete change took place in the affairs of the Iranian Empire, when the dynasty of the Arsacidæ was supplanted by the house of the Sassanidæ.

(*b*) *The Sassânidæ.* — It is greatly to be regretted that even the western side of Parthia is but dimly illumined by history, while the interior of the country and the eastern provinces have ever remained hidden in profound darkness. Aside from the weakness of the emperors and the great losses of population sustained by the Parthian nation during its constant wars, we have no certain knowledge of what the more immediate causes of the change of dynasty may have been. The new dynasty of the Sassanidæ was beyond all doubt — as indeed became evident in later times — a more genuine representative of the Iranian race than the Turanian Arsacidæ, who must ever have appeared as foreigners to the Aryan Iranians. That the downfall of the Arsacidæ betokened a more or less conscious return to the ancient Iranian spirit was shown by the great importance attached by the Sassanide rulers to questions of religion and unity of belief. The religion of Zoroaster was exclusively a creation of Iranian intellectual life and the true palladium of that ancient portion of the Iranian race which had long ago settled in the land of Persia. In their relations to the Romans the early Parthian emperors had never shown the slightest inclination toward religious propaganda; on the other hand, the Sassanidæ were fanatical defenders of their faith.

The fact that the Iranian people became more and more enthusiastic in regard to their ancient religion, proved only that they, too, were unable to escape the general tendency of the times. Questions of faith were not only becoming more and more prominent, but were also gradually being transformed into elements of political power. It was during this period that Christianity was beginning to shake the spiritual life of the ancient world to its very foundations; and the waves of this movement had already begun to flow over the frontiers of Iran. If the new religion had struck firm root in Persia, if it had finally won the victory over the worship of fire, then there would have been an end to the isolation of Persia. Iran would have become a member of the western civilized world, just as in later days it became a portion of the Mohammedan Empire. The Jewish religion had already penetrated into Persia. There were large colonies of Hebrews in Babylon; and about the year 57 B. C. the king of Adiabene, a dependency of Parthia, within which was included a portion of ancient Assyria, became a convert to the Jewish faith. Toward the end of the first century Christianity had begun to spread over Mesopotamia, and the first Christian missionaries must also have appeared at that time in the highlands of Iran. The priests of Zoroaster were inflamed with anger when they beheld the advance of the new doctrine that diminished their sphere of power in the West, while in the East, Buddhism had been at work for centuries in undermining the pillars of their faith. The downfall of the Parthian princes, who had looked upon matters of religion with indifference, may perhaps have come about indirectly owing to the influence of the priests; certainly there is no doubt but that the dynastic change was most welcome to the latter. The very first of the Sassanide rulers appears in history as a religious fanatic, whose accession was especially dreaded by the Jews, and who almost immediately after coming to the throne issued several edicts commanding the suppression of the Hebrew faith. During the following years the Zoroastrian religion became one of the chief means for attaining imperial unity. Its diffusion was the highest duty of the ruler; and the sacred fire remained a symbol of the exclusive and isolated Iranian nationality until it was finally quenched by the waves of Mohammedan conquest.

The founder of the Sassanidæan dynasty, Ardishir Babekan (Artaxerxes, son of Babek), was born in Persis, the centre of ancient Iran; his family claimed descent from a mythical ancestor, Sasan, and for that reason possessed a hereditary right of priesthood. His father Babek seems to have founded a small kingdom in Persis and to have seized the territories of various other lesser rulers, an occurrence by no means rare during the latter days of the Parthian Empire. Although Ardishir vigorously continues his father's policy of territorial expansion, Artabanus V (who died in 224) permitted him to pursue his way in peace. Finally, however, his growing power and the hopes which the Iranian priesthood set in the upstart prince rendered it necessary for the "King of Kings" to take hostile measures against his unruly vassal. But it was already too late; Ardishir conquered and put to death Volagases V, the last of the Arsacidæ, on the plain of Hormujan in the year 227.

It was not long before Ardishir was acknowledged as King of Kings by the western provinces of Iran as well as by Armenia; and the East also soon became subject to his rule, the surviving Arsacide princes taking refuge in India. Other branches of the family of the Arsacidæ became reconciled to the new emperor and

retained their provinces. A new feature entered Persian history with the appearance of the first of the Sassanidæ. The ancient traditions of the Achæmenidæan period were once more brought into prominence, and the consciousness of national unity greatly developed. Ardishir had scarcely founded his empire when he immediately directed his attention toward the West, sent a pretentious embassy to the Romans, and demanded that they should cede to him entire Western Asia. Soon afterward he sought to regain the lost provinces in Mesopotamia by force of arms. This was in the year 230. War with the Persians, as the Iranians were once more called in the West, now that the ancient ruling nation had again risen to power, became inevitable — whether welcome or otherwise to the Emperor Alexander Severus. The first campaign, fought in the year 231, was indecisive. In the interior of Persia, however, the culture of Iran was awakened to fresh life, and received the full support of the triumphant priesthood. New towns were founded, schools and temples arose on all sides, the judicial system and the army were thoroughly reformed. Everywhere were evidences of a new development of the true Iranian spirit apparent; and it was not long before the nation deemed itself sufficiently strong once more resolutely to enforce its old claims on the sovereignty of Western Asia.

The period of the Persian-Roman wars began with the accession of Shapur I (Sapor), who came to the throne on the death of his father, Artaxerxes I, in the year 241. The first campaign opened in 242; Shapur advanced as far as Antioch, and after several severe engagements had been fought, was forced back to the river Tigris. The Emperor Gordian ceded Armenia and Mesopotamia to the Persians in order to avoid further conflict with a dangerous opponent during a time when serious disturbances were taking place in Rome. The two empires remained at peace with one another until 258, when the Persian king again invaded Syria, took the emperor Valerian prisoner together with his army in 260, captured Antioch, and returned triumphantly to his country with an immense quantity of plunder. The rising power of the Palmyran king, Odenathus, who declared war on Persia and advanced as far as the gates of Ctesiphon, saved Syria from further invasions; for after the foray of the Palmyrans Shapur was no longer in a position to make war on Rome.

The general state of affairs in his own country may also have diverted the attention of Shapur — an enthusiastic believer in the religion of Zoroaster — from matters of foreign policy. As with all the great religions of the world, imitations and degenerate cults were constantly cropping out among the Zoroastrians. An attempt was made to combine the Iranian faith with Christian and Hebrew elements and thus to create a new and uniform belief. The leader of the new movement was Manes, the founder of the Manichæan sect, whose first appearance probably took place in the year 238. Various accounts have been preserved of his relations to Shapur. It is probable that the emperor, who died in 272, although at first disposed to treat the Manichæans with tolerance, was finally induced by the orthodox priesthood to take steps toward suppressing the sect. Manes fled to the East, and on his return to Persia in the year 274 was seized and executed by the son of Shapur, Varanes I (Bahram), and his followers were dispersed. Thus the danger of a split in the national religion of Persia was avoided. Iran preserved its own character, but became isolated from all other nations, and in the future was obliged to depend entirely on its own resources.

There is little to be said about the immediate successors of Shapur, many of whom remained but a short time upon the throne. The war begun by the Emperor Carus in the year 283, simply because the disturbances in the kingdom of the Sassanidæ seemed to present a favourable opportunity for an invasion, came to an end on the sudden death of the Roman emperor, after his army had advanced as far as Ctesiphon. The campaign of Diocletian in the year 297 was more successful; after being defeated in one battle the Romans won a brilliant victory over the Sassanide king Narses. A peace favourable to Rome followed. Armenia became a Roman dependency, and several districts beyond the Tigris were surrendered to the victors.

The confusion in Persia did not come to an end until the accession of Shapur II, who ruled from 309–380. His was a truly Oriental government: a born leader of armies at the head of the State. The wars with Rome, now under Constantine, continued, but with little positive result; the first period ended with a futile siege of Nisibis (Mygdonia), the Roman stronghold of Eastern Mesopotamia, in the year 350. When the struggle broke out anew in 359, Shapur captured the strongly fortified town of Amida after a long and severe contest. The death of Constantine was followed by the accession of Julian the Apostate, who also resolved to walk in the footsteps of Alexander the Great. He set out from Antioch with a well-tried army, and without encountering any great difficulties arrived before Ctesiphon in the year 363; however, he was soon obliged to withdraw his forces owing to a lack of supplies, pursued by the main body of Shapur's cavalry. Shortly afterward Julian was mortally wounded in a battle, and his successor, Jovian, whom the soldiers had elected from their midst, was compelled to make peace on humiliating terms in order to save his army from annihilation. Shapur recovered Eastern Mesopotamia together with Mygdonia, and thus in possession of a favourable strategic position, was enabled once more to turn his attention to Armenia.

Armenia was the chief scene of the religious-political struggle that was then taking place along the entire western frontier of the Persian Empire; it was a struggle between Christianity and Fire-worship, Roman influence against Persian. When on the accession of Constantine the Great, victory was assured to the Christians in the Roman Empire, the rulers of Armenia and Iberia hastened openly to adopt the Christian faith, naturally not without encountering opposition from the adherents of the older religion, who immediately endeavoured to win the support of the Persians, while the Christians looked to Rome for protection. Even the influence of Julian the Apostate was insufficient to prevent the struggle between Persia and Rome from becoming more and more of a religious war; and, as a result, it followed that until its downfall the Persian Empire, in spite of many brilliant successes, was always on the defensive, never once appearing as a conquering nation. The sweeping victory of Christianity in the West rendered it impossible for the Iranian faith permanently to keep pace with the Persian dominion in Armenia and Mesopotamia. The Iranian emperors had to content themselves with the persecutions of the Christians, begun by Shapur II, and thus at least to ward off the danger from their own territories in the East. The diffusion of Christianity in the West was therefore the fundamental reason why the victorious expeditions of the Persians into Roman territory remained so unfruitful; in effect they were little more than sorties from a besieged fortress, or invasions of robbers on a large scale; they were certainly not wars of conquest. After a long struggle that

kept him actively employed until the end of his days, Shapur succeeded in establishing Persian rule in Armenia; but he was unable to do away with the Christian religion. Under his successors it was finally agreed that Armenia should be divided into two parts, one Roman and the other Persian, each of which was to be ruled by a native prince (388). We have little definite knowledge of the war in which Shapur was engaged on the northeastern frontier of his kingdom. It is certain, however, that the Persians had to keep a sharp lookout on the nomads of Central Asia, whose frequent migrations were a constant source of danger to the civilization of Iran.

Of the immediate successors of Shapur, the most distinguished was Yesdigerd I (399–420), called by his subjects "the Bad," who at first seemed to lean toward the Christian faith, but during his later years became an orthodox believer in the religion of Zoroaster, and a fanatical persecutor of the Christians. In consequence of Yesdigerd's barbarity, war was declared by the Romans, and continued through the second year of the reign of his successor, Bahram V (420–438). On the other hand, the Oriental accounts of an alleged conflict of Bahram with the Emperor of China are wholly without foundation, and were no doubt derived from an exaggerated report of one of the frequent border wars against Turanian nomads. It is almost certain that during this period the northeastern boundary of the Persian Empire was pushed out further and further into Transoxania, and that the Persians were actively engaged in diffusing their culture and religion among the Turanians, endeavouring to subdue them by the same method that was employed with such marked success by China on her nomadic neighbours. During the Arabian conquest a small nation of Zoroastrians was discovered in the Bokhara of to-day; it bravely resisted the advance of the Moslems, and must at one time have been an advanced post of Persian civilization in the land of the Mongols.

The Persian emperors were soon compelled to turn their attention to the passes of the Caucasus also; troops of Huns and Scythians had already broken through into Iran, for the inhabitants of Caucasia either could not or would not check their advance. The most important event of the reign of Yesdigerd II (442–459) was the occupation and fortification of the passes of Derbent, near the Caspian Sea. Unfortunately the emperor also permitted himself to be drawn into an attempt to crush the Christians in Armenia, which led only to ruinous wars and remained without permanent result. The Persian kings were well aware of the importance of maintaining their position in the Caucasus; the Emperor Peroses even requested contributions from the Byzantines for the support of the mountain garrisons, for the reason that the closing of the passes was to the interest of Persians and Romans alike. Peroses successfully made war on the nomads, who advanced from the west of the Caspian Sea; but he encountered great difficulty in subduing the Cushans and the Hephtalitæ, who had established a kingdom in Turania, losing his life during the struggle in the year 484.

The period of Kobad I, who occupied the throne from 488–531, was remarkable in many respects. During his reign there developed a new reforming sect of the Fire-worshippers, who were at first favoured by him, but who subsequently involved the empire in serious complications. Although a change in the orthodox belief had been avoided through the suppression of the Manichæans, nevertheless the practical lesson taught by the development of Christianity had produced an effect which was only the more powerful because concealed. The orthodox priesthood became more and more unpopular as time passed; and, as is almost invariably the case in

popular revolutionary movements, extreme political and social opinions were united with thoughts of religious reform; finally both tendencies found their most definite expression in the doctrines of Mazdak. The religious principles of the reformer, which were in the main a continuation of Manichæan ideals, were far less radical than his plans for a social revolution, of which the fundamental idea, a community of goods — even of wives — was received with the utmost enthusiasm by the people. For a time Kobad seems to have regarded the new doctrines as an excellent means for combating the feudalism into which his empire had fallen, and the overwhelming influence of the priesthood; it was not until later that he learned to his sorrow that communism is not precisely the best foundation upon which to build up an Oriental despotism. Mazdak no doubt meant well; but his methods of improvement were adapted only to the capacities of model citizens and deteriorated greatly in the hands of his followers. The enemies of reform took advantage of the first opportunity offered them for bringing about a successful reactionary movement. Kobad himself was imprisoned and for several years deprived of all share in the government. Finally, with the assistance of a tribe of nomads, he succeeded in recovering his crown, but was obliged to repeal all laws which had been framed in accordance with the views of Mazdak.

Kobad's second period of rule was chiefly occupied by wars with the Romans, in which he found a good means for diverting the attention of his people from domestic affairs. For the first war the refusal of Rome to pay the customary contributions toward fortifying the passes of the Caucasus furnished a satisfactory pretext. After their quarrel was settled, a second soon followed. During the very last days of his life Kobad was compelled once more to lead an army to the West, this time in order to maintain the influence of Persia over Lasistan, an important South Caucasian kingdom, whose prince had become a convert to Christianity and consequently an ally of the Byzantine Empire.

After the death of Kobad the usual quarrels as to the succession arose, and finally ended in 531 with the accession of Khosrū I, Anushirvan (Χοσρόης: "with immortal soul"), whom Kobad had looked upon as the most capable of his sons. Khosrū was a champion of the ancient Persian spirit, a friend of the priest class, and an irreconcilable enemy of the reformers of the school of Mazdak, who had chosen one of his numerous brothers as their candidate for emperor. During his reign the Persian Empire attained to the height of its splendour; indeed, the government of Khosrū I, "the Just," was both equitable and powerful. But it must not be forgotten that it also signified the final victory of conservatism and the cessation of all development. Nor did the brilliant feats of arms accomplished by Khosrū alter this fact, of which the results were, one hundred years later, suddenly to become manifest with most disastrous effects to the Persian Empire.

One of Khosrū's first acts was to make peace with the Romans, who agreed to pay a large contribution toward the fortification of the Caucasian passes, which the Persian emperor began anew on a great scale; the Byzantines, however, retained Lasistan. In addition to strengthening the Caucasus, Khosrū also sought to fortify the north-eastern frontier of his empire by constructing a great wall after the Chinese model, at the same time substantiating his old claims to a portion of North-western India by force of arms. But he soon turned his attention again to the West; for during the reign of Justinian I, the Byzantine Empire had suddenly awakened to new life, overthrowing the dominion of the Vandals in Africa

and annihilating the Goths in Italy. The impression made by these events on the Christian inhabitants of his kingdom was alone sufficient to cause Khosrū to take measures of defence, and of all defensive measures, the very best, according to the opinions of the Persians, was a sudden campaign of aggression. Consequently, war against the Romans followed in the spring of 540, without being preceded by the conventional declaration. The Romans had no army with which to fight the Persians, and Khosrū, who did not entertain any thoughts of permanent conquest, plundered as many Syrian towns as possible during a short campaign, and exacted from others exorbitant ransoms. He also captured Antioch, which was very badly defended, and refused to return to his own dominions until a large sum of money had been paid to him by the Byzantines, and an annual tribute promised. During the next few years he met with less success, and in 545 a peace was concluded.

In Lasistan, however, the war with the Romans still continued; for Khosrū was most anxious to acquire possession of this country, which extended as far as the Black Sea, and he even formed a scheme of building a fleet there, in order to attack Constantinople by water; on the other hand, the Romans considered themselves to be the natural allies of the Christian inhabitants of Lasistan, and looked upon the province itself as a bulwark of defence against the encroachments of the tribes of the Caucasus, as well as of the Scythians and Huns, who were ever lying in wait beyond the mountain wall. The struggle ended disastrously for the Persians, and Lasistan was surrendered to the Byzantines in the year 556. During the last few years of this war the attention of Khosrū had been chiefly directed to Central Asia, where affairs had once more assumed a threatening aspect. The kingdom of the Hephtalitæ had fallen before the attack of the Turks, who burst forth from Eastern Turkistan in 555, and founded a powerful empire in Transoxania. Owing to the skilful diplomacy of Khosrū, Persia escaped the consequences of this storm, and was itself able to take part in the sharing of the plunder.

During the following years there were no further military operations on the western frontier; but the spiritual war between Christianity and Fire-worship still continued. That Khosrū was greatly interested in the religious life of Western Asia was proved by his interference in the affairs of Yemen, whither Christianity had penetrated through the agency of the Abyssinians. With the help of a Persian army the latter were driven out of Arabia in 575; and a Persian protectorate, which lasted until the time of Mohammed, was established in the south-western part of the peninsula. Toward the end of the reign of Khosrū war broke out anew with Rome; Persian troops advanced as far as Antioch, and a number of indecisive battles were fought in Armenia.

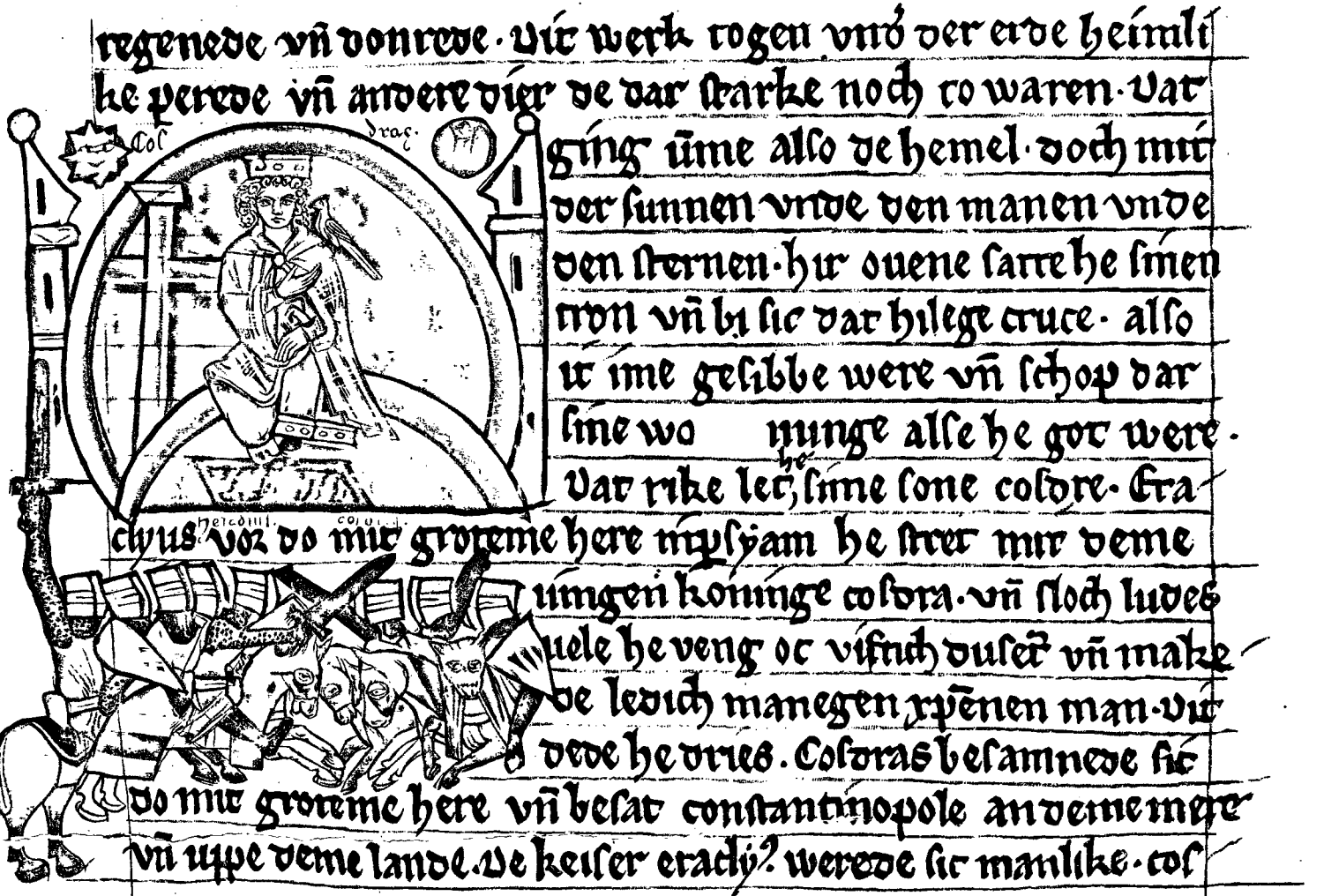
Under Khosrū's successor, Hormizd IV, 573–590, the boundary dispute continued. One of the results of this constant state of war was that the Persians dethroned their emperor, who was most unpopular and apparently of disordered intellect. His son, Khosrū II, was installed in his place, but was straightway compelled by Bahram, a general who had risen in revolt, to flee the country. With the help of the Byzantines—who were, of course, well paid for their good offices—Khosrū II finally succeeded in expelling the usurper from his provinces. But the friendly relations with Byzantium were not of long duration; in fact, an insurrection that broke out in Constantinople gave Khosrū (Aparvez, "the

KHOSRŪ II.

In the year 612 after the birth of our Lord, Heraclius came to the throne and reigned twenty-seven years. . . . In these times King Khosrū of Persia captured Damascus and Carthage, and brought the Roman Empire into great extremity. He also conquered Jerusalem, took the sacred cross,* and carried it off with him to Persia. This Khosrū was so arrogant that he said he was God ; he commanded also that men should worship him as a god. He harassed Christendom, and burnt down churches and monasteries. The Emperor Heraclius then sent word to him, demanding that he should make peace. This seemed contemptible to King Khosrū, and he answered that if he (Heraclius) would deny Christ, then he should have peace. He caused a contrivance like the heavens to be made with great cunning out of gold and silver and precious stones ; in it he placed the sun and moon and the stars, and arranged that it should rain and thunder therefrom. This contrivance was set into motion by horses concealed under the ground, and by other animals strong enough for the purpose. It revolved as the heaven does with the sun and the moon and the stars. Therein he placed his throne and near by the Sacred Cross, as though it were related to him, and took up his abode there as if he were God. He left the kingdom to his son Khosrū. Heraclius then marched to Persia with a great army ; he fought with young King Khosrū and slew many people ; he also took 50,000 prisoners, and freed many Christians. This he did thrice. Khosrū then assembled a great army and besieged Constantinople by sea and by land. The Emperor Heraclius defended himself bravely ; Khosrū then withdrew. Afterwards Khosrū brought together a large army and advanced to the Danube.

Above the upper miniature is written the name "*Cos-draç*" ; and over the lower miniature to the left, "*Heraclius*" (the c and l are united into a double letter), and to the right "*Cosdras*," both in a hand dating from the second half of the Thirteenth Century, that is to say, about the same time that the text was written.

* The true cross, alleged to have been found by Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, was immediately divided into two parts, of which the one remained in Jerusalem and the other was sent to Constantinople. The second fragment remained in the Greek capital until 1204, and at the time of the capture of the city by the Turks, or later, was broken up and scattered about Western Europe together with other relics ; the first fragment fell into the hands of King Khosrū of Persia. The latter caused a throne to be constructed, in which he seated himself as God the Father, the cross next to him signifying the crucified Christ, and the white dove on his left shoulder the Holy Ghost. According to a later tradition preserved in the Golden Legend, the version current in the Thirteenth Century, Khosrū placed a cock under the dais instead of a dove. The Eastern Roman Emperor, Heraclius, defeated the Persians and brought the Holy Cross back with him to Jerusalem, where it is said to have been united with the second fragment. It was rediscovered there in the year 1099, but after the battle of Hittin in 1187 it fell into the hands of Saladin, whose successor returned it to the Christians in 1221.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KHOSRAN II. OF PERSIA WITH CROSS AND DOVE, ON HIS MECHANICAL THRONE.

(After the Gotha MS. of the Saxon Chronicle.)

Victorious") a welcome pretext for declaring himself in favour of the losing side, that he might set out on a plundering expedition through Syria and Mesopotamia. Although these campaigns of robbery, which began in the year 604, and constantly increased in radius of action, were of little benefit to the Persians and cost them dearly in troops, they had a marked effect in preparing the way for the Mohammedan conquest. It was owing to these same expeditions of Khosrū that the power of Roman Syria and Mesopotamia was broken. The Arabs of the steppes, however, who assisted both Persians and Romans, according to the whim of the moment, became trained in war and pillage, and were constantly being stirred up to the highest pitch of excitement, until finally the hand of Mohammed welded their various tribal elements into a power that Western Asia was totally unable to resist.

Persia arrived at the height of her military glory during the years 614–622. Damascus was captured and plundered in 614; Jerusalem, together with the whole of Palestine, yielded in 615; Egypt was conquered in 616. The armies of Persia then advanced into Asia Minor; and finally Persian troops encamped on the shores of the Bosphorus, within sight of Constantinople, at the very same time that a Scythian army was threatening the city from the European side. Heraclius, the Roman Emperor, resolved to avert the danger by making a counter attack on Persia. His plan was wholly successful; he advanced through Armenia to Atropatene, destroyed the temple of the Zoroastrians, and compelled Khosrū to return to Persia in 623. During the next years, also, he held the Persians in check, threatened Ctesiphon in 627, and finally caused matters to come to such a pass that Khosrū was deserted by his own subjects, who had become thoroughly embittered, owing to the excessively heavy burdens of war. The army that until this time had been encamped opposite Constantinople retreated in disorder to Persia, and found that Khosrū had already been dethroned and put to death in the spring of 628. The fact that it finally became necessary to enrol even women in the ranks of the Persian forces is a proof of the terrible loss of life occasioned by the ambition and insatiable greed of the king.

Khosrū was succeeded by Kobad II, who reigned seven months only — February to September, 628—and made peace with Heraclius. The reigns of Kobad's successors also were short. Among them were two daughters of Khosrū, who came to the throne on account of the lack of male princes, and the grandson of Khosrū, Yesdigerd III (632–651), the last of the Sassanidæ. The wars with the Arabs broke out during the first years of Yesdigerd's reign, and at the same time the gradual dissolution of the empire began.

It has already been mentioned that the exhaustion of the Persian Empire — a result of the incessant wars with the Byzantines — contributed greatly to the victory of the Arabs; but that the Persians were so swiftly and thoroughly conquered by the Moslems was almost entirely due to the isolation into which both people and princes had fallen, and to the stubbornness with which they held fast to their obsolete religion and culture. The brilliant campaigns of Shapur II and Khosrū caused the intellectual barrenness of Iran to appear only the more striking by way of contrast. All that was progressive in the teachings of Manes and Mazdak had been forcibly suppressed; and at a time when the most profound religious conceptions were developing in other lands the faith of Zoroaster had become completely ossified, showing, indeed, a capacity for surrounding Persia

with a Chinese wall of exclusion, but no capacity whatever for winning converts in foreign countries. Practically nothing had been accomplished by either science or art; and when Khosrū II determined to build a city that should surpass Antioch in splendour, the result was little more than a grotesque imitation of Roman models. The pagan philosophers who sought refuge and sympathy at the Persian court returned bitterly disappointed to Roman territory. That Persia proved incapable of becoming an active member of the western civilized world, but obstinately preserved its own worst characteristics, only to be compelled finally to exchange them for an even less efficient religion and culture, was one of the greatest misfortunes in the history of Western Asia. How far Christianity would have continued in its victorious course, had it not been for the barrier of Iran, is hard to determine; at any rate, the great success attained by the one Christian sect that was tolerated by the Persian emperors, the Nestorians, who penetrated into Central Asia and China, proves that it would have made great progress. It was only because they had separated from the mother church, and had been oppressed and persecuted in the Roman Empire that the Nestorians won the sympathy and assistance of the Persian kings; but for the very reason that they were outcasts from Rome, and hence without political support, their mission in Central Asia led to no permanent result. Separated from the Christian world, at first by the Persians and later by the Mohammedans, the Nestorian communities in the interior of Asia were doomed to destruction from the very beginning.

(*c*) *Roman Western Asia Prior to the Beginnings of Mohammedanism.* — After the final campaign of Pompey, Western Asia lost its political independence. Nevertheless, the part it played in history during the first six centuries of the Christian Era was not so insignificant as to be worthy of no special description; and as for the so-called "buffer States," Armenia and Iberia, they must on no account be thrust aside without notice, inasmuch as their affairs, before as well as after the Mohammedan period, were of the greatest significance to the destiny of Western Asia.

The chief of the Roman possessions in Western Asia, Asia Minor, and Syria were retained by Rome throughout their whole extent until the Arabian conquest, and to them were added, during favourable times, portions of Mesopotamia, Armenia, and the South Caucasian districts. Asia Minor was the most tranquil, the best protected, and the most uniformly organised of the Roman Asiatic provinces. Scarcely a trace remained of political independence; but in many of the country districts and towns a certain form of self-government, such as the Romans were in the habit of allowing to their dependencies, still existed. The larger of the settlements in the peninsula were, as a rule, of Hellenic origin. Thickly sown along the western coast and in the river valleys, more sparsely distributed (and frequently of Roman origin) on the elevated plateaus and among the mountains of the interior, they formed the centres of the Greek influence that had penetrated into the peninsula during an earlier period, encouraged by the Attalidæ, and which in later times had been allowed to continue undisturbed by the Romans. When Rome first took possession of the peninsula, entire provinces exhibited hardly a trace of Greek influence; others, such as Lycia and Pamphylia, had developed an independent civilization on a Hellenic foundation. In the very centre of the land were settled a Celtic people, the Galatians, who had preserved both their language and their

martial spirit, and who, during the times of the emperors, furnished the majority of the recruits from Asia Minor. But gradually these local peculiarities grew less and less apparent, the language and civilization of the Greeks, slightly Latinised, it is true, became diffused over the entire peninsula; and, finally, even rustic Cappadocia sent to Athens its bands of students, whose rude dialect must, indeed, have caused the cultured professors to wring their hands in despair.

The few politically independent provinces and small States that had survived the period of Roman conquest, as well as a number of unimportant principalities which had once belonged to the empire of Mithridates and were allowed a provisional existence by the Romans, disappeared during the first period of the emperors. The kingdom of the Galatians was transformed into a Roman dependency as early as 25 B. C. Shortly after his accession (17 A. D.) Tiberius put an end to the independence of Cappadocia. The territory of the Lycian league of cities was annexed in the year 43, and the provinces of Pontus were added to the Roman Empire in 63. The wildest, least civilized districts of Roman Asia Minor were the Taurus provinces, Isauria and Cilicia. The Cilicians were practically unconquerable so long as they remained in their native surroundings. The thickly wooded mountains that sloped down to the sea soon became the favourite haunt of all the dissatisfied spirits and criminals of the Roman Empire, who, together with the native inhabitants of the coast, soon gave themselves up to piracy, which became in time their habitual business. Neither the republic nor the empire was able to put a stop to the deeds of robbery by sea and by land, or to subdue the inhabitants of the mountains, among whom several tribes of the Pisidians are also to be reckoned. But in Asia Minor also, with the gradual opening up of the country, customs became less rude; and the mountain dwellers were compelled to cease their warfare, although even a short period of political disorganization was sufficient to cause them all to return to their old manner of life. In fact, the Cilicians and Isaurians constantly made their appearance as robbers and pirates, until the sturdiest of the wild rabble attained the honour of forming the body-guard of the Eastern Roman Emperor; and finally two of them, Zeno and Leo III, succeeded to the imperial dignity itself.

The remainder of Asia Minor became under the Roman emperors a flourishing land with a dense and highly civilized population. The province was governed by the Senate, and was divided into four districts, of which only two — Asia Minor proper, and Pontus together with Bithynia — were situated on the mainland. Cyprus and Crete, to which Cyrene in Africa was added, were accounted parts of the peninsula for purposes of administration. In later times this division was frequently altered; and during the period of Byzantine rule, owing to the constant danger of invasion, the province was separated into a great number of districts and governed according to military law. The inroads of hostile nations commenced at the time of the Persian wars. In the year 609 the Iranians first appeared in Cappadocia, and during the following decade they marched through the peninsula several times, finally threatening Constantinople itself. The invasion of the Persians was only the first of many blows dealt to the civilization of Asia Minor.

The condition of Syria was totally different from that of Asia Minor. Only the eastern boundary of the latter was a frontier of the Roman Empire, and was, moreover, protected by the buffer-States Armenia and Iberia. Syria, on the other hand, was directly adjacent not only to that portion of Mesopotamia, for the pos-

session of which continual war was being waged between Romans and Persians, but also to the boundless Arabian desert, over whose anarchic Bedouin tribes a permanent government was never to be established by the Romans. The province itself, however, was exceptionally favoured by its racial and political peculiarities; then as to-day it was a harbour of refuge for an immense number of different peoples and adherents of various creeds.

Two of the most remarkable States known to history, the Phœnician league of cities, that occupied a narrow strip of Mediterranean coast, and the kingdom of the Israelites in the mountains of Palestine, arose during an early period on Syrian soil. The prosperity of both had faded when Syria became a Roman province; in fact, Phœnician freedom, if not Phœnician civilization, so far as commerce and industry were concerned, had long ceased to exist. There were still flourishing settlements scattered along the coast, and commerce was still active; but the civilization of Phœnicia was that of the Greeks. Hellenism had expanded in all directions from the city of Antioch as a centre during the period of the Seleucidæ; and as for the northern districts of Syria, however undisturbed the native population had been allowed to remain, and however little influenced by Greek culture, they formed at the time of the Romans practically a Greek province. It is true that the infusion of Oriental luxuriousness and effeminacy was of the greatest injury to the Greek spirit; and Antioch as a city of sensuality and pleasure stood in sharp contrast to Alexandria, which had developed under the influence of the Greeks on Egyptian soil. The shiftless inhabitants of the Syrian metropolis contributed little enough to the development of morals; but for all that, Syria long remained the centre of the Eastern Roman Empire.

Although as a result of the dominion of the Seleucidæ and consequent Hellenisation Northern Syria fell into the hands of the Romans as a tolerably well-organised province, which even during subsequent periods developed no very marked characteristics, and of which the administration presented no great difficulty, Southern Syria, on the other hand, consisted of a multitude of small, mutually antagonistic States. There were some more or less independent principalities in Lebanon, which had ever been a land of promise for dispersed and conquered races; on the borders of the desert lay the kingdom of the Nabatæans, and Arab tribes were constantly appearing on the steppes and along the Mesopotamian frontier.

The greatest confusion of all, however, was to be found in Palestine. At first the Romans found it to their own interest to increase the number of minor States in order to avoid the risk of united resistance. Many different races and parties were clamouring for a settlement of their political, national, and religious claims. The Hebrew ecclesiastical State of Jerusalem, constantly striving for freedom, and yet not strong enough to maintain the independence it so greatly desired, could not be treated as a helpless minor province; for in dealing with the Israelites of Palestine the Romans had to reckon with the entire Hebrew people, already widely diffused throughout the empire and in many districts dangerously numerous, who could not have looked upon a violation of their ancient sanctuary as other than an attack on their very existence. Moreover, the religious influence of the Jews was increasing, for the unsettled state of religious thought led numerous proselytes to join their ranks. It even appeared for a time as if Judaism would succeed in overthrowing the belief in the deities of the Greeks. However, the rise

of Christianity turned this phase of development into another channel. But in spite of all the caution exercised by the Romans in their administration of Palestine, the antagonism between the claims of political life and the rigid ritual of the priesthood remained a constant source of complication. In the year 47 B. C. Julius Cæsar appointed Antipater the Idumæan procurator of Judæa and successor of the Maccabæi; indeed, he could scarcely have made a better choice.. Nevertheless the numerous champions of the Jewish national spirit were not in the least satisfied; and after the invasion of the Parthians, during which the new dynasty was temporarily compelled to take flight, Herod, the son and heir of Antipater, was obliged to resort to force in order to subdue his rebellious subjects. Herod passed through the period of the great struggle between Cæsar Augustus and Marcus Antonius with singular good fortune; but he was unable to win the affection of the Jewish people. The ruthless manner in which he put to death the members of his own family injured him, however, far less in the eyes of his subjects than his foreign origin and leaning to Hellenism.

After the death of Herod in the year 4, his kingdom, which had been considerably enlarged by the annexation of minor principalities, thanks to the benevolence of Cæsar Augustus, was divided between his three sons: Galilee and Peræa fell to the share of Herod Antipas, the region south of Damascus to Philippus, and Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa to Archelaus. The two northern kingdoms continued in existence for many years; they were united into one State by Agrippa II, a great-grandson of Herod, and remained intact until the time of Trajan. In the south, however, insurrections soon broke out among the Jews. Archelaus proved incapable of government, and it was not long before Cæsar Augustus found it necessary to transform Palestine into a Roman province with Cæsarea as capital. It is obvious that this time also the Romans desired to spare the feelings of the Jews as much as possible; but a true reconciliation with the subjects of the Jewish ecclesiastical State, whose demands increased rather than diminished with the growing hopelessness of their cause, was impossible. Christianity provided a means for escape from the bigotry that must finally have led to destruction, although it received but little support from the true Jews, among whom the national spirit was at first strongly at work. In general, the Christian religion cannot be said to have played other than a subordinate part in the political history of Palestine.

The hostility between the Roman emperors and the Jews of Palestine gradually increased. The Jews who had emigrated to various parts of the empire also received but little sympathy, as was proved by the terrible riots that broke out in Alexandria during the reign of Caligula — the first manifestation of anti-Semitism in the Roman world. It was unfortunate that the imperial government had not from the very first taken such precautions as would have rendered a rebellion in Palestine an impossibility; instead of ruling with a firm hand, it carelessly allowed events to take their own course. Bands of rebels were in constant activity as early as the year 44; Roman soldiers and officials were murdered more and more frequently; and a spirit of sullen hostility gradually spread over the entire province. In the year 66 an insurrection broke out in Cæsarea; another soon followed in Jerusalem, where frightful scenes of carnage took place; soon the whole of Judæa was in a state of civil war. Vespasian, the imperial legate, conquered the land anew in a difficult campaign which lasted for several years. The confusion that

reigned in the Roman Empire until Vespasian himself ascended the throne in 69 was of great assistance to the Jews, although a final victory of the Hebrews was out of the question owing to their fanaticism and lack of unity. In the year 70 Titus, son of Vespasian, entered Jerusalem, destroyed the temple, and put an end to all hopes of Jewish independence.

Jerusalem lay in ruins until the time of Hadrian. The Jews of Palestine had but little share in the great rebellion that broke out during the reign of Trajan; and it is a significant fact that the last great insurrection of the Jews in the Holy Land came about owing to the well-meant design of Hadrian to establish a new city on the ruins of Jerusalem. At that time the Jews arose in final despairing revolt under the leadership of Eleazar the Priest and the bandit Bar-Kochba, with the result that their country was completely devastated and lost even its name of Judæa, henceforth being known as Syria Palæstina.

A quiet neighbour, and in later times a dependency of the Roman Empire, was the kingdom of the Nabatæans, that during its period of widest expansion embraced the greater part of the region north of the Red Sea and east of the river Jordan, at one time even including Damascus. The original Nabatæan people, in all probability, were descended from a mixture of Arabian and Hamitic, or, at least, Syrian elements. Owing to the fact that a part of their kingdom lay on the north-eastern coast of the Red Sea, and was at the same time a natural junction of many caravan roads, the Nabatæans had from the earliest times devoted themselves to commerce, thereby acquiring a culture that rendered them far more capable of developing a permanent State than the Bedouins of the neighbouring steppes, for all their love of freedom and courage in battle. The capital of the kingdom of the Nabatæans and the residence of the sovereigns was Petra, situated on the rocky plateau that lay between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akaba. Nabatæa submitted to Cæsar Augustus, and in spite of various small misunderstandings remained undisturbed until the time of Trajan, when, together with the bulk of the minor Syrian States, it was transformed into a Roman province. In the year 106 Damascus was annexed to Syria, and the remainder of the kingdom, henceforth known as the "Province of Arabia," placed under Roman rule, — by no means to its disadvantage, as the ruins of its once flourishing cities testify. Roman Nabatæa included only a portion of the northern border of the Arabian desert, and was environed by a number of semi-independent Bedouin States, of which the influence and extent greatly increased when the power of the empire began to weaken.

Remarkable for sudden changes of fortune was Palmyra, a kingdom of the Syrian-Arabian borderland. In early times, before the occupation of Syria by the Romans, a flourishing community arose in an oasis of the great Syrian Desert, that had long served as a convenient halting place for caravans travelling between Phœnicia and the middle Euphrates. The city was made a dependency of the Roman Empire during the first period of the emperors; but owing to its important frontier situation between Parthian and Roman territory, it retained a certain amount of freedom, and at the same time became possessed of considerable power. The necessity of protecting the caravan routes led to the formation of a well-organised army; and constant feuds with the Bedouins, which as a rule terminated in the victory of the Palmyrans, resulted in continual accessions of territory, so that Palmyra finally embraced the greater part of the region between the Euphrates and the Syrian border. The language of the Palmyrans was not the Arabic

of the Bedouins, but the Syrian of the agricultural and town-dwelling classes. Originally the city may have been organised as a republic; but the Romans, who were accustomed to choose a ruler from amongst the native inhabitants of their provinces, created a monarchical form of government that finally became hereditary. No small amount of power lay in the hands of a Palmyran sovereign: a well-trained army of veterans who had taken part in numerous struggles with Arab tribes, and possession of the hoarded wealth of a strongly fortified city, — a city, moreover, that was in addition protected by the desert. Thus it is not surprising that before many years passed, an ambitious ruler came to the throne, who resolved to take part in the border wars between Rome and Persia, to seize the balance of power, and to establish a new empire at the expense of both the contending parties.

The opportunity for such an undertaking was never more favourable than during the reign of Shapur I (240–273 A. D.), the first of the great Sassanidæan kings. The Roman emperor Valerian was a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, Antioch had been captured, and the whole of Syria, with the exception of a few unimportant strongholds, lay open to the Persians, who, eager for plunder, marched about hither and thither in disorganised companies. As soon as Shapur began to withdraw his forces, the Palmyran cavalry sallied forth, dispersed whole divisions of the scattered Persian army, and returned to their desert city with untold spoils. Odenathus, king of Palmyra, made the most of the prestige won by this daring stroke, by immediately espousing the cause of Gallienus, son of Valerian, whose opponents in the struggle for the succession had gained the upper hand in the East. As a result, when Gallienus finally triumphed over his enemies and ascended the throne, Odenathus was rewarded with the title of Augustus, and became practically supreme in Syria. He soon restored affairs to order, strengthened his troops by the addition of the remains of the Roman legions, and marched against the Persians. After clearing Roman Mesopotamia of the enemy, and raising the siege of Edessa, he appeared twice before the walls of Ctesiphon.

On the death of Odenathus, his wife Zenobia (Bat Zabbai) seized the reins of government in the name of her son, who was not yet of age. Her energy was quite equal to that of her husband, but she was lacking in the diplomatic skill which had enabled the latter to preserve at least the appearance of being a vassal of Rome, and thus successfully to maintain his difficult position. As "Regent of the East" she laid claim to both Asia and Egypt, invaded the valley of the Nile, and advanced into Asia Minor — sufficient cause for a declaration of war on the part of Aurelian, the new emperor, who realised that unless a decisive step were taken it would not be long before the last trace of Roman power would disappear in the East. Egypt was reoccupied by the Romans in the year 270, after a severe struggle; and in the next year Aurelian himself appeared in Syria at the head of a powerful army. The forces of Zenobia were defeated at Antioch and at Emesa (Hôms); but Palmyra, difficult to approach and still more difficult to besiege, still remained in the hands of the queen. However, when Aurelian made it clear that he intended to march on the capital, the courage of the queen forsook her; under cover of night she fled toward the Euphrates in order to escape into Persian territory. It may have been that she also hoped to relieve the city with the aid of a Persian army; but she was immediately pursued and taken prisoner by Roman cavalry. At this Palmyra opened its gates to the Romans, and the empire of Zenobia fell. A riot of the citizens in the year 273 ended with the complete

destruction of the city, that never again arose from its ruins. Like a mirage of the desert, this strange empire suddenly arose on the eastern horizon of the Roman world, and as suddenly disappeared.

More permanent, yet far less important, were a number of principalities in Mesopotamia, whose rulers were saved from destruction by the mutual jealousy of Rome and Persia, it being to the advantage of both empires to preserve the integrity of the small and more or less independent States that lay between their frontiers. Of these Edessa was relatively the most important; it retained for many years a certain amount of freedom under the government of an Arabian dynasty, and even at the time of the Crusades it still existed as a remarkably independent community.

(*d*) *Armenia and Iberia.* — In Armenia, the rugged mountainous country from which the Euphrates and Tigris flow down into the Mesopotamian plain, a warlike, freedom-loving people had developed from a mixture of ancient Caucasian and Iranian elements. The original Armenian race must have been very heterogeneous; the presence of numerous small feudal demesnes and strongholds scattered over a land of ravines and forests caused their country to be from the earliest times a theatre of private warfare and a home of robbers and fugitives of all nationalities. As time passed, the influence of Iranian culture and religion smoothed over the roughness of the native population. The example of the Persian emperors fired the ambition of Armenian rulers, and at the same time aroused the national spirit to the development of unexpected power. The fall of the empire of the Achæmidæ, shortly followed by the end of the world-dominion of Alexander the Great, restored independence to Armenia, and withdrew from its inhabitants the influence of Greece, which was to play such a prominent part in the civilization of Syria and Mesopotamia.

For a time it appeared as if the Armenians were destined to become the most representative of all the Iranian peoples. Under the rule of Tigranes the Armenian Empire expanded with surprising rapidity and power; and once it seemed as if the western provinces of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ would fall to the share of Armenia, just as its possessions in the East had descended to the Parthians. But the mutual jealousy of the various sovereigns of Western Asia who reigned contemporaneously with Tigranes bore bitter fruit. Tigranes did not make the slightest attempt to assist his great western neighbour, Mithridates, king of Pontus, in his hopeless struggle with Rome; and with the same composure the Parthian emperors saw the kingdom of Armenia fall before the attacks of the Roman legions, and only rejoiced when Tigranes, cast down from his high estate, knelt before Pompey and placed his crown in the hands of the Roman consul.

After the overthrow of Tigranes, there was no longer any hope of Armenian supremacy; and that Armenia itself did not become completely Roman or Persian was only due to the fact that both contesting powers preferred to allow the unhospitable mountain land to remain under the rule of its native princes, rather than to endeavour to hold it in immediate subjection — a course that would have yielded small profit in return for a relatively great expense. Several times Armenia was separated into a western and an eastern province, temporarily, as early as the days of the Seleucidæ, and again during a later period, when the Eastern Roman Empire and the Persians agreed as to the division of their spheres of influence. Moreover, the country was usually a patchwork of dominions of minor princes who were, as

a rule, willing to acknowledge the supremacy of the king; often, however, when the humour seized them, they defied him in their mountain strongholds, and seldom refused to accept foreign aid against their own sovereign.

It is scarcely worth while to give a detailed account of all the varying phases of the wars between Rome and Parthia, or to enumerate the constant changes that took place in the dominion of the Romans and Parthians in Armenia. It is, however, important to remember that throughout this troubled period, in spite of all confusion that reigned in political affairs, the Armenian consciousness of nationality constantly increased, and finally produced a spiritually independent people, who, by developing a purely Armenian civilization, ultimately succeeded in defeating the attempt of the Iranians to acquire, with the assistance of the religion of Zoroaster and its priesthood, a position of intellectual supremacy. After the beginning of the fourth century, Christianity proved to be the most effective weapon against the influence of Persia; and in the year 323 it became the officially recognised religion of Armenia through the public conversion of Tiridates. The Sassanidæ had made several desperate attempts to destroy the new faith before it became firmly rooted in the land, but without success. Together with the temporal, there arose a spiritual force that caused the Armenians to be filled with a passionate zeal for the Christian religion, identifying them with it to a certain degree, so that all the attempts at conversion made by the Iranian priests — three hundred of whom once entered the land at the head of a Persian army — failed as completely as in later times the allurements of Islam. St. George, the semi-mythical messenger of faith and converter of the Armenians, was the first Catholic, and the founder of the ecclesiastical dynasty. Finally, during the period of comparative quiet that followed the death of Shapur II, the Armenians acquired their own written language, and the Bible was translated into their tongue. From this time forth the separation of Armenia from Persia may be looked upon as consummated.

The example of Armenia was also followed in the North. Here, in the southern part of the Caucasus dwelt the Iberians, who had acquired from the Greek colonial cities of the coasts, and also through their long-continued relations with the kingdom of Pontus, a certain amount of culture; and to the east of the Iberians lived the Albanians, or Alani. The former were more or less devoted to agriculture and to the tending of mountain flocks; the latter were possessors of herds of cattle on the broad plains of the lower Kour, and proved very burdensome neighbours to the Persians because of their great mobility and love of pilfering. The Iberians had been organised into a State at an early period, and exhibited a spirit of independence quite equal to that of the Armenians; however, owing to their weakness and to the fact that they were exposed to attacks from the West, along their coast, they were soon forced to acknowledge themselves vassals of the Roman Empire. Relations with Rome became only the more intimate as time went on, inasmuch as the Iberian rulers were converted to Christianity almost contemporaneously with the princes of Armenia. The efforts of the Persians to counteract the Christian influence came too late in Iberia as well as in Armenia; only temporarily did they succeed — during the sixth century — in making headway against Rome. The Persians, nevertheless, displayed great energy in extending their power throughout the East as far as the passes of the Caucasus; for the possession of these gates of entrance to their empire was indeed a question of vital importance. So long as Persian troops were able to hold the passes, it was impossible for the hordes of

nomads who gathered together in the North to cross the mountains; but if at any time the emperors lost control of the passes during a moment of weakness, warning of the threatening danger came to them soon enough in the shape of burning villages and the lamentations of their distressed subjects.

The affairs of Armenia and Iberia show that during the century-long struggle between Rome and Persia, there were but few changes in the respective spheres of influence of the two empires. The intellectual-religious war that continued at the side of the military conflict led to effects far more important than those of all the battlefields taken together; for the results of the latter were no more decisive for the one nation than for the other. The continuous state of war led but to the one result, that the resources of both empires were exhausted, and their powers of resistance broken. Breathless, with shattered weapons, bleeding from many wounds, the Eastern Roman Empire and Persia were ready after the death of Khosrū II to come to terms with one another.

3. THE ARABIAN CONQUESTS AND THE CALIPHATE

A. From Abu Bekr to Ali

The exhaustion of the Eastern Romans and the Persians did not of itself occasion the triumph of the disciples of Mohammed. Had the victory of the Islamites been due to this cause alone, their religious empire would hardly have enjoyed a permanent existence, nor would the Mohammedan faith have supplanted the religion of Zoroaster and withdrawn vast territories from the influence of Christianity: a reaction would have been far more probable, and the dominion of the Arabs would soon have come to an end. The triumph of the Moslems was due to a fact of the world's history that had been scarcely noticed, let alone thoroughly comprehended, before the days of the prophet. The Arabs first took possession of countries in which the bulk of the population consisted of their countrymen; and then, setting out from this firm basis, they experienced but little difficulty in transforming the political and religious affairs of entire Western Asia. Had only the tribes of Arabia proper, small in numbers and recently weakened by the losses they had sustained in the conflicts following the death of the prophet, been involved in the struggle, the victory of Islam would have been a matter of great doubt. But the area occupied by Arabs had long ceased to be limited to the peninsula of Arabia.

Since the earliest times the nomads had been advancing into the Syrian desert, which, in fact, is little more than a continuation of Arabia. Arabs had long pastured their flocks in the valley of the Jordan; the tents of Bedouins were to be seen in the neighbourhood of Damascus as well as in the peninsula of Sinai; and the kingdom of the Nabatæans was decidedly Arabian in character. New regions had been opened up to the Arabs on the fall of the Babylonian and Assyrian empires: the Euphrates was no obstacle to the Bedouins, who settled in the desert land of steppes which lay between it and the Tigris. Into all regions where cities had been destroyed, or civilized races annihilated, the Arabs advanced. They even crossed the Tigris and settled in the southwestern corner of Persia, that to this day bears the name of Arabistan. The Bedouins were as little inclined toward national unity in their new place of residence as they had been in their native peninsula;

at no time have they appeared in history as a united people. During the wars of the Romans and Parthians, single troops of Arabs entered the service of one or the other power; but the bulk of the Arabian tribes remained in their inaccessible desert wastes, completely satisfied with the enjoyment of their freedom, although they were ever ready to make off with whatever plunder they could lay their hands on, and frequently embarked on desultory robbing expeditions during these times of general confusion.

It had long been evident that the constantly increasing Arabian population of Mesopotamia and Syria was a power by no means to be despised. The example of neighbouring States possessed of organised governments did not remain without influence on the Arabs. Amalgamation with the stationary inhabitants of the cultivated districts had also not been without effect; finally the Arabs themselves began to form States. The kingdom of the Nabatæans in the region east of the Jordan has already been mentioned; and another country of the same nature, the kingdom of Hira, absorbed by Persia in the year 614, just as the Nabatæan nation had been transformed by the Romans into the province Arabia, lay in the southern part of Mesopotamia. During the reign of Trajan (98–117), the Bedouins also appeared in the northern part of Mesopotamia, under the leadership of a certain Mannus. Edessa, too, although originally founded by the Nabatæans, was an Arabian State that managed to preserve its existence throughout the Persian wars. Driven from Armenia by Tigranes, many tribes of Arabs had settled there, and had thus contributed to the development of a distinctly Arabian national character.

In all these nations of Arabs the armies were, naturally enough, better organised and far more effective than in Arabia proper. There was no lack of trained warriors, especially after the last severe struggle between Khosrū II and Heraclius, who had fought on one side or the other during the great war, and who were well acquainted with both Persian and Roman tactics. Even the troops of Palmyra consisted for the greater part of Arabs. The moment the leaders in the Islamite movement succeeded in awakening enthusiasm for the new religion among their compatriots in Syria, Irak (ancient Babylonia), and Mesopotamia, they had at their disposal a numerous and in part well-trained and armed body of fighting men, whose onset the inhabitants of the towns and cultivated districts were totally unable to withstand. Mohammed himself had been well aware of all this, as was shown by the remarkable persistency with which he sent army after army into the Dead Sea region, the central province of the Nabatæan kingdom, even planning a new expedition during the very last days of his life.

After Abu Bekr had quelled the disturbances in Arabia, he immediately made preparation for continuing Mohammed's policy of conquest. That he resolved to direct the first blow, not against Syria but against Persia, was natural enough. Mohammed's range of political vision had in the main been limited to Western Arabia. Syria was the only foreign country with the affairs of which he was to some degree familiar. On the other hand, Abu Bekr was at this time well acquainted with the political situation not only in Arabia, but also in the surrounding nations, and there was no possibility of his failing to recognise that the unusually dense Arabian population in Irak, who had naturally followed the course of events in Arabia with great interest, would be far more favourable subjects for propaganda than the inhabitants of the Syrian frontier. In spite of the fact, that by reason of their inaccessible position, the Arabs of Irak had suffered much less

than other peoples during the Persian-Roman wars, they had nevertheless long been thoroughly weary of Persian oppression. Their land, still fertile, and constantly enriched through commerce with India, had been for many years a favourite source of revenue to Persia, and the demands of the Persian rulers had become more and more exorbitant ever since the king of Hira had been superseded by a Persian satrap. Here only a slight impetus was necessary in order to destroy completely the sovereignty of Persia.

In March, 633, the Mohammedan general Khâlid advanced with his army of veterans from the interior of Arabia against Persia. The Arabians, whose number soon increased to eighteen thousand, at first encountered Hormuz, the military commander of Obollah in Irak, who had placed himself at the head of a hastily assembled army. On receiving the command of Khâlid to accept the Mohammedan faith, Hormuz forthwith replied with a challenge to a duel, and inasmuch as Khâlid succeeded in overcoming his opponent in sight of both armies, the Persians, true to their ancient Oriental custom, immediately dispersed in all directions. Other armies were subsequently sent out under various Persian commanders, without either order or method, only to meet with a fate similar to that of the forces of Hormuz. The fortified towns also offered but little opposition. Hira (in the neighbourhood of the Hillah of to-day) and other cities were captured, and the region west of the Euphrates cleared of Persians. Khâlid had not yet ventured to cross the river, when in the next year he was recalled and transferred to the command of the Syrian army.

Khâlid arrived in Syria at the very time he was most needed. As soon as he had been able to form a new army out of the soldiers who were returning from the various scenes of civil war in Arabia, Abu Bekr had immediately commanded an attack on the frontiers of Palestine, and by sending out several reinforcing divisions, he increased the number of Syrian troops to thirty-six thousand. But the opposition everywhere encountered by the Arabs was unexpectedly great; and the spirit of discord that had arisen between the commanders, who had already divided the conquered districts among themselves, and were no longer to be moved to common action, proved a complete bar to the success of the campaign. Khâlid, however, succeeded in putting an end to all discord, and also in defeating a Byzantine army greatly superior in numbers after an exceptionally severe struggle at Jarmuk, not far from the Lake of Genesareth.

The messengers despatched from the field of battle with trophies and tidings of victory, were received by a new caliph on arriving in Mecca. The old friend and most faithful disciple of the prophet, to whom the dominion of Arabia had fallen as a result of the incapacity and dissensions of the followers of Ali and the Medinan party, had only lived to fill his difficult office for the short space of two years (632–634). During this time Abu Bekr had remained what he had always been, a simple, kindly man of exemplary piety, a model of what a true Islamite should be, according to the opinion of Mohammed, and a blind reverer of all the sayings and commands of the prophet. His whole course of action during his short period of rule was nothing more than a continuation of what Mohammed had begun. Through him the spirit of the prophet still cast its shadow upon the world of the living. Much more important than any of Abu Bekr's personal deeds was the fact, that through his election the adherents of Ali who had striven for a hereditary monarchy received a blow from which they never recovered. Under Abu's imme-

diate successors the Caliphate remained an elective monarchy with all its merits and defects.

During its earlier years the merits preponderated. Before his death Abu Bekr succeeded in bringing about an agreement that Omar, the most energetic of the old disciples of Mohammed, a man peculiarly adapted for the leadership of a conquering people, should be his successor. Opposition was at first encountered, but as soon as Omar had laid firm hand on the government, resistance was out of the question. Even Ali, who was indeed quite conscious of his own incapacity, accepted the new sovereign with good grace as soon as his own party had ceased to goad him on to further resistance. In truth, Omar now did little more than openly assume the position of leader which, as a matter of fact, he had already occupied during the days of Mohammed and Abu Bekr. The warlike policy of the prophet had been in the main his work, and a large number of the laws and "sayings" could be traced back to his influence. Nothing could be more characteristic than the words with which he addressed the assembled people on entering into his new duties as caliph: "By Allah, the weakest among you shall appear to me as the strongest, until I have obtained for him his rights. But I shall treat the strongest of you as the weakest, unless he submit unto the law." Omar proved that his inaugural address had been spoken in earnest; for in spite of all the authority he possessed as sole ruler, he never denied the tendency toward equality that had been received by the first followers of Mohammed as a heritage from the Bedouins, and which, indeed, had also been one of the prime secrets of Moslem success. In later times he expressed this same view quite as clearly and forcibly in a letter in which he commanded Zaid, one of his governors, to demolish a palace at Kufa, built in imitation of the Persian imperial residence. "I have heard," he wrote, "that you desire to build a palace after the model of the house of the dynasty of Khosrū, and even intend to make use of the gates of Khosrū's palace. Do you also intend to provide these gates with guards and porters who deny entrance to men who come to you for aid, as the guards of Khosrū denied entrance to his subjects? Is it your wish thus to depart from the custom of our prophet and to travel the road of the Persian emperors who have descended into hell in spite of the magnificence of their palaces of pleasure?"

No less important than his love of justice were Omar's abilities as a sovereign, and the undeniable talent exhibited by him as organiser of the military power of Arabia. A fifth part of all the spoils that fell to the share of the caliph was set aside as a nucleus for a public treasury. It was not mere fanaticism that caused Omar to order all Christians and Jews dwelling in Arabia either to become converts to Islam or to leave the country. The command sprang rather from a desire to transform the peninsula of Arabia into an absolutely secure base of operations. His further care must have been to reinforce as largely as possible the Arabian troops in Persia, who were now encountering stubborn opposition. This was by no means an easy task, for recruiting according to the modern method was unheard of at that time, and in spite of all eagerness for the religious war, the older provinces of Arabia neither would nor could place an unlimited number of warriors in the field. During the first year of his reign, for three days long Omar had stood in the pulpit at Medina exhorting men to enroll themselves as volunteers for the Persian war, and not until the fourth day did his efforts meet with the slightest success. All considerations of piety had now to be laid aside; even the faithless,

the tribes that had been subdued by Abu Bekr, and all the former adherents of false prophets, whom Abu Bekr had sternly excluded from his army, were now marched into the field, whether or not they were more greatly attracted by the alluring prospect of plundering Persia than by the more doubtful delights of a distant paradise. However, Omar took good care that in spite of the accession of troops less firm in faith, his army should not deteriorate in religious fervour; for he added to the ranks of each command a large number of priests whose office was to recite the sayings of the prophet amidst the tumult of battle, and thus to arouse the enthusiasm of the warriors. Omar also allowed the army to retain the form of organisation which had long existed in conformity with the quotas supplied by the various tribes, each tribe having its own leader, only appointing the commanders of the larger divisions; in fact, an alteration of the earlier form of organisation, which had proved itself entirely compatible with the Arabian national character, would have been neither desirable nor possible.

For a long time the war with the Persians occupied the whole of Omar's attention. After the withdrawal of Khâlid, his successor Motanna was obliged to act solely on the defensive; for in the meanwhile the disturbances which had been taking place in the interior of Persia, to the great benefit of the invading Arabs, had come to an end; moreover, Rustum, an able field-marshal of the empire, had been placed at the head of the Persian forces. It is true that after the arrival of Abu Obaid with reinforcements, the Arabs succeeded in defeating two armies of Persians. But, when intoxicated with their victory, they crossed the Euphrates and offered battle with the river at their backs, they were completely defeated, — Abu Obaid, together with a large portion of the army, losing their lives. However, the struggle for the Persian succession in Ctesiphon prevented the Iranians from following up their victory. Motanna maintained his position on the Euphrates, annihilated a Persian army in 634, and even undertook lesser campaigns in the region that lay between the two rivers. But when Yesdigerd III ascended the throne, and with the help of Rustum assembled all the forces of his kingdom, the Arabs were compelled to retreat to the borders of the desert. Messenger after messenger appeared in Medina imploring aid; it appeared as if all the advantages won by the previous victories had now been lost.

But Omar, in the meanwhile, had exerted every effort to collect new troops of believers, and to arouse them to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. He had at first taken the supreme command himself, but finally decided to appoint Zaid, an old companion of the prophet, commander-in-chief. This time the struggle took place at Kadesia, on the right bank of the Euphrates, in the neighbourhood of the Bagdad of to-day. For three days the battle continued; it was a confusion of hand to hand conflicts, accompanied by an incessant advancing and retreating of the engaged forces; even during the fourth night, Arab and Persian troops were still here and there engaged in desultory combat. A single incident — the death of Rustum, the Persian general — decided the day in favour of the Moslems, who had also been greatly assisted by the wind that drove stinging sand into the faces of the Persian soldiers, unused to desert warfare. This victory, which took place in the year 636, caused the region west of the Tigris to fall into the hands of the Mohammedans, who immediately proceeded to build the city of Basra, on the Shatt-el-Arab, and thereby shut off the Persians from all traffic on the river Euphrates and trade with India.

The next year Yesdigerd III evacuated Ctesiphon, which was already surrounded by Arabian cavalry, and withdrew to his second line of defence, the mountain region of Media-Persia, not, however, without suffering severe losses during his retreat. Unfortunately, Yesdigerd had no army capable of defending the passes; and the Arabs at once succeeded in taking possession of the most important of the mountain roads, as well as of a portion of Chusistan. At Yesdigerd's call for aid, once more the Iranian forces assembled in Media, ready to engage in a final struggle for their ancient religion and nationality. Chusistan and Farsistan, the two southern provinces that had been cut off from the rest of Persia by the advancing Arabian army, likewise continued their opposition. Hormuz, the governor of Chusistan, threatened the new city of Basra; and not until many difficulties had been overcome did the Arabs succeed in compelling him to take refuge in Shuster, and in taking him prisoner, after a siege of six months. The imperial army arrived too late to derive any benefit from the resistance that had been offered in Chusistan; for two months the Persian army remained encamped in the mountain country to the south of Hamadan, near Nehavend, facing the Arabian forces, until finally a strategic blunder on the part of Firuz, the Iranian commander, led to an engagement followed by a total defeat. Thus, in the year 641, the dominion of the Sassanidæ came to an end. Nevertheless, a struggle of several years' duration had yet to be fought before the single provinces were completely subjugated. Yesdigerd, "the Hapless," escaped to Khorassan, where he hoped to form a new army out of Turkish mercenaries. But fortune had deserted the cause of the Sassanidæ; and in the year 651 the last of the Persian emperors met his death at the hands of an assassin.

In the meanwhile the power of the Byzantines in Syria and Mesopotamia had also been broken. After the flight of the Syrian militia, at the battle of Jarmuk, resistance was offered by the larger towns alone, and they, too, were soon forced to capitulate. The fact that immediately after his accession Omar, the Mohammedan puritan, recalled the victorious Khâlid, who was, to be sure, the "sword of Islam," but at the same time an accomplished rake, had practically no influence on the course of the Syrian war. Damascus capitulated in the year 635. Since a portion of the Arabian troops had shortly before been sent as reinforcements to Persia, Heraclius, who had hastened to Jerusalem, obtained a short respite; during which, however, he only became convinced that it would be impossible to check the advance of the enemy with the means at the disposal of his exhausted province; for a new Syrian army was not to be thought of. When in the year 636 the emperor left the country, he took with him from Jerusalem the most sacred relic of the Christians, the true cross: a plain indication of the desperate straits into which his land and his belief had fallen. Still, several years passed before the resistance of the Syrian cities was finally overcome. Several of the centres of Christian Hellenism defended themselves to the uttermost; but the Aramaic inhabitants of the land looked upon the struggle with stolid indifference. The cities of the North, Emesa, Haleb, and Antioch, were the first to fall; then followed the strongholds of Palestine. The conquest of Jerusalem was no easy task for the Moslems; but the city finally opened its gates to the caliph, who had been by no means loath to arrive in time for a triumphant entry. The seaport Cæsarea was defended with still greater bravery, but it, too, finally fell in 640. In the meantime Northern Mesopotamia had been conquered, and Edessa captured.

Not until the Arabian forces had penetrated as far as the mountains of Armenia and the Taurus did their victorious advance come to an end.

To these fabulously rapid successes a newer and still greater conquest was added. Egypt's feeble powers of defence had already been exhibited when the country was plundered by a Persian army in 616. The native population, who had never been friendly to the customs of the Greeks, and who had also become completely estranged from their political masters owing to the formation of numerous Christian sects, had then been of no assistance whatever to the Byzantine generals in resisting the enemies of the empire. The danger of an Arabian invasion had long been appreciated, and the Egyptian governors were the only rulers who had replied to Mohammed's messages with even a semblance of courtesy. Nowhere had sectarianism, the curse of the Eastern Roman people, struck such firm root and become so intimately united with national antipathies as in the Nile valley. In vain had Heraclius endeavoured to reconcile the monophysitical Egyptians with the "monotheletic" Greeks through the introduction of a conciliatory formula of belief: the burning national hatred, that merely hid itself beneath a cloak of religion, rendered all his well-meant efforts abortive. The kings of Persia had already intentionally shown favour to both Monophysitics and Nestorians, and during their wars with the Byzantines had obtained great benefit from this policy; Omar adopted the same course, and brought the conquest of Egypt to a successful issue, even before the last battle had been fought in Persia and Syria. Amru ibn Aaz, the caliph's field marshal, invaded the valley of the Nile with a force of but four thousand men. After several engagements had been fought, the Arabs obtained possession of the right bank of the river, and the arrival of reinforcements made it possible for them to cross the stream; still, the Christians in reality lost but little ground until their army was weakened by the wholesale desertion of the native Monophysitics. The result was a brilliant victory for Amru, and for the policy of Arabia.

All the troops that the Greek generals were able to collect from the various Egyptian fortresses were placed in the field against the Arabs; but the Byzantines soon found themselves driven to take shelter behind the walls of Alexandria, the centre of Hellenic influence. The dying Heraclius had done all that he could to strengthen the last bulwark of Byzantine power from the sea; and at first it seemed as if the Arabian army would bleed to death before the walls of the strongly fortified city. In the meanwhile, however, a wretched dynastic quarrel broke out on the death of Heraclius. The imperial court of Byzantium was filled with confusion; and the longed-for ships bearing provisions and reinforcements to Alexandria did not arrive until the siege had lasted fourteen months, and the defenders were completely exhausted. The wealthiest of the inhabitants left the unfortunate city by sea; the remainder of the population surrendered to the Arabian general in December, 641. As usual, the conquered were treated with comparative leniency; it is true there were scenes of disorder, but the alleged systematic crusade of the Arabs against the treasures of science and art has been proved to have been purely mythical. Alexandria was not chosen to be the capital of the country by the Arabs as it had been by the Greeks; but a new city, Fostat, the Cairo of later times, was built on the right bank of the Nile, not far from the Delta, in the neighbourhood of ancient Memphis. From this it became quite evident that the new rulers of Egypt intended to make use of the land in an entirely different

manner from that of either the Greeks or the Romans, who had looked upon the country merely as a source of wealth.

The conquest of the Nile valley was not enough for the Arabs who, as true children of the desert, were but little impeded in their advance by the sterile regions of North Africa. Amru swiftly marched upon and captured the Pentapolis, and even Tripolis was surrendered by its surprised garrison.

During these many wars Omar had remained at home in Medina. Such an energetic man as he must have chafed greatly under his self-imposed restraint; but he could have adopted no policy better adapted to the state of affairs of the time. Its results were of the greatest value to the future of Islam, for during the storm and stress period of Mohammedanism nothing was more necessary to the success of the Arabian cause than a secure and powerful base of operations. Instead of going into the field himself, Omar was content to take upon his shoulders the more modest task of making preparations for war, collecting reinforcements, and replenishing the national treasury with money that had been captured in battle and the tribute of the conquered lands. Furthermore he organised the newly acquired dependencies, Irak in special, where he commanded the city of Kufa to be built on the borders of the desert in the neighbourhood of the right bank of the Euphrates, as a centre for the Arabian population, while the already semi-Arabian Damascus was made the capital of Syria. Omar did not favour the settlement of the conquered territories by Arabian troops, for he looked upon a ceaseless continuation of the religious war until both Pagans and Christians were completely overthrown as the labour of his life, and held the camp to be the true home of his companions in faith.

During the last years of his life Omar adopted extraordinary measures for the benefit of the State treasury, as we have learned from his remarkable correspondence with Amru, whose consignments of money from Egypt did not come up to the caliph's expectations. Omar was neither just nor courteous to his general, who deserved all praise; and also in his treatment of the conquered, his avarice showed itself in a most unpleasant light. In fact this smallness in his nature was the indirect cause of his death by the hand of an assassin. A Christian artisan of Kufa, who had journeyed in vain to Medina in order to beg that his relatively inordinate taxes might be decreased, struck down the caliph in the Mosque in November, 644, just as the latter was about to commence his morning prayer. Omar still possessed strength enough to name a successor; but as Abd ur Rahmân, whom he had chosen, absolutely declined to accept the difficult office, he called upon the six oldest companions of Mohammed to choose a new caliph from among themselves — a method of escaping the difficulty which, however, only led to evil results.

Once more Ali, who, together with Othman, Abd ur Rahmân, Zubeir, Talcha, and Zaid ibn Wakaz, had been called upon by Omar to elect a new caliph, stood at the head of the list of candidates, and again he experienced a bitter disappointment. Zubeir, Talcha, and Ali contested the position; the other aspirants stepped into the background. Mutual jealousy prevented all reasonable agreement, and the upshot of the affair was that the choice finally fell on Othman, who of all the candidates was least fitted for the position. He was a good-natured old man of seventy years, and had been one of the very earliest companions of the prophet; but personally he was a complete nonentity. On his first attempt to address the assembled people after his election he made a pitiable exhibition of himself, after a

painful pause murmuring the words: "The beginning of all things is difficult," and then descending from the pulpit with a sigh. Othman was not the man to curb the violent efforts which the various parties were making in order to increase their power; the strong hand of Omar had long held them in check, but now they burst forth again, threatening to bring confusion to the entire Mohammedan world. He was also totally unable to effect a reconciliation between the quarrelling and deeply imbittered tribal groups of the Arabian people. During his reign the place of the personal influence of a sovereign was taken by the ineradicable antagonisms of tribes and provinces, only increased by new enmities and rivalries that had developed during the period of conquest; and all Mohammedan leaders who lived in the time of Othman were compelled either to make allowance for these elements of disturbance, or — often without being conscious of it themselves — to be moved and guided by them.

The old comrades of Mohammed still remained the most powerful of the political parties. Generals and governors of provinces were selected from their ranks, and a large amount of the treasure that had been won in war found its way into their strong-boxes. They knew well that they were not popular; but so long as they were able successfully to claim the election of the caliph as their right, it was a difficult matter to thrust them down from their position of supremacy. Now, however, the lack of unity in their leaders, which had enabled the feeble Othman to come to the head of the State, had opened up the way to their destruction. Othman was indeed one of the companions of the prophet, an "emigrant" from Mecca; but he had been far too weak and good-natured to break completely with the past, and to join himself without reserve to the new community of fanatical believers that had formed itself about Mohammed. He was much too favourably inclined toward his old Meccan relatives; already during the prophet's lifetime he had come forward in their defence, and at the capture of Mecca several of the most deeply compromised of Mohammed's enemies owed their lives to his intercession. Now that he had become caliph, he was soon surrounded by the neglected aristocracy of Mecca as by a swarm of hungry locusts; first one and then another managed to persuade him to hand over a post of governor, a position as commander, or this or that well-paid office. With increasing anger the earlier believers beheld the success of these intruders, whose fathers had not only fought against the prophet with weapons in their hands, but had also wounded him with the poisoned darts of satire — these Meccans whose religious faith and manner of life were more than suspicious. Their angry looks were soon directed even against the caliph; they clung all the closer to Ali, whose time seemed at last to have come, but even now he was unable to bring the members of his party into harmony with one another.

The antagonism between Medinans and Meccans was not the only rift that extended across the Arabian world. The ancient enmity between nomads and agriculturists, Mahadites and Yemenites, still smouldered beneath the ashes, only again to burst forth into flame in later times; but at the present moment the amenities that had been called forth by differences of geographical situation — a result of Omar's conquests — were of greater importance. To Omar Arabia had still been the heart of the Mohammedan Empire; all his measures had for their object the strengthening of the peninsula, and the development of the Arabian military forces. But as soon as the great neighbouring lands of Syria

and Irak had been Islamized, this policy could no longer be continued. The new territories were far more populous than desert Arabia, and the greater culture of their inhabitants gained for them slowly but surely a preponderance of power. In fact, it may be remarked in anticipation, that Arabia had already fallen from its supreme position at an early period in the history of Islam, and had now become little more than an insignificant appendage of Western Asia. The two chief centres of Mohammedanism, Irak and Syria, soon entered the lists in hostile competition for the leadership. Their inhabitants were not on friendly terms with one another. The serious, determined Bedouins of Syria looked upon the effeminate, restless inhabitants of Irak with hatred and contempt. They particularly despised the people of Kufa, in whom all the evil characteristics of an over-refined race seemed to have been united — true dwellers of great cities were they, at all times ready to indulge in high-flown language, but possessed of an unconquerable aversion to courageous actions. Whoever gained the friendship of one of these rivals made sure of the hostility of the other. Owing to the fact that the Omeyads had looked to the Syrians for aid during the civil wars, they won the victory over Ali and his companions, who had turned to the fickle inhabitants of Irak for support.

In the meanwhile, however, under Othman's government the new Mohammedan empire became more powerful and increased in area. An attempt of the Greeks, who had managed to recapture Alexandria, to extend their power once more over Egypt failed completely; Alexandria was severely punished, and in like manner various insurrections were crushed in Persia. It was also during Othman's reign that a Mohammedan fleet of warships was constructed with astonishing rapidity on the Phœnician coast with the object of conquering Cyprus; this same fleet also became a serious menace to the safety of Byzantium. The wars were successfully continued in Northern Africa, the Greeks losing Carthage; in the East, the Omeyad Muavija, to whom Othman had entrusted the command of an army, spread desolation in Asia Minor. Thus, so far as the Arabian policy of conquest was concerned, Othman was a by no means unworthy successor of the victorious Omar.

As a matter of course these successes in arms were insufficient to reconcile the angry early adherents of the prophet, who beheld with increasing bitterness Muavija the son of Hind, a deadly enemy of Mohammed, winning victory after victory and rich spoils in Asia Minor. To his great misfortune Othman finally placed just such a weapon in the hands of the "companions" as was required by these models of piety, inasmuch as he undertook a revision of the Koran on his own authority and endeavoured to enforce its acceptance by the old believers. But now, instead of calling forth a melancholy wail of lost influence from the "emigrants and defenders," he was assailed on all sides by the enraged cries of men who insisted that he had falsified the words of the prophet. Ali resolved this time to act in earnest, and despatched his emissaries into the various provinces. The gold pieces which the nephew of the prophet had managed to heap up in abundance as a consoling indemnity for his political failures were scattered in all directions, and everywhere, as a result of the extraordinary expenditure, Ali was extolled as the single true champion of the traditions of Islam. But in spite of all, the idol of the hated devotionalist party was not popular, and the revolts that broke out here and there did not lead to the wished-for result. Bands of suspicious characters soon appeared in the narrow streets of Medina, Bedouins whose services were to be had

for a trifling payment; these assembled about the house of Othman and with savage threats demanded his retirement. This time the feeble old man offered a determined resistance, but they finally stormed his house and assassinated him in the year 656.

The Meccan nobility who had endeavoured to defend Othman fled the city; and the Medinans, not one of whom had lifted his hand in the defence of the caliph, readily accepted Ali as his successor. Thus at last Ali was able to throw the imperial mantle about his shoulders; but the garment was soiled and blood stained. A spirit of revolt and abhorrence spread over the entire Mohammedan world. There was lack of unity even among the conspirators at whose instigation the murder of Othman had been accomplished; for Zubeir and Talcha soon came forward with their claims, assisted by the powerful support of Ayesha, the favourite wife of the prophet, an ambitious and intriguing woman, who had long been one of Ali's most deadly enemies. It soon became obvious that an appeal to the sword alone could decide between the two hostile groups of old believers. At first, neither party could look to the provinces for assistance; Syria was especially hostile to them, for the Omeyad Muavija, who had obtained the governorship from Othman, seemed greatly inclined toward avenging the death of the caliph with the help of his Syrians, who had now become completely devoted to him. The governor sent out by Ali to replace Muavija was forced to return to Mecca before having crossed even the borders of the province. Nothing was left to Ali but to fall back once more upon the assistance of the people of Irak, whom he won over to his cause by promising to transfer the residence of the caliphs to Kufa, thereby making their country the centre of the Mohammedan Empire.

The rebels also, who had no more to hope for from Syria than had Ali, turned to Irak and occupied Basra. Later, when Ali advanced on them from Kufa with a superior force, they entered into negotiations with him; but owing to a misunderstanding a battle was fought that ended with the deaths of Zubeir and Talcha and the capture of Ayesha. Until the very last moment the fanatical widow of Mohammed, seated under a canopy on the back of a camel, exhorted her forces to resist to the death. Ali was now master of entire Irak. Arabia was also on his side and he was at least formally recognized in Egypt; but the "Battle of the Camels" had cost him the lives of many of his ablest adherents. In Syria, Muavija, who now openly laid claim to the Caliphate, made preparations for a final conflict.

Muavija was the typical champion of the nobility of Mecca, courteous, of knightly bravery, and a born leader of the people, whom he guided with both courage and wisdom; he was also ambitious and inspired with an undying hatred for the bigoted followers of the prophet. The latter returned his hatred in full measure; for Muavija was the son of the same Hind who, after the battle of Ohod, had cast herself upon the corpse of Hamza, one of the defenders of the faith, and had torn the liver of the dead man with her teeth in blind fanatical fury—a woman who must have been looked upon by true Moslems as the epitome of all that was abominable. And this "son of the devourer of the liver" was now endeavouring to succeed to the Caliphate! His name alone was sufficient to cause all companions of the prophet together with their followings to join the forces of Ali.

Ali was now assured of the aid of the people of Irak also, since his quarrel was with the Syrians. For many years only a pretext had been wanting to bring the

two races into open conflict with one another. In fact, Othman's fatal revision of the Koran had been undertaken merely because the Irakans and Syrians in the Mohammedan army had constantly engaged in disputes over the textual variations in the sacred book, their quarrels frequently leading to serious disorder. But in spite of all this, the morale of the army that Muavija raised in Syria was vastly superior to that of the regiments of effeminate Irakans; and Ali, whose pigheadedness and ignorance of human character were never more apparent than at the present moment, was not a man likely to fill his adherents with any great amount of enthusiasm. Accustomed always to be led by others, and almost completely lacking in self-dependence, Ali became the chosen victim of various ambitious spirits who, in view of the impending struggle, had resolved to sell their services to him as dearly as possible, and then, even while still in the service of the short-sighted caliph, were already prepared eagerly to stretch out their hands for the gold of Muavija. Thus the battle that after long negotiations and many skirmishes finally took place at Siffin on the right bank of the Euphrates, and which, thanks to the fanatical enthusiasm of the old believers, was at one time as good as won by Ali, had an end rather amusing than tragic. While his cavalry were in the very act of pursuing the retreating Syrians with loud shouts of victory, open rebellion broke out in Ali's tent. The party that was in secret understanding with Muavija compelled the hapless caliph first to recall his troops, and then to appear before a court of arbiters, the members of which were obviously enough entirely opposed to his claims. The greater part of his army thereupon disbanded; the nucleus of his forces, the old believers, renounced their allegiance and elected a new caliph, and it was with the greatest difficulty that Ali managed to disperse the refractory spirits by whom he was surrounded. But he was soon to discover that he had not annihilated them all, for on the 21st of January, 661, he met his death from a dagger thrust by the hand of one of these very same fanatics.

On the death of Ali, the cause of the old believers broke down completely; for after the indefatigable Muavija had deprived the prophet's comrades of both Egypt and Arabia, they were also threatened in Irak, and were not even possessed of a leader whom they could trust. Since Ali had been one of the champions of the hereditary Caliphate, his claims naturally descended to his son Hassan. But the continuation of the war between the Meccans and the old companions of the prophet, between the Syrians and the people of Irak, could not have been placed in more incapable hands. Hassan, a cowardly voluptuary, was unable to accomplish anything with the army that had been placed at his disposal; and in order to rid himself of all responsibility, he finally sent the most ardent espousers of his cause under the leadership of Kais against the Syrians. When on their return after a severe defeat, they overwhelmed him with reproaches and threats, he hastened to make peace with Muavija.

B. The Omeyads

The power and influence of the old adherents of the prophet had completely come to an end when the proudest of the noble families of Mecca, the Omeyads, took possession of the Caliphate as a hereditary dignity. At the time that the new dynasty made its appearance, the Syrians also were rejoicing in their victories. The hated Irakans had been completely defeated, and to the great chagrin of the ambi-

tious inhabitants of Kufa, Damascus had now become the capital of the Mohammedan world-empire.

But still the empire continued in a state of war and rebellion. While the old antagonisms had been temporarily forced into the background by the decisive victory of the one party, a new political sect arose. Its adherents were filled with the wildest spirit of fanaticism, and had already displayed their activity in the assassination of Ali, as well as in a contemporaneous attack on Muavija. The party was one that in view of the general state of affairs of the time arose almost of necessity; in it was incorporated the democracy of Islam, which under the cloak of religious zeal came forward to oppose the aristocracy. The true Bedouin of the desert in reality recognised neither the government of nobles nor the rule of a sovereign. He was indeed a slave to his own tribal traditions, but he was not accustomed to bow before any individual who laid claim to unconditional obedience. The recent developments of the Mohammedan movement had been a mockery of the Bedouin spirit of liberty. With arbitrary despotism the oligarchy of Medina had chosen a caliph from their midst, without even going through the form of submitting their choice to the approval of the great mass of believers, and when, on the appearance of Muavija, the unpopular government of the old believers fell, it was only that a new nobility might come forward in its place. From the standpoint of religion, too, the more democratic of the Moslems had grounds for complaint, when they compared the increasing luxury and love of splendour of their present leaders with the simple manner of life and definite precepts of the prophet. Thus the sect that was formed during the struggle between Ali and Muavija, that elected a new caliph in opposition to Ali, and was, at least, the indirect cause of the attacks on both Ali and Muavija, may be called the democratic-puritanical party; and the most serious demand which it made upon those in power was, that every Arab should not only have a voice in the election of the caliph but should also himself be eligible as a candidate. Basra was the headquarters of this puritan party; and its most powerful members were the Bedouin veterans — perhaps the most correct and virtuous of all Moslems. These fanatics, ever eager for self-sacrifice, were yet to be a source of great trouble to the Omeyad caliphs.

But Muavija had also to keep a sharp lookout in another direction. Ali, who had always been too late during his life, proved after death a dangerous enemy. As long as he had stood at the head of the party of old believers, his obstinate and weak character had only led his followers to their ruin; now, however, that he lived only in their remembrance, his name became the war-cry of the older party as well as of the people of Irak, and his tragic end an unlimited source of fanaticism. The Arabian habit of enveloping their heroes in a cloud of legend soon caused the honest but mentally inferior Ali to appear as a most illustrious personage, upon whose purity, uprightness, and nobility of character no doubts were to be cast. And although the hero himself was dead, a son who appeared to be a worthy successor was still living. This was Husain, brother of the cowardly Hassan; to him, as their last hope, the old believers and the Irakans turned. In the meanwhile Muavija had found a leader in the person of his half-brother Ziyad, who was capable of putting an end to all trouble with Irak and with the inhabitants of Kufa. Ziyad had not long occupied the position of governor of the dissatisfied province before the boldest of his enemies scarcely ventured even to grumble, and all ironies and satires against the dominion of the Omeyads were stifled on their

very first appearance. And after the death of Ziyad, whom Muavija had apparently chosen as his successor, the Irakans were still in such a state of terror that the appearance of Husain failed to awaken any genuine enthusiasm among them. Nevertheless the hereditary Caliphate of the Omeyads was as yet by no means on a secure footing. Muavija experienced extraordinary difficulty in obtaining recognition for his son Yezid as his legitimate follower; and the easily led, thoughtless character of the latter was a cause of many complications and misgivings. It was only owing to the fact that the Syrians had the utmost enthusiasm for him that Yezid was enabled to retain his power and influence.

In spite of all domestic disturbances, the religious war of conquest, although now possessed of less significance than formerly, was carried on vigorously during the reign of Muavija. Great progress was made in the East, where the Arabian forces crossed the Oxus, advanced into the valley of the Indus, and for the first time came into contact with the Turkish races that were in later times to play such an important part in the history of Islam. In Africa, also, the policy of conquest was continued, and the city of Kairuan was founded on the site of ancient Carthage as a centre of Mohammedan influence. After the death of Ali the Byzantines were assailed both by sea and by land; a portion of Asia Minor was devastated, and Arabian war vessels sailed as far as Constantinople without, however, engaging in any decisive combat. Nevertheless these struggles were of great advantage to the Omeyad dynasty, inasmuch as they increased the popularity of Yezid, who had taken part in them at the desire of his father.

When Muavija died in 680, the Omeyads were in a position easily to crush the opposition that immediately followed. The chief rebellious spirits were the old comrades of Mohammed, now for the most part of great age, but surrounded by numerous ambitious descendants who held fast to the claim that a new caliph must be chosen from their ranks. Moreover, the old believers could not look upon Yezid, who was not of a particularly serious disposition, and troubled himself little about the precepts of the Koran, as other than an impudent pretender. In Mecca another band of dissatisfied Arabs, rich in distinguished names but poor in followings, assembled about the banner of Husain. The latter joyfully received a long petition from the people of Kufa, in which they invited him to their city and offered him the dignity of caliph. Once more the old alliance between the companions of the prophet and Irak threatened to become dangerous to the Omeyads; but before Husain arrived in Kufa, Yezid had already sent out a new governor, Obaidallah, a son of the terror-inspiring Ziyad, who, with his father's example before him, well understood how to deal with the rebellious Kufites. As a result, when Husain approached the gates of the city, not a hand was raised in his favour. The troops of Obaidallah advanced to meet him, and since he was unwilling to submit without a struggle, a battle followed in which his weak forces were routed and he himself, together with most of his companions, put to death, on the 10th of October, 680.

The death of the nephew of the prophet opened the eyes of the old believers to the true condition of affairs. Ancient Arabia, although externally, faithful to Islam, was in arms against the orthodox. The sacred cities alone appeared to offer a secure place of refuge to the faithful. Before their gates the storm of opposition abated; and it was thought that the original religious empire might perhaps once more be established from them as centres. In Mecca, Abdallah, eldest son of

Zubeir, former candidate for the Caliphate, laid claim to the supreme office and defied the ambassador of Yezid from behind the sacred walls of the Kaaba. Shortly afterward, on the return from Yezid's court of envoys sent from Medina, who had beheld with horror the frivolity of the caliph and his comrades, and had later, with passionate emphasis, informed their countrymen of what they had seen, a terrific uproar arose in the city. The Medinans refused to admit the claims of Abdallah ibn Zubeir, and established a provisional government in order to avoid an immediate outbreak of dissension. Further progress was to follow as time passed; but that Yezid would take hostile measures against the old comrades of the prophet and advance against the sacred cities, no one would believe, in spite of the general abhorrence that had been called forth by his godlessness.

Nevertheless the old believers were doomed to disappointment. A Syrian army marched into western Arabia under the command of a man who could not have been better chosen as avenger of the various sanguinary campaigns through which the prophet and his followers had compelled the sons of the desert to accept the new faith, and at the same time had made themselves their masters. Moslim, Yezid's general, was a thorough pagan, a victim of all the superstitions of the uneducated, a man of rude, furiously energetic character, in short, a true Bedouin of the old school, without a glimmer of reverence for the sacred memories of the prophet. As a relative of the murdered Caliph Othman, he was fully bent on vengeance. What was to be expected from the barbarous Syrian nomads under his command, who had accepted the Mohammedan faith superficially only, who were in the eyes of the pious Medinans little better than heathens, and who returned the contempt of the old believers with a most cordial hatred? The comrades of the prophet finally suspected the fate that was in store for them, when the Syrian army appeared before the walls of their city. Scarcely ever before in the history of Arabia had a battle been fought in which such blind, fanatical fury was displayed as at this time before the gates of Medina. The standard bearer of the Syrians had already fallen, and the ranks of Moslim's army were already beginning to waver, when a troop of Syrians were admitted to the city by traitors, and thus enabled to fall upon the unprotected rear of the old believers (August 26, 683). The fate of the defeated was terrible: all men capable of bearing arms were ruthlessly slaughtered, the women were violated, the city plundered. The blood of the comrades of Mohammed flowed down the steps of the mosque from which the prophet had so often addressed his followers, and its sacred courts served the barbaric Syrians as a stable for their horses.

From Medina, where Moslim died of a severe illness, the Syrian army turned toward Mecca. The catapults were already engaged in hurling great masses of stone into the city; and firebrands had already been thrown upon the roof of the Kaaba, setting the sacred edifice in flames, when, for the time being, the defenders of the city were rescued owing to the confusion that had broken out in Syria on the death of Yezid; indeed, Abdallah ibn Zubeir was once more given an opportunity for putting his plans into execution. The temporary change in affairs had come too late to be of any avail to Medina. The survivors sought refuge in Africa, the greater part of them joining the army that conquered Spain under the command of Musa; and in later times Spain became the last asylum of the companions of the prophet and their descendants, for whom there was no longer a home in their native land.

Matters had come to a serious pass for the Mohammedan religion. Even yet it was not firmly rooted in the hearts of the Arabians; the bulk of the Bedouins so far understood little more than the rudiments of Mohammed's doctrines, and it must already have appeared problematical whether or not the work of the prophet would disappear amidst the conflicts of parties and sects. The venerable men who had once assembled about the prophet were now either dead or wanderers without a home; the sacred Kaaba and the mosque at Medina were shattered and polluted; the people were split up into hostile groups. And finally there was a caliph at the head of affairs who did not even preserve the appearance of obeying the laws of Mohammed, who seemed rather to pride himself on his profligacy and viciousness. It was everywhere apparent that Islamism was falling into decay. But never in the history of the world has the power of spirit and of thought shown itself to be more irresistible than during this first century of the Mohammedan religion. Like a moonbeam upon the sea a ray of idealism and religious sentiment rested upon the dark waves of war and politics; often it seemed to have disappeared amidst turmoil and confusion, single sparks only were here and there visible; but as soon as the storm allayed, the waves became smoother and once more gleamed in the reflection of an unextinguishable light. Although insignificant in comparison with the greater religions of the world, Islamism represented an idea, and therewith a power that no earthly weapon could destroy.

The sudden death of Yezid, in November, 683, rescued Mecca and Abdallah; but at the same time it plunged the empire into the utmost confusion. Muavija, son of Yezid, died a few months later and cannot be said to have in reality succeeded to the supreme office; but at his death the Omeyad party was for the moment without a leader. This was sufficient to cause the old tribal antagonisms to come to the surface once more among the Syrian Arabs. They had been suppressed during the period of conquest, and Muavija I had understood how to render them harmless, even to cause them to be of service to the empire. Now, however, Yemenites and Mahadites stood face to face, armed to the teeth; and candidates for the Caliphate must have known that the office was only to be procured through the assistance of the one or the other party. Instead of seeking to take advantage of the quarrel of the rival parties in Syria, the people of Irak were content to limit their activities to their own province. In Irak, the place of tribal feuds was taken by the dissensions of sects, among which the puritan democrats, or Kharijites, were no less distinguished than the followers of Ali. Owing to the influence of Iranian elements the various parties gradually became less and less Arabian in character. Nowhere, however, were there any signs of unity. Still, a powerful movement arose in all districts against the Syrian governors and officials, who, like the companions of the prophet of earlier days, conducted themselves as high and mighty lords and masters, arousing a spirit of hostility wherever they appeared.

The inhabitants of Irak finally chose for their leader Abdallah ibn Zubeir, the pretender of Mecca and last representative of the party of old believers, who, although he had shown himself to be both hypocrite and babbler, must at least have been more acceptable to the members of the various quarrelling parties than a man selected from among their inveterate enemies, the Syrians. Had Abdallah been an able man and of strong will and character, it is probable that this time he would have succeeded in making good his claims to the Caliphate. The tidings of the death of Yezid had scarcely reached the camp of the Syrian army before Mecca,

when Husain, the Syrian commander, sought to make peace with Abdallah. The Mahadite tribes of Syria in their hatred of the Yemenites also placed themselves on his side. Egypt declared for him; and he was certain of the support of a powerful party in Irak. But his very first political action proved that he was incapable of taking advantage of the favourable situation, inasmuch as he refused to grant Husain and his army amnesty for the destruction of Medina. Thus by ingratiating himself with the feeble party of the old believers he lost the opportunity of advancing into Syria at the head of a powerful force and of winning an important victory.

Husain thereupon returned to Syria without Abdallah, and found there an Omeyad chieftain, Mervan, who was ready to defend the seriously endangered rights of his family with decision and courage, and also to assume the position of caliph. Since the Mahadites, or Kaisites, as they were generally called after their most important Syrian branch, had first decided in favour of Abdallah, and had afterward chosen Dhachak, the governor of Damascus, to be their leader, Mervan was obliged to turn to the Yemenites, or Kelbites, who after long hesitation decided to give him their support, provided he would promise to fulfil the various conditions which they imposed. Mervan and his Kelbite allies defeated the Kaisites on the meadow Rahit near Damascus in 684. Dhachak fled to Abdallah, whom he now recognised as caliph; and the Kaisites retreated to the northeast of Syria. One of the conditions imposed upon Mervan by the Kelbites was that he should marry the mother of Khâlid, another Omeyad who had first been chosen by them to be their candidate for the Caliphate, and name her son as his successor; but he broke his word after the battle, and appointed his own son Abdelmelik to be his heir, with the result that he met his death at the hand of the revengeful woman in April, 685.

The murder of Mervan was followed by sporadic revolts, of which the most serious was that of the democratic Kharijites. Goaded on by persecution, they arose during the period of confusion that followed the death of Muavija; and their former torturers soon learned that they, too, understood how to wage war and to devastate no less than they had formerly known how to die. In their extremity the orthodox inhabitants of Irak declared for the cause of Abdallah; but the governor whom he sent out was soon killed in a battle with the infuriated sectarians. The terror inspired by the Kharijites was so great that at one time two thousand Irakans took to flight before a troop of forty of these redoutable sectaries; in fact, it seemed as if the ardent enthusiasm and contempt of death that Mohammed had once infused into his comrades was now at last to be found in these dauntless zealots. The struggle was chiefly confined to the city of Basra, which was constantly threatened by the revolutionaries and only preserved from destruction by the heroic defence of Mohallab, the Irakan general.

At the same time that the Basrans were trembling before the Kharijites, the Kufans were in no less a state of terror because of the adherents of Ali, the Shiites (sectarians), as they were generally called. The appearance of this sect was remarkable in many ways; here the reviving spirit of the Iranian people made its appearance for the first time. The Persians had at first shown their inclination to shake off the Arabian yoke together with the new religion that had been imposed upon them, only through occasional minor revolts. Now, however, as adherents of Ali and of Husain and as champions of a schismatic tendency in Islam, they

sought to adapt the new doctrines to their national character and to establish an Iranian form of the Mohammedan faith. True to their old preferences, the Shiites, in contrast to the Kharijites, with whom they have often been confused, were partisans of unlimited despotism. And just as they had once set the highest value on the descent of their Arsakidæan and Sassanidæan sovereigns from a mythical, deified paternal ancestor, making pure blood in a sovereign a condition of their loyalty, so at this time they demanded that the hereditary caliph should be a descendant of Mohammed, declaring that Ali, the nephew and son-in-law of the prophet, had been the first legitimate caliph, and that the Omeyads, together with the Meccan caliphs were nothing more nor less than usurpers. But these religious and political claims were merely a cloak to the true national spirit of the Shiitic movement, that found its most ardent adherents in Persian freedmen and slaves, and struck deep root in the land of Iran.

Under the leadership of a crafty and ambitious Arab, Mokhtár, the Shiites took possession of Kufa, and began a rule of terror. Owing to their desperate resistance and to the treachery of the imperial auxiliaries, Abdelmelik's first attempt to recapture Kufa was a failure. However, Mozab, brother of the Caliph Abdallah, succeeded in putting the leader of the Shiites to death, and in occupying Kufa in the name of Abdallah in 687. But in truth Mozab had only opened up the way for the Syrian caliph. Abdalmelik, who in the meanwhile had made peace with the Kaisites, led a new army into the province, and in a surprisingly short time defeated the Irakans in spite of constant treachery on the part of the Kaisite leaders. Mozab fell in the battle; and Kufa opened its gates without resistance, as did also Basra, where Mohallab in spite of his great courage demonstrated that he, too, was as inconstant as the rest of his countrymen. Thus the most important province of the empire was lost by the Meccan caliph, who on his part was scoundrel enough secretly to rejoice at the death of his heroic brother, and instead of taking decisive measures for the recovery of Irak, contented himself with delivering a well-turned funeral oration over the fallen in battle.

Although the importance of Arabia had greatly decreased, so far as the temporal power of the Caliphate was concerned, the moral influence which Abdallah as master of the sacred cities was still able to exert upon the numerous pilgrims who journeyed thither, must not be underrated. For this reason alone Abdelmelik resolved to destroy his rival. Hadjaj, the general whom he sent out against Mecca, was a worthy successor to the dreaded Moslim, whose troops had sacked Medina. In November, 691, Hadjaj arrived before the city, and began a bombardment with his catapults, without seeming to care very much whether or not the blocks of stone that were hurled over the walls injured the already desecrated Kaaba and its sacred relics. The Meccans held out for months, but finally fled, seeing that there was no help to be expected from without. The Caliph Abdallah ended his life in a nobler manner than he had lived, for with his most faithful companions he made a sortie upon the besiegers, meeting death bravely at the head of his troops.

The death of the last caliph of the old believers was an event of but small importance to the Mohammedan world. In the farthest northeast only, in Khorassan, was resistance offered by one of the governors who had been appointed by Abdallah. In the year 693 the entire empire of the caliphs was subject to the Omeyad dynasty; nevertheless, as yet there were no signs of peace and quiet. It boiled and bubbled as in a geyser tube throughout Irak and Persia, and furious

outbursts of the hidden resentment that flamed in the hearts of the people were visible from time to time. Even the rule of brute force instituted by Hadjaj, to whom the caliph had entrusted the governorship of the eternally restless province of Irak, failed to put an end to the rebellions that broke out again and again amidst the confusion of races in that country of an old and fallen civilization. Kelbites and Kaisites troubled Syria with their feuds and petty wars.

At the death of Abdelmelik, in October, 705, the influence of the Kaisites preponderated, and Velid, the new caliph, found in them his firmest support. Although Abdelmelik had been almost constantly occupied with domestic affairs, and had even been obliged to conclude a humiliating treaty with the Byzantines during the early part of his reign, Velid was now able to reassume the policy of conquest, which was far more in harmony with the original nature of the Caliphate. There was no lack of soldiers, especially in Irak and Persia, and from these provinces men flocked to the banner of the caliph that they might win fame and plunder in the foreign wars.

For these reasons the reign of Velid was more brilliant than that of any other Omeyad caliph. Under his rule the Mohammedan Empire attained to its greatest extent and magnificence. Kuteiba commanded the Arabian forces in the war fought on the northeastern frontier of Persia, that had for its object the conquest of Transoxania and the subjection of its Iranian and Turkish races. After a severe struggle, the city of Bokhara was captured in 709. Three years later, Samarcand was taken, but in the year 715 the Mohammedan army was suddenly recalled while on the road to Kashgar, owing to the death of Velid. Contemporary with the Transoxanian campaign an attack was made on India. Under the command of Mohammed ibn Kasim, a Syrian army advanced into the valley of the Indus and took possession of the city of Multan, after a long siege. However, the Moslems were unable to follow up their success. The Arabian general was even compelled to admit to the Hindoos that their religion, like the religions of the Christians and the Jews, was entitled to be looked upon with tolerance by Mohammedans.

All the while that victories were being won in the East, the Byzantines were hard pushed by the armies of the caliph. A quarrel about the succession had again broken out in Constantinople, paralysing the powers of the State, that was already in an exhausted condition owing to the wars with the Bulgarians. Thus it is not surprising that Arabian troops marched unopposed through Asia Minor, and finally appeared before Constantinople, while at the same time the fleets of the caliph sailed into the Sea of Marmora; but if for this reason Velid was led to believe that the end of the Eastern Roman Empire was at hand, he deceived himself as to the tenacity of the Byzantines, who even in later days proved themselves to be possessed of an almost inexhaustible vital power.

Decisive victories were won in Northern Africa, where Musa was engaged in a hard struggle with the Berber tribes, who had at first supported the Arabians in their war with the Byzantines, but were now fighting for their own freedom. Musa occupied the whole of the northern coast to the Atlantic Ocean, and from the African side of the Strait of Gibraltar cast longing looks toward the peninsula of Spain. How Tarik defeated the king of the Goths, how Musa himself followed on with fresh troops, and how in a surprisingly short time entire Spain was made subject to the caliphs, the Arabian forces crossing the Pyrenees and penetrating

far into France, is one of history's most exciting chapters. At that time all Europe trembled before the apparently irresistible advance of the enemies of Christendom, who were knocking at the gates of Constantinople and watering their horses in the Loire at the same moment that their fleets were threatening the islands of the Mediterranean. But it was also apparent that the Moslem bow had been bent to the point of breaking. The movement of expansion soon came to a halt, and the fall of the gigantic empire became only a question of time.

The character of Velid was such as is rarely to be found in a despotic ruler. The caliph distinguished himself rather through a wise employment of talented subordinates than through his own personal abilities. He also possessed the capacity of securing the respect as well as the loyalty of all men with whom he came in touch. His son and successor, Suleiman (715–717), a weak, mistrustful creature, did not possess this gift, and however pitiable a spectacle he made of himself in his gross ingratitude to the great soldiers and statesmen of his father's reign, it must at least be admitted in his favour that he could not do otherwise than cast aside tools which he was incapable of using. Hadjaj, the ablest of Velid's councillors, had long foreseen what the future would bring to pass, and it had been his one desire to die before his master. That he indeed was granted this piece of good fortune saved him from an ignominious end. The generals, some of whom were still at the head of their armies on the death of Velid, found a still more evil fate awaiting them. Musa was accused of misappropriating public money, compelled to pay an exorbitant fine by way of restitution, and ended his life a pauper. Mohammed, the conqueror of the Punjab, was dragged to Damascus in chains, and tortured to death in prison. Kuteisa, who was well aware that a similar lot awaited him, sought in vain to arouse his troops to rebellion, and was soon put to death by the adherents of the new caliph, who sent his head to Damascus.

In spite of the wretchedness of his character, the deeds of horror perpetrated by Suleiman would scarcely be comprehensible were it not that at the time of his accession a complete change had taken place in the relations of the Arabian tribal groups. The Kaisites, who had enjoyed a golden age during the days of Velid, ruined themselves through an unsuccessful attempt to place a prince of their own choice upon the throne. Since Suleiman was in consequence compelled to look to the Kelbites and Yemenites for support, he was likewise obliged to yield to their desire for revenge upon their old rivals. Yezid, a son of the Irakan general Mohallab, the deadly enemy of Hadjaj, stood at the head of the Yemenite party; he obtained almost unlimited power, and waged a successful war against the last defenders of Iranian independence, who dwelt in the mountainous southeastern coast of the Caspian Sea, but had brought themselves into disrepute owing to their excessive love of splendour and desire for gain.

The foreign undertakings of Suleiman were not attended by any great success. The Byzantines, who had provided themselves with a most effective means of defence in the shape of their celebrated Greek fire, were now under a most capable leader, Emperor Leo the Isaurian (717). An Arabian army that laid siege to Constantinople met with total defeat. The caliph's fleet was also destroyed; and for a time Asia Minor remained in the possession of the Byzantines. Suleiman did not survive these reverses. But his successor, Omar II, a simple, upright Arab of the old school, was in turn unable to retrieve the fortunes of the empire, and

reigned for too short a time (717–720) to be able to accomplish anything of importance, or even to put his favourite scheme of increasing the number of Mohammedans, through a systematic conversion of the inhabitants of the various lands subject to the Caliphate, into execution. It was greatly to the credit of Omar II that he espoused the cause neither of Kaisites nor of Kelbites, but endeavoured to keep away from all factions and parties. During the reign of his successor, Yezid II, who belonged body and soul to the Kelbites, the domestic feuds once more came into prominence. A namesake of Yezid, the son of Mohallab, entrenched himself in Basra, and called upon the Irakans, who had not forgotten their old hatred for the Syrians, in spite of the various tribal feuds, to revolt against the caliph; however, he was defeated. At the same time a rebellion broke out in Africa, and it also became evident that the Moors intended to establish an independent kingdom in Spain. The short reign of Yezid II (720–724) was marked by a decided falling off in the imperial power and supremacy of the Caliphate.

Nor did this retrograde movement completely cease during the reign of the next caliph, Hisham, although an abler ruler, and thoroughly aware of the course events were taking. Hisham displayed great wisdom in assuming a position of neutrality between Kelbites and Kaisites; indeed, in reading the history of his reign we are constantly reminded of the see-saw parliamentary system of England — now Liberals, now Conservatives, at the head of the government. Nor is the comparison as strained as might be supposed: for owing to the fact that in the course of time Kaisite and Yemenite leaders and statesmen alternately obtained the leadership, a certain amount of political sagacity developed, so that men soon were able to foretell with a reasonable degree of correctness according to what principles the one or the other party would administer its offices. The Kaisites were of the school of Hadjaj, the conqueror of Irak: a tight hold on the reins of government, an overwhelming burden of taxation, exclusive favour shown to Arabs, and disregard for the newly converted of other races, were the fundamental principles of their policy. It became almost proverbial that no man could equal a Kaisite governor in obtaining vast sums in taxes from a province. In contrast to the Kaisites, the Kelbites, or Yemenites, were of more liberal opinions, placing more value in diplomatic measures and in a policy of leniency toward the conquered. Moreover, they did not endeavour, as did the Kaisites, to extort the poll-tax exclusively from the newly converted; in short, their policy was one of conciliation, in contrast to the Kaisite policy of brute force. The two political systems were not yet founded on firm and consistent principles: it was usually quite sufficient for a true Kelbite to see a Kaisite perform an action, in order himself immediately to endeavour to effect the contrary.

Hisham, who desired to increase the revenues of his empire, or, as may better be expressed in conformity with this purely personal form of government, was filled with an insatiable greed for wealth, soon discovered that the Kaisites were the party best adapted for putting his wishes into execution; therefore the Kelbite governors who had at first been in favour were now everywhere replaced by the tyrannical Kaisites. The Spanish Arabs, who were almost exclusively composed of Yemenites, were now for the first time placed under the rule of a Kaisite; and in Africa, Obeida and after him Obeidallah extorted tremendous sums in taxes from the province. The result was a vast upheaval of the population of Northern

Africa, in whom the Kharijite missionaries of the period had at last found a people after their own hearts, so that here also those who arose in revolt against the insufferable burden of taxation became imbued with religious-democratic ideas and displayed the highest degree of fanaticism. The Berbers have never accomplished much under leaders of their own race; but under the intellectual guidance of alien spirits they have exhibited a remarkable eagerness for self-sacrifice and great courage. In the year 740 the district of Tangier revolted. Khâlid, the general sent out by Obeidallah, was killed, and with him an extraordinarily large number of Arab chieftains. The caliph was now obliged to throw his beloved treasure chests wide open, and to form an army of picked Syrian warriors for service in Africa. The troops were sent out under the command of Koltum and Baldsh, and were joined in Egypt by a levy of Arabs: nevertheless, the battle with the Berbers ended in another defeat for the caliph; his infantry was for the most part annihilated, and Koltum fell. Baldsh managed to escape with the cavalry to Tangier; and from thence after many adventures he arrived in Spain, where he was still to play a great rôle in history.[1] Hisham did not live to see the end of the rebellion in Africa.

In Irak also, after many months of peace under a Yemenite governor, an insurrection broke out on the appointment of a Kaisite to the office. The government was in a still worse plight in Khorassan, where Kelbites and Kaisites openly declared war on one another, as well as in the neighbouring province of Transoxania, where the native population was decidedly unwilling to accept the usual fate of the conquered. Since the Kaisite rulers were in the habit of beginning their terms of office with the imprisonment and exploitation of their Yemenite predecessor, the arrival of a Kaisite governor in Khorassan was sufficient to drive the Kelbites into open revolt and to cause them to form an alliance with the Turks; and it was not until a Kelbite governor arrived and general amnesty was granted that quiet was again restored in this important frontier province. Khorassan included at that time the whole of Northeastern Iran as well as Transoxania, and was of great importance from a military point of view as a barrier against the nomadic tribes of Central Asia. In like manner the mountain countries to the south of the Caucasus, that commanded the entrance to the passes, became military provinces in which incessant fighting took place with Armenians, Scythians, and Iberians, and sometimes with the Tartar hordes that strove to make their way into the plain of Mesopotamia. The war with the Byzantines was continued with varying success. The Arabians still hoped to win a final victory by striking a blow at the heart of the empire; Asia minor was repeatedly laid waste, until a brilliant victory of the Emperor Leo at Alcroinon in Phrygia finally set a limit to the incursions of the Moslem forces.

Hisham died in 743, leaving to his nephew and successor, Velid II, an empire that in spite of the unsuppressed revolt in Northern Africa was still possessed of abundant vital power, thanks to the frugal financial policy of the caliph and to his skilful management of the two great political groups. Nevertheless, the antagonisms of sects and parties were by no means reconciled. To be sure, as time passed, the old differences between the various tribes were bound to become less and less, and already there was no lack of men who looked upon loyalty to the

[1] See Vol. IV, Section VIII.

caliph alone as their chief virtue, and who thus formed the nucleus of a purely dynastic party. The tribe Rabia, that for many years had assumed a position of neutrality in the quarrels between Mahadites and Yemenites, and of which the members had for that reason frequently been chosen to fill difficult diplomatic offices, served as a point of departure for further development. But the jealousy between the Arabs of Syria and the Irakans, who were under the influence of Persia, was too deeply rooted easily to disappear. Indeed, the more influence the Persians obtained, the more decided was the tendency of the Irakans to turn away from the Syrians. Finally it became evident that the Mohammedan Iranians would eventually gain the upper hand by force of numbers alone.

In this lay the greatest danger to which the Omeyad dynasty was exposed: lifted to the throne by the Syrians, the Omeyads prospered, and finally fell with their most faithful adherents. As soon as the centre of the empire was removed to Irak, the days of the Damascus Caliphate came to an end. The position of the Omeyads was undermined by the natural course of events; the stagnation of Syria, the Arabian inhabitants of which had fought the battles of the caliph, and had therefore fallen off rather than increased in numbers, and the growing multitude and wealth of the Irakans, were the chief causes of the decline of the Omeyad dynasty. Already during the reign of Hisham, the continuation of Omeyad rule had become dependent on whether or not his family could win the favour of the Irakans and the other inhabitants of the eastern provinces.

It is unnecessary to say that in this case, also, the national movements were hidden under a cloak of religion. However much men continued to disagree as to whether the first of the caliphs had been justly entitled to the dignity, whether Abu Bekr or Ali had been the legitimate successor of the prophet, one thing at least was certain: all sectarians were united in the belief that the Omeyads were usurpers, but the question who should succeed them was not to be decided so easily. The descendants of Ali, who turned up from time to time and always found supporters in Irak, seemed without exception to have inherited the incapacity and misfortunes of their paternal ancestor; the few who remained of the old comrades of the prophet had retired to the farthest West, to Africa and Spain. Thus it came about that a noble family of Mecca, the Abbassides, who had long been known as the hereditary custodians of the spring Zemzem, and who were more nearly related to the prophet than were the Omeyads, finally succeeded in becoming the leaders of the dissatisfied sects. Already during the reign of Hisham their secret designs had assumed a serious aspect; under his feeble successors they arose in open revolt.

Velid II made all possible haste to scatter the treasures that had been collected by his predecessor; but in spite of his boundless liberality he succeeded in winning few true friends, and soon aroused the hostility of the other Omeyad princes by appointing his minor son to be his successor. In the very next year after his accession he was dethroned and put to death by Yezid III, the champion of the Yemenite party. Disturbances immediately followed in Irak and Khorassan. Mervan, the Omeyad governor of Armenia and Azerbijan, advanced on Damascus, defeated the Yemenites, and compelled the Syrian Arabs to accept him as regent during the minority of the son of Velid II. But the power of the Omeyads was rapidly declining, and Mervan, although a man of great ability, was unable to ward off the impending destruction. Imbittered by their losses,

the Yemenites had become his enemies, and thus the Syrian Arabs were once more divided at the very moment when unity was most needed. Already the descendants of Ali had raised the banner of rebellion in Persia; and in Irak the Kharijites were once more in revolt. No help was to be expected from the western provinces. In Africa the Berber troubles were not yet ended; and in Spain a civil war was raging between Kaisites and Kelbites, who even in this distant land had not been able to forget their ancient tribal hatred.

The first blow was dealt in Khorassan. Here, in the year 747, Abu Muslim unfurled the black flag of the Abbassides, and drove out Nasr, the Omeyad governor. Nasr vainly endeavoured to make a stand in Western Persia; and this province also was lost by the Omeyads. In the summer of 750, on the Abbasside troops appearing before Kufa, the gates were immediately opened to the revolutionists. It had been of no advantage to Mervan that he had seized and put to death Ibrahim, the intriguing head of the Abbasside family. For the place of the latter was taken by his sons; and the movement itself, which was not in reality founded on the ambition of the Abbassides, but on the excessive hatred of Irakans and Iranians for the Syrians, pursued its course without stop or stay. Mervan assembled a powerful army on the southern frontier of his old province, not far from Mossul; and here on the Great Zab the Abbassides encountered the superior forces of the caliph, on the 25th of January, 750. Even at this decisive moment the tribal hatred of the Bedouins did not lessen in intensity: just as the battle had practically been won by the Syrians, Mervan's entire Yemenite following deserted him. The result was a complete rout. After vainly seeking refuge in Damascus, the caliph escaped to Egypt, where he lost his life in a fruitless attempt to organise resistance against the Abbassides. The banner of the Abbassides now waved triumphantly over the walls of Damascus; and thus the people of Irak finally gained the victory over their hated Syrian neighbours, the East over the West.

C. The Domestic Affairs of Mohammedan Western Asia During the Period of Conquest

With the victory of the Abbassides, a period of short splendour, followed by gradual decay, began for the empire of the caliphs. Many changes that had for years been developing in comparative seclusion now made their way to the light; and many features that had formerly been all-important to the welfare of the Omeyad dynasty were lost. Thus the moment has come for us to cast a backward glance over the domestic affairs of the Mohammedan Empire, that arose out of nothing with such marvellous rapidity, and finally extended from the Pyrenees and the shores of the Atlantic Ocean to the Indus and the Jaxartes. The vast performances of the period of conquest would have been impossibilities had they possessed no solid economic foundation, and the progress of Islam could never have been what it was had it not been for the civilization that, together with the new religion, not only spread over Western Asia and Northern Africa, but also exerted a profound influence on the Aryan races of Europe.

It is true that the Bedouins who marched forth from the interior of Arabia were not capable of giving the ancient civilized peoples of Western Asia instruction in culture. But they at least brought with them a simplicity of life and a

homely greatness of spirit and deed that were hitherto unknown to the more refined and effeminate races with whom they came in contact. In the Bedouins, the luxurious Syrians and Persians once more beheld men who looked upon mere sensual enjoyments with contempt, and were capable of fighting to the death for a principle. For the first time in many years a manly, often heroic spirit was infused into the history of Western Asia. The love of freedom of the Bedouins dissipated for the time being the suffocating atmosphere of gloomy, indolent despotism that arose like a poisonous mist from the rich plains of Mesopotamia and Persia. It was no lasting inheritance that Arabia presented to its neighbour countries. Never in history has a victorious race been able permanently to alter the character of the conquered territories and the spirit of their inhabitants; the conquerors themselves must finally succumb to this same character and spirit. None the less, the infusion of foreign blood is often sufficient to arouse the exhausted soil to new fruitfulness, to awaken a fresh development of national life.

Still, it would not be correct to look upon the Arabians of the time of the prophet as merely rude, uncultured Bedouins, however large a proportion of the population was composed of the latter: the industrious agriculturists of Medina and the far-travelled merchants of Mecca stood upon a vastly higher plane of civilization than the simple tribes of the desert. In Yemen remains were still preserved of a former period of flourishing commerce and advanced moral development; and the Arabs who led a semi-stationary existence on the frontiers of the Roman and Persian empires had not remained uninfluenced by the civilization of their neighbours. From these various elements were recruited the populations of the towns that shortly became the centres of Mohammedan civilization in the various provinces. The true Bedouin took but a small part in the intellectual life of these central groups; his passionate love for an unfettered life on the steppes was unconquerable. No one has expressed this sentiment more convincingly than the mother of Yezid I, who prevailed upon her husband to allow her to return to her tribe in the desert: "A tent swayed by the wind is dearer to me than a lofty castle. . . . A piece of bread in the corner of my desert home tastes better than the daintiest sweetmeat. I long for my home; no palace may take its place."

It is obvious that the immediate effect of the wars of conquest waged by the caliphs could not have been favourable to civilization; but the destruction and loss of life inflicted in the countries that were first attacked and quickly subdued, were comparatively insignificant, despite the fact that these were religious wars, which, as experience has shown, are the most merciless of all struggles. Mohammed's humane treatment of both Christians and Jews, the ease with which conversion to Islam could take place, — through the mere repetition of a formula, — as well as regard to the finances of the Arabian State, were the chief preventives of general massacres. Nevertheless, the followers of Zoroaster, who were looked upon as pagans, offered a stubborn resistance to the new faith, and in consequence were almost annihilated. On the other hand, Christians and Jews were permitted to live in peace, as before, in Syria, Irak, North Africa, and Spain. Inasmuch as the poll-tax imposed upon men of other than the Mohammedan religion was the chief source of national income, it is obvious that the caliphs did not seek to destroy their fountain of wealth through an over-zealous propaganda of Islam. Omar II, to whom unity of belief was of greater importance than the revenue of the empire, was the single exception to the rule. The fall in the tribute received

from Christians and Jews, that naturally followed in the course of time, was all the more serious owing to the fact that it necessitated an increase of the taxes paid by the Mohammedans, which obviously enough did not tend to render the government any the more popular. Originally only the so-called tax for the poor was imposed by Mohammed and his followers, for purposes of public charity and for producing a certain equality in possessions within the religious community of Islam; but very naturally the money set aside for charitable purposes was at least partially diverted from its object at a very early day. The fifth part of all plunder won in war was paid into the public treasury during the first years of the period of conquest, and although a very important source of income to the State, was insufficient to serve as a foundation for a sound financial policy.

In the main, the treasures which the later caliphs had at their disposal were obtained from Irak and Egypt, the economically flourishing provinces of their empire, both fallen, it is true, from their former height of civilization, but still prosperous and awakened to fresh development under Arabian rule. The democratic spirit of the Arabs had everywhere prevented the acquisition of large estates by private owners, and had thus promoted the development of a prosperous class of small farmers. Slavery was of so mild a form and the number of freedmen so great, that the welfare of the peasantry was thereby but little prejudiced. Thus in many of the conquered provinces the first period of the caliphs was a time of great prosperity. The ancient canals for irrigation — indispensable to agriculture in the Orient — were for the greater part repaired and restored to use; many a tract of fertile ground that had been allowed to run wild was again brought under cultivation; and here and there, as in Spain, a true method of intensive culture was introduced for the first time by the Arabs. Little inclination was shown by those in power to acquire vast fortunes through the purchase of landed property. The Arabians preferred to keep their possessions in the form of ready money, that in case of necessity could be buried or transported, although of course it yielded no interest; in other cases they won the favour of the people by freely distributing a large portion of their wealth among them. Whoever was desirous of increasing his riches turned to commerce, that after the conquest of the most important provinces of Western Asia awoke to new life in the hands of the Arabs and their subjects.

In fact, commerce soon became one of the chief sources of the power and splendour of the Mohammedan Empire. The most important trade routes from East to West fell at one blow into the hands of the followers of the prophet; not a grain of Indian spice could reach the western world without first passing the customs depots of the Arabians; and the amounts of the tolls assessed lay entirely at the discretion of the caliph. In earlier times trade had favoured sometimes one, sometimes another route, according to circumstances; an exorbitant duty in Egypt driving commerce from the Red Sea, the route through the Persian Gulf and the valley of the Euphrates to Syria became popular. The merchant was enabled to avoid the risks of transportation of goods by sea by sending his caravans overland through Persia and Mesopotamia. It was not long before wares from the farthest East, Chinese silk in particular, were sent through Iran, sometimes through Transoxania and across the Caspian Sea to South Russia, often by ship from China to Ceylon, there to connect with the trade routes from India to the West. The gates of commerce were in the hands of a single people; and the profits of all the

customs depots, from Basra and Alexandria to Bokhara and Multan, flowed into the imperial treasury at Damascus.

With the growth of material prosperity there was a corresponding increase of intellectual activity, which, however, did not reach its zenith until the times of the Abbassides. So long as the Syrian Arabs governed the empire, the ancient Arabian spirit reigned triumphant; and, as a result, poetry and romance were more popular than science. The Syrians never seem to have taken any great interest in the theological discussions which were constantly setting the people of Irak into a ferment of excitement [illegible] they show any inclination to profit by the culture of the nations subject [illegible]tuation of Damascus on the edge of the desert, and the tenacity wit[illegible]bian inhabitants of Syria held fast to their nomadic habits of li[illegible]ectual isolation. Of the Omeyad rulers, some were too pio[illegible]se to have a pronounced taste for serious scientific studies[illegible]ory of the Irakan Arabs completely changed the s[illegible]

The same [illegible]ny organisation, that had remained under the Omeyads [illegible]ng the first days of the Caliphate. There was practica[illegible]d the caliph's body-guard was of no special importance [illegible]sty came into power. The conquered countries were [illegible]of military colonies; for as a rule the armies that won [illegible]iately settled down in the new territories and continued [illegible]overnor. The natural result of this wholesale emigration [illegible]d increase in the political significance of Arabia during the da[illegible]is. Owing to the tribal organisation of the Arabs, the warriors o[illegible] family formed at the same time a military troop; but such bodies [illegible] of small value when not under the command of their natural lead[illegible]empts to build regiments out of the various tribal groups, or even to [illegible]warriors of one tribe under the command of an unfamiliar leader were [illegible] failures. Thus the military organisation, however well adapted to the s[illegible]onditions of life of the Arabs, was incapable of development, and the formati[illegible]of a standing army an impossibility. And in this fact lay the root of the misfortune that finally led to the fall of the empire, and enabled the barbarous nomads of Central Asia to take the reins of government into their own hands. The Abbassides were compelled to form their body-guards and standing armies out of foreign mercenaries; and these mercenaries themselves finally became the rulers of the empire.

The art of warfare as practised by the Arabs during the early days of the Caliphate, although distinguished by no special merit, nevertheless sufficed for conquering the exhausted Byzantines and Persians. The celebrity which the Arabians have long possessed as breeders of horses might easily lead to the incorrect idea that the troops of the first caliphs consisted exclusively of cavalry; in truth, however, the number of serviceable horses in Arabia was never very large and consequently the Arabian armies were chiefly made up of infantry and camel riders who usually fought on foot. The backbone of the army was indeed composed of horsemen, well armed with steel helmet and chain mail, bearing lance and sabre; but the bulk of the soldiers were, at least during the early days of the Caliphate, very badly off for arms, and the spoils then most desired by them were the weapons of the conquered. Already during Mohammed's lifetime archers formed an impor-

London: Wm Heinemann. Printed by the Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig. *New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.*

MUSICIANS AND STANDARD-BEARERS OF A SARACEN ARMY ON THE MARCH.
FROM AN ARABIAN MANUSCRIPT IN THE POSSESSION OF CHARLES SCHEFER, PARIS.
(After G. Schlumberger, Un empereur byzantin au dixième siècle.)

tant branch of the army. The tactics were very simple: a centre with two wings, in most cases accompanied by a reserve force, was the rule; to be sure, the enemy's flank was sometimes turned and ambuscades were attempted, but as a rule a battle consisted of a medley of single combats; the heroism of one individual may often have decided a victory. The custom of Oriental armies to disperse on the death of their leaders did not prevail among the Arabs to the extent it did, for example, among the Persians, for the obvious reason that the tribal organisation through which the armies were furnished with a large number of capable inferior officers was not such as to favour sudden panics. Many an important victory of the Arabs was certainly due to the steadiness of the troops. During the days of Mohammed, when a simple ditch was sufficient to shield Medina from attack, the art of laying siege to a fortified town was in its infancy; but sixty years later, the stones from the catapults, that rattled down on the roof of the Kaaba, proved to the inhabitants of Mecca that the Syrian Arabs had already learned all that was necessary on that score from their Eastern Roman neighbours.

The surprisingly rapid development of Mohammedan sea-power — the navy was constructed with the assistance of impressed inhabitants of the Syrian coast — has already been mentioned. It was fortunate for the Christian Occident that the dreaded "Greek fire," the secret of which the Arabians long endeavoured in vain to solve, was discovered in time; in it the Eastern Roman admirals became possessed of a powerful weapon through which perhaps Constantinople was saved from a premature fall.

The period of the early caliphs and the Omeyads was the heroic age of Islam, and it was characterised by physical and intellectual vigour and exuberance of health. The youthful Mohammedan Empire might well be compared to crude, green fruit into which the sap is still flowing. During the days of the Abbasside rulers it became ripe and sweet, and its fragrance was diffused in all directions; but at first almost imperceptibly, later in rapid progress, traces of decay appeared, and finally it was transformed into mould, and its last remains trodden under the feet of savage conquerors.

4. THE ABBASSIDES AND THE FALL OF THE CALIPHATE

A. Political History until the Reign of Harun

It was not love for a brave general or for the followers of the prophet, whose claims to the caliphate were much more valid than those of the rulers in Damascus, but hatred, that caused Irakans and Persians to unite against the Syrians. There was no lack of candidates for the empty throne; once more the numerous descendants of Ali stood in the front rank. They had never ceased to labour for the downfall of the Omeyad dynasty, and in all probability the bulk of the soldiers who fought for Irak and defeated Mervan at the Great Zab believed that they were also fighting for the Alides. But the curse that seemed to accompany this family of pretenders continued on with undiminished power: into the place of the descendants of Ali, the diplomatic, crafty grandchildren of Abbas thrust themselves, and as soon as they dared lay aside the mask of dissimulation, held fast with iron grasp to the longed-for office.

Abbas was an uncle of the prophet, a distinguished man but of doubtful charac-

ter, who had opposed his nephew until finally the scales turned in favour of the latter. He then enthusiastically welcomed Mohammed as the messenger of God. Through this ancestor — whose spirit had descended upon his children — the Abbassides based their claims to the caliphate, not without foundation according to Arabian law, for among the Omeyads also, not the son but the brother of a prince was looked upon as the legitimate successor. Besides, Mohammed had left behind him no male descendants, but only a daughter, the maternal ancestor of the Alides. The success of the one family or the other depended entirely upon the personalities of their leaders, and so far as this was concerned the Abbassides were greatly superior to the descendants of Ali, who never yet had succeeded in pursuing a definite policy.

Abdallah Abul-Abbas, with the honourable nickname Al-Saffah (the man of blood), perhaps invented by himself, was of all the family the man most capable of assisting the cause of the Abbassides to victory both by trickery and force. By him the new period of Mohammedan history was ushered in in a manner characteristic of the entire epoch. When the Hashimids, the name given to the opponents of the Omeyads and supporters of the true descendants of Mohammed, had taken possession of Kufa, Abdallah was on hand immediately and succeeded in winning over their general for his cause. The commander of the Khorassan rebels, Abu Muslim, had always been inclined to favour the Abbassides, and others, whose loyalty seemed doubtful, were put out of the way either through open force or secret assassination. Arriving in Syria, Abdallah hastened to massacre all members of the Omeyad family upon whom he could lay his hands, and caused the graves of the Omeyad caliphs to be opened and the bodies mutilated. It was in vain that the followers of Ali rebelled in Irak, and the adherents of the Omeyads in Syria. When, after a reign of four years, the "man of blood" died, the entire empire with the single exception of Spain, which then broke off for all time from the rulers of the East, was in the hands of the Abbassides.

The true founder of the Abbasside dynasty was Abu Muslim, who had first caused Khorassan to revolt, and now governed this important province with its military colonies and warlike inhabitants, — a man who, owing to the intolerance and bigotry in which he had been educated, had become a bloodthirsty fanatic. Not until shortly before his death did he appreciate and regret the evil results of his blind religious zeal, as is shown in a remarkable letter written by his hand. It was inevitable that such a powerful, independent personage as he should have awakened the suspicions of the caliph, who made several attempts to cause him to be assassinated. When after the death of Abdallah, a struggle for the succession broke out between his brothers, Abu Muslim hastened up, and with the aid of his army decided the victory in favour of Abu Jafar Mansur. But it was fated that Muslim should never return to his province. As soon as he felt his position to be secure enough, the new caliph lost no time in putting into practise the political tendencies which he had inherited from his father. Abu Muslim was enticed to court, and there cut down before the caliph's eyes. After his death, a rebellion in favour of the descendants of Ali broke out in Khorassan, and at the same time the contemporary head of the family, Mohammed, incited the Medinans to revolt; but Arabia was no longer the land from which a new dynasty could arise. Mohammed fell in battle, and the rebellion in Khorassan was easily crushed.

During Mansur's reign the effects of the fall of the Omeyads and the termination of Syrian supremacy came fully into the light. Abdallah had already chosen Irak for his residence. Mansur, however, did not choose the frontier town of Kufa to be the capital of his great empire, but built the city of Bagdad in the heart of Persia, on the banks of the Tigris, at a point where the two rivers are separated by less than thirty miles. At first it had not been his intention to establish the capital here. He had desired to found a military town, or, more correctly, a fortified camp as a headquarters for the mercenaries, with whose aid he expected to hold the restless Irakans in subjection. But Mansur could not shake himself free from the latter, among whom he enjoyed great popularity. Kufa, fallen into disfavour, was deserted; and after a few years had passed the walls of Bagdad became too narrow for the inhabitants who came streaming in from all directions. On the left bank of the Tigris a new and splendid quarter of the town arose; in short, whether he would or not, the caliph beheld a metropolis arising about his residence, a city which seemed to be a reflection of the Nineveh and Babylon of ancient days.

The attempt to found a military camp in the land which was now elevated by the Abbasside caliphs into the centre of the Mohammedan Empire, was of itself sufficient to prove that a change had begun to take place in the relations between the rulers and their subjects. The Omeyads had dwelt in Damascus, in the midst of a population of pure-blooded Arabs, who were loyal to the dynasty and dangerous to the caliph only when they became divided amongst themselves on account of tribal prejudice and hatred. Equal loyalty was not to be expected from the inhabitants of Irak, a mixed population of which the various elements were constantly in a state of war with one another; nor were the Arabs of Irak any longer to be depended upon, for they had long before become enfeebled and degenerate. Thus it became necessary for Mansur to substitute for the small body-guard that had proved sufficient for the Omeyads a larger division, of which the nucleus was composed, neither of Syrians nor of Irakans, but of border troops from Khorassan and Turkish mercenaries. For the first time in the history of Western Asia the barbarous sons of the Northeast strutted about the streets of Bagdad in the brilliant uniform of the life-guard, and cast longing looks on the vast treasures of the "capital of the world." Tidings of the fabulous splendour of Bagdad soon reached the Turkistan steppes; and the warlike nomads seated about their campfires eagerly listened to stories of the luxury of the metropolis and the cowardice and lack of unity of its inhabitants told by their returned companions. There was no longer any need for the caliph to impress or to entice Turkish mercenaries into his service; already more than enough had volunteered.

The removal of the centre of the empire to the East was chiefly a result of the growing power of the Persians, who were now completely reconciled to the Mohammedan religion. During the days of the Omeyads it had been almost impossible for a Persian to attain a position of influence in the State; but under the Abbassides the number of Iranians occupying high offices constantly increased. With them a new spirit, foreign and hostile to the old Arabian character, became supreme at the caliph's court. The mixture of aristocracy and democracy peculiar to the Arabs as a natural result of their nomadic manner of life with clans and chiefs, was entirely unknown to the Persians, who had always shown that a despotic form of government was better adapted to their national character. The

Arabs of the old school had not the least comprehension for that blind idolisation of a ruler which the Persians had exhibited from the earliest times. Far from endeavouring to oppose this tendency, the Abbassides became less and less accessible to the people, and entirely gave up the immediate, almost comrade-like relation of ruler to subject in which the Omeyads had stood to their faithful Syrians.

It soon became necessary for Mansur to create a new official, a vizier, who occupied the position of intermediary between the more or less deified caliph and the common people. It is obvious that the vizierate cannot well be compared with the chancellorship of a European State, inasmuch as the vizier was not the adviser of the caliph, but his agent in matters pertaining to external affairs. His duty was merely to execute the commands of his master, whose profound wisdom and infallible judgment decided upon all questions of administration, but who was far too august to take a personal share in the actual details of administration. Thus the vizierate was one of those positions of which the significance depended entirely upon the character of the incumbent, or of the prince whom he served. Some viziers were mere lay figures; others were friends and advisers of the sovereign, in some cases, indeed, the true rulers of the nation, in whose hands the caliphs were little more than puppets.

Although the Abbassides were willing to accede to the demands of the Iranian spirit in the matter of the vizierate, it was necessary for them to exercise the utmost caution in regard to another trait of Persian character somewhat similar to that which has already been described. The movement which enabled the Abbassides to place themselves at the head of the Mohammedan Empire was in the main a result of Persian activity, and had for its immediate object nothing further than the destruction of the Omeyad dynasty in order that the true heirs and descendants of Mohammed might occupy the throne. It is obvious, however, that the Abbassides attained their position of supremity owing rather to their superior diplomacy and cunning than to a general recognition of their rights. Inflamed with anger, but not in the least discouraged, the descendants of Ali still awaited an opportunity for putting forth their claims. The Abbassides themselves knew only too well that the grandchildren of the deified son-in-law and nephew of the prophet possessed in reality far more adherents among the inhabitants of the empire than did the House of Abbas; and even had they not realised it, the revolts that were constantly breaking out in favour of the Alides would soon have caused them to become acquainted with the true state of affairs. However much the Abbassides were indebted to the various sectarians who assisted them to the Caliphate, and however enthusiastic they may have been as Shiites during the years preceding their elevation to the throne, upon attaining the position of supremacy they were obliged to renounce their sect and ingratiate themselves with the orthodox party, to which the bulk of the Arabian population belonged. The first step taken in this direction by the caliph Mansur may not have been easy; in fact, its immediate effect was to endanger his throne. But the permanent result of an understanding between the despotic monarchy and the State church could not have been otherwise than beneficial to the future of the dynasty.

Their position in regard to the orthodox party was of the highest importance to the Abbassides. As caliphs they were not only the rulers of a vast empire,

but also the spiritual guides of all Mohammedans, defenders of the faith, as well as of the realm. During the time of the Omeyads the two offices had united into one: in all regions throughout which the new doctrines were disseminated the temporal supremacy of the caliph was also recognised. Although the Abbassides soon perceived that they would not be able to retain their double position in all parts of their exceptionally extensive empire, they recognised at the same time that the religious influence which they possessed was also a means for preserving the State from dissolution, and that at least their spiritual authority could be maintained in regions where the power of their arms was no longer feared. On the other hand, dissenters had the choice either of entirely severing their connections with Bagdad through the election of a new caliph, or of taking a middle course by refusing to recognise the temporal supremacy of the Caliphate while subjecting themselves to its spiritual authority. Thus, under these conditions, it must have been a matter of great importance for the Abbassides to win the friendship of the orthodox party as well as of the Arabian tribes, which, notwithstanding all removals of the centre of power, still retained the political leadership of the Mohammedan world.

Nevertheless, in spite of Mansur's wise policy, the unity of the empire was not entirely preserved during his reign. At the same time that the centre of the empire was transferred to the East, Spain, the farthest western province, was lost to the caliphs; not only the temporal but the spiritual bonds of connection were completely severed. It was in vain that Abdallah, "the man of blood," had endeavoured to annihilate the Omeyad family. A member of the fallen house, Abd ur Rahman, escaped to Africa after manifold adventures, and finally reached Spain, where after long struggles between Kaisites and Kelbites, the Kaisite leader, Yusuf, had obtained control of the government and driven out the Abbasside emissaries. Shortly after his landing, Abd ur Rahman succeeded in deposing Yusuf with the assistance of the Kelbites. He now established an independent government, and, as a descendant of the unjustly deposed Omeyad dynasty, took upon himself the title of caliph, in 756. All Mansur's attempts to destroy his rival were without effect. In general, the reign of the former was so disturbed at home by revolts of the followers of Ali and other parties, that foreign undertakings were out of the question. The caliph was forced to content himself with maintaining the frontiers of the empire, here and there perhaps succeeding in advancing them a trifle. At all events, Mansur was successful in rendering secure the throne of the Abbassides. It may have been that a cold, calculating, faithless character such as his was needed at this time with the assistance of the Irakans to maintain the supremacy of the Abbassides.

The golden age of the Abbasside dynasty did not begin until after the death of Mansur in 775, when his son Mahdi succeeded to the Caliphate — much against the will of his uncle, who, as brother of the late caliph, had first claim to the throne according to Arabian custom. But the constantly recurring inclination of reigning caliphs to abrogate the usual form of succession in favour of their own descendants in this case led to no serious conflict. Mahdi was the very opposite of his father both in character and disposition, but none the less just such a ruler as the Irakans most valued. Under his government Bagdad began to develop into the city with which we have become acquainted through legend and tale as the most brilliant and joyful capital of the world, and at the same time the centre of Eastern literature and science.

That in spite of Mahdi's mild rule there was no peace in Irak, and that the old struggles of sects and parties broke out anew, now here, now there, is self-evident from the character of the people. In like manner the warlike inhabitants of Khorassan, although they had assisted the Abbassides to the throne, nevertheless looked upon the departure of the latter from the Shiite doctrines with great displeasure. The tremendous revolt headed by the prophet Almukanna (the veiled one) in Transoxania was not completely quelled until the year 780. Just as if there were not enough sects and parties already in existence, Arabian revolutionaries arose in Irak and preached a republican form of Mohammedanism. Their principles may perhaps be considered to be the sharpest protest put forth by the Arabian national spirit against the Iranian despotism of the Abbassides. Among the Persians the old communism of the followers of Mazdak, who had imbittered the life of the last of the Sassanidæ, appeared once more in a Mohammedan garb. The Iranian adherents of Ali finally arrived at the summit of absurdity in the deification of their idol. They had ever been ready to recognise the Abbasside caliphs also as divine beings on account of their connection with the prophet, until the departure of the Abbassides from the orthodox faith transformed this everwhelming veneration into hatred. There is no doubt but that the majority of the sects emanated from the Persians, and that they were, in a way, the outward evidences of the severe spiritual conflict occasioned by the conversion of the Iranians to Mohammedanism and the blending of the Persian and Arabian conceptions of life. Acquaintance with the religions of India, especially with the doctrine of the transmigration of souls which found many converts in Khorassan, contributed not a little to the general confusion.

In spite of the domestic disturbances, Mahdi was able to undertake several successful expeditions against the Byzantines, without, however, firmly establishing his position in Asia Minor. An army sent by him to invade Spain was annihilated by the Omeyad caliph. The latter had already formed a plan of attacking Syria in order to arouse the old followers of his house to battle with the Abbassides, when fortunately for Mahdi, Charlemagne began his wars against the Moors in Spain. During the last years of his life the policy of Mahdi was guided almost entirely by his ambitious wife Khizuran, who had also managed to cause her sons Hadi and Harun to be named as successors to the Caliphate. But when in the year 785 Hadi ascended to the throne, her ambition encountered a sudden check, inasmuch as he advised her with great emphasis to busy herself with the duties of a woman, and to spend more of her time reading the Koran. However, Hadi's attempt to exclude her favourite Harum from the succession in favour of his own children led to his assassination in the next year.

Harun al Rashid came to the throne without opposition, reigning from 786–809. He had always enjoyed great popularity, his generosity and kindliness contributing no less to the affection in which he was held by his subjects than the warlike deeds he had performed during his father's lifetime against the Byzantines. Still, he had inherited the evil characteristics of his Abbasside ancestors in full measure, showing himself on more than one occasion to be both treacherous and cruel. The high praise which tradition has accorded to his celebrated justness must be accepted, to say the least, with many restrictions. However, he has now become a favourite hero of legend; and Bagdad, his residence, which attained to its period of greatest prosperity during his days, now stands for that epitome of fabulous

splendour which the traveller in the Orient often seeks but never finds. Harun's name is connected the more closely with Bagdad for the reason that its decay set in almost immediately after his death, and with the magnificence of the city, the glory of the Caliphate itself became less and less, until finally it too vanished.

On the whole, however, it may be said that the period of Harun's reign was one of domestic prosperity and of successful foreign wars. The ruinous effects of the Abbasside system of government were not felt to any great extent during his lifetime. But complete domestic tranquillity was not to be thought of. It was impossible for the Irakan and Persian sects to renounce their favourite pastime of quarrelling; again and again they sought to take up arms, and in Syria, Kelbites and Kaisites fell upon one another with undiminished fury. Nor were the ever-restless inhabitants of Khorassan any the less inclined to revolt now than they had always been. In Africa things came to such a pass that the authority of the caliph was no longer recognised in the western provinces; and a dynasty of the house of Ali arose, refusing to be subject either to the temporal or to the spiritual influence of the Abbassides.

The campaigns of Harun against the Byzantines, although temporarily successful, were attended by no permanent results. Constantinople was harassed to the uttermost by the Bulgarians, and repulsed the armies of the caliph with the greatest difficulty; more than once the city was compelled to pay tribute to Harun. The expeditions often led by Harun himself into Asia Minor were little more than predatory raids; for the empire of the caliph was already too decayed and tattered to permit of a permanent acquisition and Mohammedanising of new provinces; in fact, soon after Harun's death the Byzantines themselves took the offensive.

The most noteworthy event of Harun's life was the destruction of the Barmecides. Had it been only the murder of over-ambitious generals or governors, or merely one of the scenes of carnage that occur in endless succession throughout the history of Oriental empires, the incident would scarcely be worthy of notice. But in reality the deed itself, together with the events that led up to it, may be taken as a characteristic prelude to later conditions; through it the authority of the office of major-domo, which was in later times called into existence by the weakening despotism as an executive and support, was for the time being done away with. Already under the predecessors of Harun the Barmecide family, had attained to great authority; and its influence became almost unlimited when one of its members, Yahya, by timely interference succeeded in securing the throne for Harun on the death of Hadi. And when Jafar, a son of Yahya, obtained as a result of his wisdom and charm of personality the highest favour of the caliph, and occupied the office of vizier with almost boundless power, it seemed indeed as if a new ruling house had arisen with the Abbassides. Already the whims of Jafar were looked upon as of greater importance than those of the caliph; already measureless wealth had fallen to the share of the favoured family, when a sudden catastrophe destroyed its hopes of further distinction and influence, and at the same time led to the annihilation of the all-powerful favourite. Had it been insight into the threatening danger that led Harun to take extreme measures, much might be said in his defence; however, it was in reality nothing more than an ordinary harem affair through which Jafar and his family came to their ruin, and certainly not greatly to the credit of the caliph. This was also the reason why the deed awakened extreme dissatisfaction among the people of Bagdad (803).

Grumbling and imbittered, the ageing Harum left the city, and resided during the last years of his life in Rakka in Mesopotamia, assiduously but vainly engaged in an attempt to obviate later quarrels as to the succession.

B. Economic and Intellectual Conditions during the Abbasside Caliphate

During the reign of Harun the Abbasside Empire reached the zenith of its external power and domestic culture. The foundations of prosperity were on the whole the same as they had been during the Omeyad period, but internal conditions had changed. The transformation that had found expression in the removal of the centre of the empire from Damascus to Bagdad exerted a tremendous influence on the life and morals of the Mohammedan races. Unlike a plant that dies upon being taken from the dry, strong desert air of Damascus and placed in the hot, damp plain of Irak, the civilization of the Caliphate developed only the more rapidly under the new conditions. At the same time, however, poisonous vapours arose from the warm, fever-breeding soil; luxuriant weeds sprouted, choking the earth, until the blossoms of Moslem culture withered and decayed, and finally the remains of the former splendour were trodden into the swampy ground by the hoof-beats of the on-storming Mongol horse.

Inasmuch as the residence of the caliph was removed to the richest and most densely populated province of the empire, it followed that the Caliphate itself gained new lustre, and at the same time became further estranged from its old Arabian simplicity. In order that the caliph might maintain the splendour and dignity of his supreme position among the countless rich merchants of Bagdad, in the midst of a population given over to pretension and display, it became necessary for him to arrange his court in a manner entirely different from that which had previously been the custom under the majority of the Omeyad rulers. Magnificent palaces, bridges, mosques, artistically laid out gardens, water conduits, and public fountains aroused the wonder of his subjects no less than did the splendour of the arms and uniforms displayed by caliph and court on holidays, or the plenitude of treasures accumulated in the palace of the ruler, and the lavish way in which money was freely distributed to beggars and unemployed. A luxurious spirit of good cheer pervaded the entire city; and as once in the Rome of the emperors, not only the gold of the provinces but also the native products of the various quarters of the globe were brought by commerce to the markets of Bagdad, where the silks of China and the furs of Siberia were heaped together with the spices of India and Arabia and the coloured leather wares of Cordova. At that time Bagdad was the centre of the world's commercial routes, that led from China to the West, from India to Byzantium and to Western Europe.

Although there were still dangers and difficulties to be overcome, it was a golden age of commerce; the majority of the roads were in excellent condition, provided with milestones and caravansaries, and protected by garrisons in the less-frequented regions. The great pilgrimages to Mecca that took place each year, and united devotion and trade in a most profitable manner, contributed not a little to the increase of traffic, although the Arab merchant as a rule was quick enough to follow in the track of the warlike Mohammedan propaganda, sometimes indeed preceding it and appearing in the rôle both of missionary and trader. The onset

WESTERN ASIA
AT THE TIME OF THE CALIPHS

Scale 1 17 000 000

Kilometres

English Miles

Boundary of the Roman Empire under Diocletian.

Boundary of the Empire of the Abbasid Caliphs.

Boundary of the Byzantine Empire at the time of the first Abbasids.

Boundary of the Byzantine Empire about the Year 1000.

London: Wm. Heinemann.

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New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

of the religious wars had thrown down all the barriers that previously had encircled the lands of Western Asia like Chinese walls; the Mohammedan merchant now found countrymen and tribal relatives in all regions, who were ready to give him shelter and protection and all the assistance in their power. Nor was the sea closed to him. Commerce on the Indian Ocean had long been in the hands of the Arabians, who penetrated as far as the southern Chinese ports, and through their superior industry had practically ruined the once flourishing shipping-trade of China. In the eastern Mediterranean the warships of the caliph had forced back the Byzantines; in the year 826 the conquest of Crete provided Mohammedan commerce and piracy with a base that for more than one hundred years defied every attack of the Eastern Roman emperors. The desert was as little an obstacle as the sea to the Mohammedan merchant, who was well acquainted with its dangers, and knew by what means they could be overcome. Northern Africa had scarcely been conquered before commerce with the Sudan, which had before been merely a small unprofitable intermediate trade, immediately began to flourish: vast caravans traversed the desert of Sahara and brought the products of Arabian, Persian, and Egyptian industry to the blacks, returning home with gold-dust, ostrich feathers, and negro slaves. In all regions into which the Arab merchant penetrated arose those small settlements and colonies which even to-day exist on the eastern African coast as precursors of Arabian civilization and Mohammedanism.

Had only material wares been put in circulation by the commercial activity that pervaded the entire empire of the caliphs, the phenomenon would have been significant and striking enough; but in truth the intellectual movement that was brought about through the extension of trade, and the consequent furtherance of the unity of the empire were of much greater importance, far more wide-reaching in their results. Already under the Omeyads this process had begun, but not until the Caliphate had been removed to Irak, where there was so great an intermingling of races, did it attain to its fullest completion.

Even before the invasion of the Arabs the population of Irak had been a remarkable mixture. The ancient Babylonian race still formed the nucleus of the stationary inhabitants and the peasant class; in the cities there was a large amount of Greek blood, and finally Semites had immigrated in such numbers that during the period of the Sassanidæ bands of Jews had succeeded in keeping the land in a state of terror for months at a time. The long-continued supremacy of the Parthians and the Sassanidæ had very naturally led to an extensive immigration of Iranians, who had now — also in an ethnographic sense — become the leading race, as was abundantly proven by the close connection in which Irakans and Persians appeared in later times, especially in the various revolts and rebellions. It has already been described how the Arabians, who had dwelt in the steppe regions since the earliest times, destroyed the Iranian power at the beginning of the Mohammedan movement, increased in numbers, and founded a new state. With the establishment of the Islamite world-empire the way was opened for an unlimited blending of races; and when Bagdad became the centre of the empire as well as of commerce, there was not a race element of the Arabian Empire and its bordering lands unrepresented, no civilization that had not exerted its influence on the medley of peoples in the world-city. Here, on a soil that had known culture from the earliest ages, arts and sciences could not fail to flourish; and for a time Bagdad was the centre of learning of the world of its day. Scholars and poets needed but

the invitation of such a sovereign as Harun, to flock to his court from all quarters of the empire.

In view of the present condition of Islam and the pitiable state into which the civilization of its followers has fallen, it is difficult to believe in the possibility of such a broad and free scientific and literary life as in reality existed during the first period of the Abbassides. The absurd demand that every "scholar" must first learn the Koran by heart, thereby limiting almost his entire intellectual activity to the study of this most unscientific work, seems of itself to be sufficient effectually to paralyse all progress. But this stereotyped state of affairs has only been the result of a long development. Just as most European peoples have in the course of time mastered the Bible, so the Mohammedans have gradually become completely familiar with the Koran; but the latter have not possessed the capacity of the former for separating the indispensable from the non-essential portions of the work, and for boldly bursting through the barriers with which ecclesiastical rigidness necessarily circumscribes the free development of intellect. During the age of the Abbassides the Koran had not yet become the absolute guide of life; its laws were not yet so infallible, its believers not yet so fanatically credulous as they are to-day: without scruple the caliph and his confidants gave themselves over to the full enjoyment of wine, that was so hateful to the prophet, scarcely even troubling to veil their scandalous conduct from the public eye. With the same freedom Harun patronised scholars and philosophers whose views would have made the hair of every orthodox Moslem stand on end. Nor could he very well have done otherwise. Irak had ever been the classic ground of sects. The caliph would have been compelled to annihilate at least two-thirds of his most intellectual subjects had he desired the orthodox belief to obtain full play. Moreover, the fact that the Abbassides had originally been adherents of the Shiite heresy and were always suspected of a relapse was as well known in Bagdad as in any other part of the empire. It would not have been advisable to provoke the sectarians too much; for as it was they were constantly on the verge of revolt.

Only against the communists (the Zendikists) were laws enacted, and a formal court of inquisition established for the destruction of these stragglers of the old Mazdakite persuasion. Through this the caliph ensured himself the applause of the wealthy classes, who at this time as always were far more apprehensive of the evil effects of a raid on their purses than of any number of heretical attacks on the sacred paragraphs of the Koran.

However much economic development was impeded by the constant tumult and rebellions caused by the various sects, their existence was nevertheless of the greatest advantage to intellectual progress, owing to the large degree of tolerance which the caliph was obliged to exhibit on their account. Every new idea, however daring it might be, could hope to find approbation and adherents, not only among the well-educated higher classes of Bagdad, but even among the people and at court. Doubters and sceptics were permitted publicly to expound their views at the side of the unyielding orthodox and the fanciful mystics; and the numerous Christians and Jews took an active part in the labour of civilization, according to their own methods.

In most cases, however, the various sects and religions were nothing more than the intellectual expression of the differences of race, which indeed were the true foundation of the rapid development of Irakan civilization. The characteristics

of the different peoples who came together in Bagdad supplemented each other in a marvellous way: the sharp, somewhat matter-of-fact intellect of the Arabs became united at a most favourable moment with the unbridled creative imagination of the Iranian, and conceptions of the harmony of early Greek life as well as of the mystic depths of Hindoo thought were awakened by the representatives of these two opposite poles of Aryan culture.

Hellenism, represented by the immortal works of its greatest age, was the basis of all scientific activity; and at a time when they were forgotten in Western Europe, the writings of Aristotle became the oracle of the Mohammedan world. Nevertheless the products of Greek intellectual life did not achieve popularity as rapidly as one might have expected. Direct translations of Greek texts were not made until the reign of the caliph Mamun (813–833); until this time Persian translations as old as the days of the Sassanidæ had been found sufficient for all purposes. Thus, in this respect at least, the period of Harun al Rashid was not the highest point of development. Here, as so often in the course of history, intellectual activity did not coincide precisely with the height of political prosperity, but outlived the latter, attaining to its zenith at a time when its foundations were already threatened by the storm which was to be followed by a new period.

The chief branches of learning patronised by the caliph were naturally such as were especially congenial to the Arabian spirit, that is to say, those requiring intellectual penetration rather than powers of invention; for example, philology and grammar, logic and rhetoric, religious dogmatics and jurisprudence. It is scarcely necessary to mention that mathematics also was extremely popular among the Arabs. Another peculiarity of the Arabs, their delight in tribal traditions and in endless genealogies of families, only required the influence of Greek models in order to become transformed into history; knowledge of geography also developed as a result of historical investigation as well as of the great commercial activity of the period. It is characteristic that of these two branches of science, the latter developed more freely and in greater tranquillity; history was never able to emancipate itself from the bonds of partiality for particular princes and sects. During the Abbasside period astronomy and natural science were also unable to cast off the fetters of superstition, which, as a rule, hindered all progress and rendered dispassionate investigation impossible. Nevertheless, although astronomy was greatly hampered by the unavoidable and ever-present popular study of astrology, at any rate its close connection with mathematics furnished it with a firm basis for sound development. Chemistry was rarely pursued independently, for its own sake, being looked upon for the most part as a means for the artificial production of gold; nevertheless, some of the best work of the period was done by the Arabians in this branch of natural science. Finally, medicine, furthered by the translation of Greek handbooks, attained perhaps not to a completely free development, but at least to a very advanced state of progress.

The idea that attention should not be devoted exclusively to a single branch of knowledge, but that men should endeavour to obtain a more general education through the study of several sciences, was not unknown to the Mohammedan world of the eighth and ninth centuries; already during the reign of Mansur a school had been established in Bagdad in which the Arabian language, the art of poetry, and astronomy, were taught. The effort to attain distinction in science on the foundation of an all-round intellectual training was not confined to Bagdad alone.

Focuses of learning arose at the courts of governors and in the prosperous commercial centres; the activity of trade in material goods aided the exchange of intellectual products; indeed, a large number of the scholars and writers of the day were in the habit of wandering from city to city, from court to court,— the world was open to them and they were always certain of being received everywhere with enthusiasm. Not until the present century has the Western world, as a result of vastly improved methods of communication, become to a certain degree a unity similar to the Arabian Empire under the Abbassides; nevertheless, the possession of a universally understood written and spoken language rendered the culture of the Abbasside State in many ways superior to that of modern Europe.

Among the arts music was zealously cultivated, although none of the great Mohammedan races have attained to more than mediocrity in a province that seems to be the peculiar property of the Western Aryans. Whatever talent existed for the plastic arts was, in view of the mandate of Mohammed forbidding pictures and images, restricted to architecture and to the various handicrafts; and perhaps the latter were pursued only the more industriously since the way was closed to the highest endeavours of sculptor or painter. The preference for a superfluity of detailed ornament is one of the results of this command of the prophet, — an injunction that could have been uttered only by a typical representative of the matter-of-fact, logical, unimaginative Arabian race. Literature alone was permitted to develop in complete freedom in the empire of the caliphs, and even it was unhampered only in so far as the airy creations of poetic genius could not easily be gagged and checked; satire still continued to be one of the most dreaded weapons employed in the struggle of parties and sects. But the old unconstrained spirit of Arabian poetry had ceased to exist at the time of Harun, although during his reign verse writing had become a mania and the poet an indispensable court functionary. Versifying was then an unprofitable trade for all writers who were unable to flatter the whims of the ruler and of the rich; but as is always the case, the flattery soon became exaggerated, and as immoderate praise constantly stands in need of further instalments of hyperbole, the result was a court literature of boundless absurdity and bad taste. It was, it is true, a sign of progress that during the reign of Mansur rules of prosody were invented, and that the unbridled license of Bedouin poetry went out of fashion; but although this led to good results in later times, the immediate effect was merely an increase of the empty babble of countless poetasters. The Persians, whose rich imaginative gift was subsequently to procure for them the foremost place in the history of Oriental poetry, had not then reached a stage of culture sufficiently advanced to serve as a foundation for a literature of enduring worth; and their imitations of Arabian models shared all the faults of insipidity and banality of the latter.

This, however, is no serious reproach; for never yet has a nation arrived at the highest distinction in all departments of science and art at the same time. In spite of many weaknesses, the civilization of the Mohammedans during the Caliphate — at a period when Europe was first beginning to recover from the general destruction that followed the Teutonic migrations — cannot be looked upon as other than the guardian of the traditions of better days. It was due to Moslem culture alone that the progress of civilization was not wholly interrupted at a time when the energy of the Southern European nations had slackened and the Northern barbarians awkwardly and with difficulty, although with fresh powers, were begin-

ing to restore the institutions which they themselves had destroyed but a few years before. The prosperity of Bagdad was a fleeting but by no means unworthy reflection of those earlier days, when for centuries the only civilization of the world was that which flourished on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris.

The culture of the Arabians was not without its influence on Europe; the young nations of the Middle Ages did not remain long unacquainted with the splendour and polish of the caliph's empire, although the first meetings of Europeans and Arabs were rather hostile than friendly; for example, the conquest of Spain by the Saracens. But it was precisely the conquest of the Pyrenean Peninsula that led to a close relationship between the most powerful rulers of the West, the Frankish kings, and the Abbassides. Inasmuch as the Omeyad caliphs in Spain were the rivals of the Abbasside princes in Bagdad, it was natural that the Christian States of Europe should become the allies of the latter. Embassies were exchanged as early as the time of Pepin. The negotiations of Charlemagne with Harun al Rashid made an especially deep impression on the Occidental world, although followed by no practical results.

C. The Beginnings of Decay

HARUN may have foreseen that the loss of Spain was a sure sign of approaching decay; and it was perhaps with a conscious intention of making the best of an unavoidable situation that shortly before his death he resolved to divide the temporal power of the empire among his three sons, — Emin, Mamun, and Kasim, — placing the ecclesiastical sovereignty, however, in the hands of the eldest alone, thus to gird the whole with an indivisible spiritual bond. In accordance with this plan, Emin was promised the Caliphate, together with the provinces of Irak, Southern Syria, Arabia, and Africa; Mamun, the entire East, and Kasim, Mesopotamia and Northern Syria. But almost immediately after Harun's death (at Tus during an expedition to Khorassan) his plans regarding Emin were rendered abortive; for the latter hastened back to Bagdad at the head of the army and laid claim to absolute dominion over the whole empire; his brother Mamun, at first in secrecy, later openly, renounced allegiance to him and took up a strong position in Khorassan. In truth, behind this apparently dynastic struggle were concealed the racial antipathies which sooner or later were to destroy the unity of the Mohammedan Empire. Emin's vizier, who represented the power behind the throne, was a champion of the orthodox Arabian party; on the other hand, Mamun's vizier was a Persian, and a believer in the doctrines of the Shiites.

The result of the struggle was apparent from the very beginning. As an Abbasside, Emin could look for no assistance from the Syrians; the latter, indeed, revolted on their own account. Thus he found support only in the untrustworthy Irakans and the state troops that were unfortunately chiefly composed of mercenary Khorassanians and Turks, and already, by reason of their increasing consciousness of independence, more of a danger to him than to his enemies. Defeated by Tahir, Mamun's general, they returned to Bagdad full of resentment, and it was only by an increase in pay that they could be induced to remain faithful to the cause of Emin; but in the long run these undisciplined guards proved as little able as the cowardly Irakans to withstand the advance of the warlike inhabitants of Khoras-

san. After a war that lasted four years Emin was finally besieged in his capital and reduced to the utmost straits by Mamun's Persian generals, Tahir and Hortuma. He finally surrendered to the latter, but before he could be brought to a place of safety was attacked and killed at the command of Tahir (813).

In the meantime Mamun had remained quietly in Merv, and even now showed no intention of marching to Bagdad, however much his presence was needed there. Indeed, the general state of confusion seemed to have increased rather than diminished on the death of Emin. The Arabian party still continued to offer a stubborn resistance to the Khorassanians, and the followers of Ali once more endeavoured to make good their claims by taking possession of Kufa and Mecca. Finally the inhabitants of Bagdad revolted, imbittered because of the losses sustained by trade owing to the absence of the court. The caliph, who was almost entirely under the control of Fazl, his vizier, knew little of these events, and left to Tahir the task of maintaining his authority in Irak as best he might. Finally, on the advice of Fazl, Mamun made a tardy attempt to restore order through an alliance of the Abbassides with the descendants of Ali, and married his daughter to one of the latter, whom he named as his successor. But their mutual hatred remained deeply rooted in both parties; the Abbasside family, greatly offended at the elevation of one of their most deadly enemies, chose another of their race to be caliph in place of Mamun. The latter finally hastened to Bagdad and experienced little difficulty in conquering the rebels, but was compelled to give up his attempt to reconcile the two families; the green banner of the Alides, which had already waved triumphantly at the head of his army, was once more replaced by the black flag of the Abbassides. Thus Mamun freed himself from his Persian advisers and at the same time won back the confidence of the Irakans, only again to give free rein to his preference for the Persians.

But the national differences and antagonisms had already become too acute to be smothered by any double-dealing on the part of the caliph. The inhabitants of Khorassan were loyal to Mamun so long as he remained in their midst and adhered to the principles of the Shiites; but after his return to Bagdad they lost all interest in him. Tahir, to whom was given the control of Khorassan, his native province, succeeded without difficulty in establishing an almost independent government. During the same period an insurrection led by Babek, the sectarian, broke out in Northern Persia; it was fundamentally a reaction of the Iranians against the Arabians and orthodox, and doubly dangerous for the reason that Babek succeeded in forming an alliance with Byzantium.

All the while that the eastern provinces were breaking away from the empire, the state of affairs in the West had gone from bad to worse. Harun al Rashid himself had only been able to retain a nominal supremacy over the northern coast of Africa, and had been powerless to prevent the governor of Tunis, Ibrahim ibn al Aglab, from becoming practically independent and establishing the hereditary monarchy of the Aglabites in 800. Even earlier, in the year 790, a dynasty of the descendants of Ali, the Edrisites had arisen in Morocco. A revolt now followed in Egypt; and it was with the utmost difficulty that Mamun succeeded through personal interference temporarily in restoring order. The incipient decay of the Empire of the Caliphs had no immediate ill effects on the diffusion of Mohammedanism, for the Aglabites conquered Sicily during the reign of Mamun, and at about the same time Crete fell into the hands of Andalusian corsairs. After the

separation from the Caliphate, Spain arrived at the summit of her prosperity under the Omeyads.

The reign of Mamun was on the whole favourable to the development of Mohammedan civilization. An admirer of the progressive doctrines of the Shiites, he was also interested in the serious discussion of scientific questions; and owing to his influence a large number of Greek works were translated into Arabic. He seemed especially to have valued the earlier literature of Persia, and that he possessed a certain knowledge of astronomy and mathematics was demonstrated by the fact that he caused the angle of the ecliptic to be determined anew, and instituted an improved measurement of degrees. It was no doubt owing to his generosity that many scholars were relieved from the struggle of earning their daily bread; and the praise of scientists may well have consoled him for the ill-humour of poets whom he was less able to appreciate. Although Mamun was not lacking in the evil traits of character peculiar to his family, he was nevertheless beyond doubt intellectually the ablest of the Abbassides, and in religion as well as in science the champion of a movement that sought to open up the road to free development. His endeavours were frustrated, owing to the opposition of the old believers, whose views could not be brought into harmony with the Persian-Shiite conception of life, as well as to the profound antagonism that ever exists between despotism and independent investigation. From the time of Mamun the spiritual as well as the temporal power of the Caliphate steadily decreased.

After Mamun's death in 833, Mutassim, his successor, made a despairing attempt to keep his unruly subjects in check by means of an army of mercenaries of foreign extraction, in spite of the fact that on his accession he had only with the greatest difficulty succeeded in crushing a military revolt. The number of mercenaries was gradually increased to seventy thousand. Afshin, the Turkish general, had already become the most powerful man in the empire when his enemies succeeded in accomplishing his ruin. The Arabs grew more and more discontented as they saw how affairs were developing; and the life of no mercenary was safe in the Arabian quarter of Bagdad. On setting out at the head of his troops on an expedition against Asia Minor in 838, Mutassim escaped purely by chance a formidable conspiracy of the Arab generals. The caliph soon felt his position in Bagdad to be no longer secure, and removed his residence further to the north in Samira; the foundations of the empire became weaker and weaker.

The further history of the decline of the Mohammedan Empire was little more than a barren, monotonous succession of sectarian revolts, military rebellions, and ecclesiastical quarrels, interspersed with vain attempts to restore order on the part of the caliphs. The latter became more and more the creatures of their viziers, province after province awakened to independent life, and one governor after another founded a new hereditary dynasty. It is true that there was no lack of attempts on the part of single caliphs to turn the tide of temporal and spiritual power in their own favour, sometimes in one way, sometimes in another; and, in truth, thanks to the central position of the Caliphate, and above all to its religious influence, they were frequently successful in winning back much that had been lost, or in temporarily checking the course of decay.

In regard to this struggle of the caliphs against fate, it was significant that Mutavakkil (847–861) forsook the doctrines of the Shiites, turned from the followers of Ali, and joined forces with the orthodox party, the Sunnites, as they were

then called. The Sunna, or supplement to the Koran, composed of authentic traditions, was compiled during the first half of the ninth century, and soon became the palladium of the orthodox believers; it was entirely discredited by the Shiites, whose allegorical-mystic interpretation of the sacred book was naturally not to be brought into harmony with the belief of the orthodox. By favouring the orthodox party Mutavakkil returned to the original policy of the Abbassides; indeed, he went farther, inasmuch as he readopted the severe measures of Omar against Jews and Christians. With this religious change of front was naturally combined an attempt once more to reign with the assistance of the Arabs and to dispense with the services of the mercenaries.

But the unfortunate division of the Arabian people into two parties again led to disastrous results; the Yemenites preferred to join forces with the Persians and the Kaisites with the Turks, rather than work together for the re-establishment of the lost influence of their race. Thus the power of the mercenaries constantly increased; and the Turks became only the more dangerous as the empire diminished in area and in wealth. The attempt of the Caliph Muhtadi (870) to organise the citizens of Bagdad into a band of militia for the purpose of holding the hordes of Turks in check, was no less of a failure than his endeavour to break the power of the Turks in the army through the installation of Christian mercenaries and African slaves. When in the year 930 a scuffle between the infantry and cavalry of the Turkish guard developed into a pitched battle in which the infantry were almost annihilated, much good might have followed had there been an Arabian leader capable of taking advantage of the momentary weakness of the Turks; but unfortunately for the empire none of the candidates who were at that time struggling for the throne were possessed of the slightest ability.

Nevertheless a few years of prosperity were still left to the empire. During the reign of Mutamid (870–892), whose office was in reality administered by his more capable brother Muvaffak, the Caliphate once more returned to power and regained several of the lost provinces. This advance in general welfare continued until the death of the caliph Muktafi in 908, when a new period of confusion set in. Already at that time events of greater importance took place in the various independent or semi-independent provinces than in the capital of the empire. It finally became apparent that the strength of the central government could be increased only through an alliance with, or, indeed, through subjection to a foreign power. The desire for independence developed earliest in Persia. Gradually the East became wholly independent, or, at the most, nominally recognised the spiritual supremacy of the caliph. In the year 876 affairs had already come to such a pass that the Saffaride Yakub ibn Laith made war on the caliph and advanced to within a few miles of Bagdad. However, the bravery of the more loyal of the Samanides ensured, at least for the time being, the safety of the capital.

At the same time that the Saffarides were menacing Bagdad, the whole of Egypt was in uproar. Here the governor Ahmed ibn Tulun had declared his independence; and to all appearances it seemed that the dynasty of the Tulunides would become a permanent institution. Tulun, whom we must credit with a thorough knowledge of the political situation, took possession of Syria and the line of the Euphrates; in fact, he even made an attempt to extend his influence over the caliph himself, in order to procure for his followers the most important positions at court and thus indirectly to become the head of the empire. But his plans

were defeated by the interference of Muvaffak. After Ahmed's death Syria was regained, and in the year 904 the Abbassides managed once more to take possession of Egypt, which they retained until the appearance of the Fatemides.

The authority of the caliph was badly shaken even in the provinces which were situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital. The democratic-religious party of the Kharijites, who displayed an almost indestructible vitality, established an independent State in Northern Mesopotamia, where the Arabian element preponderated, and where the Abbassides had never been popular, with Mossul as its centre. When in the year 894 the caliph succeeded in becoming to a certain degree master of these rebels, it was only to be confronted by a new danger: the family of the Hamdanides were given the governorship of Mesopotamia, and managed not only to secure the dignity as a hereditary right, but took possession of a portion of Northern Syria in addition. It was fortunate for the caliphs that the Hamdanides did not immediately strive for absolute independence, but sought to avoid a complete break with the central power, to which in time of necessity they were obliged to turn for assistance, inasmuch as their province was situated on the frontier, and constantly exposed to the attacks of the Byzantines. In spite of all, however, hostilities twice arose between the Hamdanides and the caliphs (913, 935).

The Hamdanides arrived at their period of greatest prosperity during the second half of the tenth century, when Saif ed-Dauleh (Sword of the Empire) occupied Haleb and made war on the Byzantines, while his brother Hasan (Nasr ed-Dauleh) resided in Mossul. Saif was an ideal Arab, — or Saracen, as the Christians now began to call the Moslems, — a man of great courage and munificence, possessed of considerable poetic gifts, an enthusiastic patron of the arts and sciences, but also inspired by an ardent desire for power, and capable of ruthless barbarity. The Arabians of Syria, who looked upon the Irakans and their caliph with the utmost contempt, found in him a new champion and guide. But the Hamdanides were unable permanently to maintain their precarious position between Byzantines, Irakans, and the Fatemides, who were now steadily advancing from the south.

The Fatemide conquest of Egypt, which took place during the course of the tenth century, was only a part, although perhaps the most important part, of a great religious-political sectarian movement that spread rapidly during these times of confusion in opposition to the caliphs, who had once more joined the orthodox party. The Ismailians, a sect named after a great-grandson of Ali, were in reality nothing more than a branch of the Shiitic group, and like the Shiites arose amidst the Persian Mohammedans. The Ismailians consciously endeavoured through the blending of Islamite, Zoroastrian, and Christian doctrines to create a new world-religion, and in a certain measure strove to revive the great work of Manes; thus they were ensured a prominent position and countless adherents during a time when the orthodox form of Mohammedanism seemed to have lost all its powers of obtaining new converts, as well as to have forfeited the confidence of the masses owing to its alliance with the unpopular Abbasside caliphs. The allegorical interpretation of the Koran that had already been received with great enthusiasm by the Shiites, the promotion of mystic arts, and the assertion that the true spiritual head of the faithful dwelt concealed from the eyes of men and communicated with the people only through his messengers, led the most varied elements of the Mohammedan population to embrace the new doctrines, of which the political

tendency was naturally directed against the Abbassides. The great danger to which the Caliphate was exposed by this movement lay in the fact that owing to the wide diffusion of its doctrines the dissatisfied of all sects and parties assembled under the Ismailian banner; nor was its propaganda confined to the Iramans alone, as was that of the true Shiites.

Serious rebellions of the Ismailians occurred first in Irak and in Arabia, where the rebels were usually called Karmates after their earliest leader. Several times the sacred cities of Arabia were in their possession; Bahrein and Yemama were conquered, and from the last-named province emissaries were sent to Africa in order to spread the new doctrines among the Berbers. In the year 906 the Karmatic disturbances were at least temporarily quelled; but the spark of insurrection had blown over to Africa, and, although it appeared at first to have been extinguished, soon enkindled there the flame of destruction. In the year 900 the Aglabites had found it necessary to oppose the Ismailians by force of arms; for after many failures the sectarians had finally succeeded in gaining over enthusiastic adherents among the Berbers, led by the Karmatic emissary Abu Abd Allah. Not long afterward the rule of the Aglabites, weakened by internal dissensions, came to an end; and in the year 908 the capital, Kairuan, surrendered.

Obeid Allah, a descendant of Ali, now arose as prophet (Mahdi), and was placed at the head of the newly established empire. Abu Abd Allah may have hoped that the spiritual and temporal ruler appointed by him would be contented with the rôle of puppet; but in this he was disappointed. Obeid Allah seized the reins of government with powerful hand, defeated all who opposed him, and enlarged his kingdom by the conquest of Morocco. On his death in the year 934 the new dynasty of the Fatemides was firmly established. His successor took possession of Egypt in 968, where already in 933 the family of the Ikshidites had become almost entirely independent of the caliph. Subsequently a prince of the orthodox party, who recognised neither the Abbassides in Bagdad nor the Omeyads in Cordova, resided as spiritual head in Cairo (or Fostat). In the meanwhile new rebellions had been aroused by the Karmates in Arabia, Irak, and Syria, through which the caliphate became greatly weakened; and although the rebels were constantly defeated, they held themselves — at least in Bahrein and Yemama — in constant readiness to take up arms anew.

Not one of the various provinces of the Mohammedan Empire was now in the immediate possession of the caliph; the loyalty even of the portions of Irak adjacent to the capital was questionable; and the former executive and administrative powers of the supreme ruler were now in the hands of the viziers and Turkish generals. Thus it finally came about that the Abbassides were compelled to throw themselves upon the protection of a newly established Persian dynasty, being thereby enabled to prolong their existence, although at the cost of the remainder of their independence. This dynasty was of the Buides, who originally came from Tabaristan, and claimed descent from the Sassanidæan emperors. The Buides had taken advantage of the confusion in Persia, and had occupied Farsistan, the centre of ancient Iran; soon afterward, in 934, they took possession of Chusistan, thus approaching dangerously near to Bagdad. However, during the years immediately following, Bagdad was left to its own troubles; the chief question seemed to be, whether the leaders of the mercenaries, the Hamdanides, or the Ikshidites, should finally succeed in becoming the "protectors" of the caliph, and thereby obtain for themselves the position of supreme authority over the empire.

The Buides, then under the command of Mo'izz ed-Daulet, made the most of their opportunities for conquest; for while the Ikshidites and Hamdanides were quarrelling with one another, and Bagdad was the scene of insurrections which even the Turkish guards were unable to overcome, a Buidian army advanced on the capital. The vizier of the caliph Mustakfi fled, and Mo'izz installed himself as temporal ruler at the side of the caliph, to whom only his spiritual supremacy now remained. The Buides brought with them as a peace offering control of Southwestern Iran and a loyal army. Thus the new state of affairs was scarcely more evil, so far as the Caliphate was concerned, than the preceding had been; but that the small means at the disposal of the Buides would be sufficient to enable them permanently to maintain their position was doubtful from the very beginning.

The most prosperous period of Buidian rule was the reign of 'Adhud ed-Daulet, who took possession of the greater part of Persia and the lands of the Hamdanides in Mesopotamia and Syria. But on his death in 982, decay set in and was hastened by family disputes. The unfortunate custom of dividing the property of the reigning house led to constant struggles for the throne. It thus came about that Mahmud of Ghazna (998–1030) managed to rob the Buides of their possessions in Iran, that the Fatemides occupied Syria; that independent rulers arose in Northern Mesopotamia, even in the midst of Irak, and that finally Buides and Abbassides descended together to the same low estate into which the Caliphate had already fallen when first assailed by Mo'izz ed-Daulet. In Bagdad the Shiitic adherents of the Buides and the Sunnitic-Turkish mercenaries fought with one another continually in the streets, causing the utmost confusion and tumult. Finally the Seljuks destroyed the last remains of Buidian authority, and took into their own hands the government of the empire.

5. PERSIA DURING THE PERIOD OF THE CALIPHATE. THE GHAZNAVIDES. THE SELJUKS

A. Persia

It was a severe blow to the Persian people that their State and at the same time their ancient religion should fall before the lances of the Arabians and the doctrines of a visionary Bedouin. The blow was only the more severe because entirely unexpected, inflicted by a race that had before scarcely been deemed worthy of consideration, that had even been despised because of its lack of political unity and its poverty. "We have always looked upon you as of no account," said the unlucky Yesdigerd III to the ambassadors of Omar; "until to-day Arabs were known in Persia only as merchants and beggars." Soon afterward these merchants and beggars were the masters of Iran; the bulk of the Persian people were forced to accept the new religion; and a small minority, who for many years still continued here and there to offer a desperate resistance, succeeded only in causing many regions to become almost desolate, and in still further reducing the vitality of the Iranian race. Farsistan, the ancient land of the Achæmenidæ and Sassanidæ, suffered most during the struggle; nor did the Mohammedans succeed in establishing their religion there: even as late as the period of the Abbassides numerous and much-visited temples of the Zoroastrians

were still in existence. The most stubborn opposition, however, was that of the rude mountain folk who dwelt along the southern coast of the Caspian Sea in the districts of Deilem and Tabaristan; Harun al Rashid was the first caliph to obtain even a formal recognition of his supremacy in this region.

One of the most difficult tasks of the Persians had been that of guarding the mountain passes which led into Central Asia, in order to dam back the flood of nomads that constantly threatened to inundate the plains of the southwest. The empire of the caliphs had now to take this labour upon its own shoulders; and, in truth, the Arabian rulers were conscious of their duty from the very first. They found the frontier country of Khorassan already in a highly developed state of military organisation, and by substituting military service for tribute among the dwellers of the borders sought to render the frontier troops still more efficient. In addition, entire Arabian tribes were transplanted to Khorassan, where they have in part maintained themselves to this very day, free from all admixture of foreign blood. Moreover, there was always the possibility of forming new divisions of troops out of nomadic mercenaries, with the help of whom other nomadic races could be kept in check and even pursued into their desert strongholds. The military forces at the disposal of the governor of Khorassan corresponded to the area of his province, which, although it did not always remain the same, included the greater part of Eastern Iran, together with Transoxania. In no other province of the empire were so many attempts made by ambitious governors to establish an independent dynasty as in Khorassan. It was due chiefly to the influence of the Arabian military colonies, that for a long time the many movements which began here were not, as a rule, directed against the Caliphate and the Arabian nation.

But this influence became less and less the more the Iranian national spirit arose, and the more the Iranian people prospered under the beneficent effects of Arabian legislation and domestic policy. Although the Iranians were defeated in the political field and for a long time rendered powerless as foes in arms, they nevertheless engaged in a spiritual conflict with the Mohammedan doctrines that had been forced upon them; no longer openly, it is true, but by adjusting Islam to their own requirements they sought to transform it into a new belief, corresponding more nearly to the Persian national character. The abstinence and simplicity taught by Islam and its prophet found no more favour among the imaginative Persians, who had long been acquainted with the philosophies of Greece and India, as well as with the lofty thoughts of Manes and Mazdak, than it had previously gained among the true Arabs, to whose semi-democratic, tribal form of society and independent spirit it was little adapted. Nevertheless, we find that at a very early period the Persians were the adherents of all parties that sought to place the true descendants of the prophet on the throne, at first as enthusiastic followers of Ali, later as the true victors in the struggle that ended in the supremacy of the Abbassides.

At the same time, however, the religious differences became more and more apparent. Whilst the Arabs were engaged in compiling the Sunna, the Koran itself became in the hands of the Persian theologians more and more a book of mysteries, of which the elucidation was only possible to especially favoured persons, and in the secret depths of which evidence was sought for the strangest of doctrines. Complete harmony between the various Iranian sects that thus arose was naturally out of the question; and many of them developed a remarkable

power for winning converts. The Ismailians, the far-reaching effects of whose doctrines were felt even in Egypt, where a dynasty was placed on the throne through their influence, who shook the Caliphate at Bagdad to its very foundations, and of whom the last branch developed into the terrible Assassins (1100–1256), were the largest and most important sect of all.

The rise of religious differences was followed by an increase of political disunion, — not a sudden rupture, but a gradual modification of existing conditions leading in time to a complete change of tendency. When after the death of Harun al Rashid, Mamun dethroned his brother Emin with the help of Khorassanian and Persian generals, and after long hesitation decided to remove his residence from Merv to Bagdad, it was well known that only the presence of the caliph could preserve Khorassan to the empire, and that chiefly for this reason he had remained for so long a time on the eastern frontier. By handing over the province, together with Pushang, the capital, to his most deserving general, Tahir, and by permitting the latter to establish a semi-independent dynasty, Mamun chose the best way open to him for escape from a difficult position; the Tahirides continued to acknowledge at least the spiritual supremacy of the caliph, and for a long time prevented the rise of disloyal houses.

Division of possessions and family quarrels gradually undermined the power of the Tahirides; finally, when Yakub ben Laith arose in Sejestan, first as a robber chieftain, later as ruler of the province, and at last as a conqueror, the descendants of Tahir were compelled to submit to their fate, and were succeeded by this upstart son of a tinman who had raised himself to the position of an independent sovereign, founding the dynasty of the Saffarides in 872. The new ruler was a serious menace to the Caliphate, and apparently resolved to put an end to the Abbasside government. The caliph Mutamid endeavoured in vain to avert the threatening danger. His freely offering Yakub the governorship of Khorassan was of as little avail as was the solemn cursing of the rebels from all the pulpits of the empire, which made no impression upon them at all; and when the army entrusted with the defence of Bagdad met with a complete defeat, it seemed that the fate of Mutamid was sealed. However, the Abbasside ruler was saved by the sudden death of Yakub in 878. Yakub's successor, Amru, acknowledged the supremacy of the caliph and led his army back into Khorassan; but by this he neglected to profit by an hour most favourable to the fortunes of his family.

In the meantime the Samanides, a new ruling house of Turkish descent, arose in Transoxania; and it was only necessary for Mutamid to ally himself with them in order to bring about the fall of the Saffarides in Khorassan. In the year 900 Amru lost a battle and at the same time his province to the Samanide leader Ismael, who succeeded him as governor, without coming into conflict with the Caliphate. On the death of Ismael in 907, the caliph acknowledged his son Ahmed II to be the legitimate successor to the office. The latter managed to drive the rest of the Saffarides out of Sejestan, as well as to take possession of the lands of an Alidic dynasty that had settled down in Tabaristan. At about this time the already mentioned house of the Buides, or Dailemites, arose to power. Samanides and Dailemites together ruled the greater part of Persia for the space of a century, although there was obviously no lack of lesser independent States in the neighbourhood. The loyalty at first shown to the caliph by the Samanides did not prevent them from making war upon him subsequently; the

Buides, however, remained faithful, and finally succeeded in insinuating themselves into the court at Bagdad as temporal regents at the side of the caliph. The fall of the house of the Samanides soon gave them control of Khorassan also.

B. The Ghaznavides

(*a*) *Political History.* — The whole of Eastern Iran did not fall immediately into the hands of the Buides. During the days of the Samanidian dynasty a small State arose at Ghazna in Afghanistan under the rule of a Turkish house which at once made preparations for enforcing its claims on the heritage of the Samanides. The warlike Sultan Mahmud, who ascended the throne at Ghazna in 998, experienced small difficulty in overthrowing the Buidan government in Khorassan and Rai, so that finally nothing remained to the Buides but Irak, Farsistan, and Kerman. Mahmud did not follow up his campaign against the West, but found it more advantageous to invade India, there to furnish his dynasty with a secure foundation through an enforced introduction of the Mohammedan religion. For this reason Mahmud of Ghazna occupies a very important position in the history of the diffusion of the Moslem faith. His reign also marks a period of reawakening of the Iranian national spirit. With his accession a new phase of Persian culture began.

During the reigns of the first of the Abbasside emperors, the Mohammedan possessions in India, none of which extended very far beyond the eastern banks of the Indus, were tolerably closely united to the empire. The influence of the caliph was supreme in both Multan and Mansurah, the two chief commercial towns, while the remainder of the region belonging to the Mohammedans was governed by princes who paid tribute to the Caliphate, — but not all of whom it seems were converts to the doctrines of Islam. It is obvious that the authority of the caliph did not increase in India during the disturbances of the Samanides and Saffarides, although it is none the less certain that the Mohammedans in India were ready to support all men of their faith who showed the least capacity for restoring order to the affairs of their provinces. Even before the days of Mahmud, his father, Nasir ed-din Sabuktegin, defeated the most powerful of the Punjab princes, who at that time also occupied the Iranian passes and the valley of Kabul, and descending into the valley of the Indus, laid waste the whole region in his march.

Immediately after his accession in 998, Mahmud began to extend these conquests. Judging by the vast armies that were repeatedly sent out against him, one might be led to suppose that the greater part of Northern India was up in arms against the Mohammedan Empire; but probably no more than the troops of comparatively small regions of the richly populated land took part in the various engagements. Nor is it surprising that such undisciplined, helpless masses were easily dispersed by the charges of the Afghan cavalry. The victorious campaigns of Mahmud extended as far east as the Jumna and southward to Surat, and were of the utmost importance to the later history of India, inasmuch as the sultan looked upon the conversion to Islam of all subjected provinces as his chief duty. In fact, the greater part of Northwestern India adopted the Mohammedan faith in consequence of Mahmud's invasions.

From another point of view, Mahmud's attitude in regard to religion and

politics laid the foundations for many a later historical development. However much the reign of the greatest of the Ghaznavides betokened a reawakening of the Iranian national spirit, and however large a part Mahmud himself played in this development, his actions constantly showed that he was no true Iranian, and that he could never entirely overcome the Turkish traits he had inherited from his ancestors. His was a great and simple nature, such as is not unfrequently found among the dwellers of the steppes. It is obvious that he was no friend to that fantastic, mystic-allegorical faith into which the doctrines of Mohammed had been transformed by the Iranian priesthood, nor other than a declared enemy to the remains of the ancient Zoroastrian religion, of which there were still many champions in his State. Mahmud showed himself throughout to be an enthusiastic adherent of the orthodox faith, a Sunnite of the purest water, and consequently a friend of the Caliphate, the spiritual supremacy of which he willingly acknowledged, without, however, feeling dependent upon it in regard to temporal affairs. He prevented the Shiites from establishing a separate Iranian church, brought the Eastern Iranians back to the banner of orthodoxy for all time, and laid the foundations for that division of the Persian people into two religious sects which still exists to the present day. Thus in the personality as well as in the life of this prince may be perceived a part of that remarkable development which brought the nomads of the Central Asian steppes to the head of the orthodox Mohammedan world, in place of the sons of the Arabian deserts, and constantly brought down fresh misfortunes upon the heads of the Iranian people.

(*b*) *The New Intellectual Life of Persia under the Ghaznavides.* — Neither the glory accorded to Mahmud by the Mohammedan world for his zealous adherence to the orthodox faith, nor the celebrity of his sanguinary wars and destructions of governments can be compared to the services which, in spite of his love of conflict and his Turkish-Sunnitic inclinations, he rendered to civilization through his furtherance of the intellectual life of Iran. To be sure, his was not the first and only name to be inscribed over the gates of the Persian paradise of poets. He was, moreover, constantly the object of the bitter satire of the greatest of the writers who flourished during his reign. Nevertheless, it will not be forgotten that under his protection the first fruits of Persian literature were harvested, and that it was he who uttered the call that awakened the ancient Iranian epic from its slumber.

When the power of the Arabian conquerors began to fail in the East, their language, too, fell more and more into disuse, and the speech of the subjected Persians, which for the time being had found a place of refuge only in the huts of the common people and in the mountain valleys, once more made its appearance and even won friends at the courts of governors and princes. The more the East developed in independence, the prouder the folk of Iran became of their ancient celebrity, the louder and freer resounded the Aryan tongue. Inasmuch as the rulers began to seek for popular support, and to adopt themselves to the peculiarities of the Iranian people, they soon became aware of the magnificent store of legend which had been faithfully transmitted from father to son by the simple dwellers of the mountains and steppes. Even Mohammed had once to acknowledge himself beaten in a contest with the Persian heroic poetry, when a merchant of his tribe recited portions of an epic to the Qûrais, attracting all hearers who

had been listening to the revelations of the prophet to himself, so that there was nothing left for Mohammed except to give vent to his indignation in a sura composed especially for the occasion. How much more must the Persians have been affected by the traditions born of the spirit of their own people, in which were united the language of their home and the ancient glory of their race!

But although the poets of Iran now undertook with reawakened powers the renovation of their ancient but shapeless literature, metamorphosing the wealth of legend into new and nobler forms, nevertheless they were compelled in justice to admit that the school of the Arabians had not been without value to them, that the union of harmony and force which caused their work to be celebrated throughout the Eastern world resulted from the combination of Iranian imagination and Arabian clearness and insight. The Persian poets at the court in Bagdad had in truth given themselves up wholly to Arabian influence. The custom of the bards of Irak to spend a portion of their days with the Bedouins of the steppes in order to acquire purity of language and knowledge of the nomadic life that was so often the subject of the older songs, was also adopted by Persian writers; the images and forms of the old Arabian poetry were their models, and the language of the ruling race was also theirs. But in the eastern part of Iran the national tongue of Persia was soon adapted to the new forms of rhythm, and the simple dialect of daily life developed into a language capable of expressing the thoughts both of poets and philosophers. At the court of the Saffarides the new national poetry had already entered into competition with the literature of the Arabians; and the Samanide rulers also had given it their patronage and favour. Mahmud of Ghazna, however, who had taken possession of the lands of his predecessors by force of arms, also inherited from them a desire to foster and protect the germs of native literature; he rewarded the poets with generous hand, and invited the best authors and scholars of the country to his court. No sovereign has ever surpassed or even equalled him as a patron of literature. The number of poets by whom he was surrounded at Ghazna did not fall short of four hundred; and inasmuch as Mahmud selected one from their midst to be laureate, appointing him judge of the poems submitted in competitions for prizes, he succeeded in creating a centre of artistic life. The happy thought of appointing the poet Anzari laureate, and the freedom which Mahmud granted him in the exercise of his prerogatives, elevated the position of poets, and awakened a competition such as is seldom seen in its purity, and from which many excellent results were obtained.

Many great works were produced at the court of the Ghaznavides; but the greatest of all was the reconstruction of the ancient Iranian hero epics. As a victorious warrior-king Mahmud must have been stirred by the sagas of old times, as Alexander had once been moved by the lines of Homer. The verse of love-sick rhymers or the dry wisdom of philosophers was far less pleasing to the conqueror of nations than the ancient heroic poems of Iran that had been scattered to the winds by the storm of Arabian conquest, but the fragments of which he now began industriously to collect. The Saffarides and Samanides had already laid the foundations for such a work; and by means of large rewards as well as by dint of his own unsparing effort Mahmud was able to add largely to the store already in existence; he also succeeded in obtaining for his library an Arabian translation of the book of the Persian kings, which had been captured at the fall of Ctesiphon.

Finally the thought occurred to Mahmud that it would be well to collect all the fragments of epics, the myths, and semi-historical traditions, and recast them into one huge work. The language chosen was necessarily the Persian, which had already supplanted Arabic even in the law courts and government offices. It was not so easy, however, to find a poet capable of executing the task. None of the numerous attempts made at first were satisfactory to the Sultan; finally good fortune led him to an author under whose hand the fragmentary raw material developed into an imperishable memorial of the ancient heroic spirit of Iran. This was Abul Kasim Mansur (Abû'l-quâsim-Mansûr), born in 939 at Tabaran, near Tus, in Khorassan, died 1020–1030 in Tus, generally known by his nickname, — Firdusi.

Firdusi was the first as well as the most brilliant representative of the reawakened Iranian spirit; he was acquainted with Arabian language no less thoroughly than with Persian, and since his earliest youth had been an enthusiastic admirer of the heroic age of Iran and its traditions. It seems that long before receiving Mahmud's commission he had formed the project of bringing to completion a version of the heroic legends that had been begun by Dekiki, a Zoroastrian, during the time of the Saffarides; thus he now looked upon Mahmud as the furtherer of his own plans. Firdusi was fortunately a Mohammedan — for it is not at all probable that Mahmud would have entrusted the work to a follower of Zoroaster; indeed, Firdusi's Shiitic opinions alone were sufficient to occasion so much ill-humour and antagonism between himself and the strict Sunnitic prince, that a serious quarrel finally resulted. After twelve years' labour Firdusi completed the *Shahnameh*, the Book of Kings, in the seventy-first year of his life (1011). Mahmud, who received the news of the completion of the work at an unfortunate moment, gave him only a portion of the stipulated reward; the indignant poet refused to accept the money, fled from Ghazna, and revenged himself through a biting satire that roused Mahmud to the utmost pitch of fury. After long wanderings Firdusi died in the village of his parents, just as the Sultan, conciliated at last, had sent him a caravan laden with costly gifts. How conscious Firdusi himself was of what he had done for Persia was shown in the scornful verses directed against Mahmud, in which he "aroused to a new existence ancient Iran, long hidden in dust. . . . These are the heroes whose glory I have restored; they all passed away long ago, but my song has awakened them to eternal life," as well as by the resolution with which he defended his Shiitic views at the beginning of the satire, directing its shafts against the Sunnitic Turk Mahmud, in whom this full-blooded representative of Iranian intellectual life recognised only the scion of a foreign and fundamentally hostile race.

In Firdusi's works the spirit of the Iranian people, that had vanished at Cadesia, once more arose; an intellectual unity of race was again created, and therewith, as it appears, the way prepared for political unity also. During his last years Mahmud himself sought to unite under his rule all regions where the Persian language was spoken. He deprived the Buides of their last possessions in Iran; and it is more than probable that he would also have put an end to the Buidan vizierate and majordomoship, taking upon himself the duty of "protecting" the caliph, had not all these undertakings come to a sudden halt on his death in 1030. And when Mahmud died, the prosperity of his dynasty abruptly ended. The first blow that fate directed against the throne of the Ghaznavides caused the entire Iranian division of the Mohammedan Empire to crumble into dust.

C. The Seljuks

(*a*) *The Pioneers of the Turkish Movement toward the West.* — For many years fresh swarms of Turks had been following their countrymen into Persia from the plateaus of Tartary and Turkistan; and soon it was no longer as bands of mercenaries or slaves that they crossed the borders of Khorassan; for entire tribes now joined in the movement, pushed forward by the masses in their rear, ready at a moment's notice to fight for new pasturages, either as the allies of princes or as independent units. With the greatest difficulty the powerful hand of Mahmud had temporarily succeeded in damming back the stream of immigration; but now that Persia was given over to the quarrels of his feeble successors, the flood burst through the barriers that had been erected by the labour of centuries, and the first great wave of Turks crashed down upon the plains of Iran.

Transoxania, a land cultivated and civilized by the Iranian race after years of increasing effort, had long been the defensive wall of Khorassan; and as late as the period of the Abbassides its farmers and town-dwellers were still able to keep the Turks in check. But on the decay of the Samanide dynasty, troops of nomads from Eastern Turkistan not only found a foothold in Transoxania but practically completed its conquest; Ilek Khan of Kashgar occupied Bokhara, the capital, while Mahmud was engaged on his Indian campaigns, and a short time later several lesser Turkish States arose in the neighbourhood.

Soon afterwards the Turkish tribes that dwelt to the north on the steppes surrounding the Aral Sea were set in motion. A chieftain called Seljuk led his clan toward the region of Bokhara, at the very time when the last of the Samanides were looking about for friends to assist them against the advancing Ilek Khan. As an ally of the Samanides, Seljuk regained a district in Western Bokhara, and after the custom of victorious nomads strengthened his forces through the incorporation of other Turkish tribes.

(*b*) *The Fall of the Ghaznavide Dynasty.* — Under the successors of Seljuk the power and number of the Turkish tribes constantly increased; the Seljuks themselves, however, hard pressed by their countrymen in Bokhara and Khvaresm (Khiva), advanced toward the pastures of Khorassan. On the death of Mahmud the vanguard of the nomads appeared at Merv, and from this city as a centre began their conquest of the Persian frontier province. In 1030 the eldest son of Mahmud blinded and imprisoned his brother Mohammed, who had succeeded to the throne; he then marched against the Seljuks who were already engaged in laying siege to Merv. None of his undertakings, however, were successful; and when he finally set out in 1039 on an expedition to recapture Merv, which had fallen in the meanwhile, he met with a terrible defeat. During the retreat his troops mutinied and restored the throne to the blind Mohammed. It was fortunate for the Ghaznavides, whose power was now completely broken, that the Seljuks did not take immediate advantage of their position in Khorassan, through which the way to the East as well as to the West had been opened up to them, and instead of invading Eastern Iran and India, turned toward the West. But the successors of Mahmud were incapable of maintaining for any length of time the power that still remained to them. The conversion of the Northwest of India into a Moham-

medan province by Mahmud was of great assistance to his grandchildren, inasmuch as they were now gradually compelled to transfer their centre of government from Persia to the Punjab.

In the year 1154 Ghazna was captured by the Ghorides, a mountain folk of Eastern Iran, who long before had succeeded in attaining semi-independence, and with this the government of the Ghaznavides soon came to an end; in 1186 Lahore, their Indian residence, was stormed and captured by Mohammed, the leader of the Ghorides, and the last of the royal family of Ghazna, Khosrau Malik, was executed. Although the falling dynasty continued to play an important part in Iranian civilization even during the last century of its existence, nevertheless it can be said that on the death of Mahmud, the East had practically ceased to be a factor of the intellectual life of Persia, the West assuming the dominant position, — not always, however, to the advantage of the Persian national spirit, which was purer and fresher in the East than in the Arabianised West. The religious division between the Shiitic Persians and the Sunnitic Afghans caused the East to become still further removed from the West; finally the uncultured eastern mountain tribes became supreme and rendered the separation complete.

(c) *Toghril-Beg and Alp-Arslan.* — After the downfall of the Ghaznavides and the conquest of Khorassan, Toghril-Beg (1037–1063) and Jaghri-Beg (died 1060), two brothers who ruled the Seljuks during the days of Mahmud, turned their attention to the Empire of the Caliphs, that in spite of the protection of the Buides had sunk once more into the depths of decay; first, however, the brothers protected their rear by overthrowing the Khivan princes. Whether by reason of their respect for the spiritual dignity of the Caliphate, or whether on account of causes unknown to us to-day, at any rate, the Turkish troops for the time being stayed in Southern Iran and marched into Northwestern Persia, from there [illegible] on campaigns of devastation against the Christian Armenians and Georgians. The Byzantines came to the assistance of their allies, but were defeated by Toghril-Beg; and the entire Mohammedan world rejoiced at the spectacle of a Roman emperor once more being compelled to pay tribute to a champion of Islam. It was, however, with great anxiety that the quarrelling sects and parties in Bagdad beheld the rise of Seljuk influence; nor did the leaders of the nomads hesitate to make the most of their exceptionally favourable position.

After the death of the caliph Kadir in 1031, the government fell into the hands of his son Kaim, a man of feeble character, who was unable to restore order even in the capital of the empire. At his side the Buidan sultan Jelal ed-Daulet Abu Tahir, one of whose relatives had taken possession of the Buidan provinces in Persia, led an existence scarcely less miserable than his own. In the streets of Bagdad the Sunnitic Turkish mercenaries of the caliph brawled unpunished with the Shiitic Dailemites, the body-guard of the Buides, once, indeed, driving Jelal himself out of the city. There was comparative quiet for a few years after the death of Jelal in 1043; but it was not long before fresh struggles arose between Sunnites and Shiites. The caliph and his Buidan sultan were mere puppets in the hands of their viziers; the unhappy ruler of the faithful was not secure from attack even in his own palace. It is scarcely surprising that in these circumstances the caliph should have looked to the Seljuk chieftains for aid; indeed, the orthodox caliphs had always been certain of greater loyalty from the Sunnitic

Turks than from the heretical Buides and their unscrupulous body-guards from the mountains of Tabaristan. Thus in the year 1055 Toghril-Beg, who had led his army into Irak on the pretext of a pilgrimage to Mecca, succeeded in occupying Bagdad almost without resistance as well as in taking prisoner the Buidan sultan Malik Rahim. It is true that on the Seljuks being called back to Persia in order to put down rebellions, the Buidan vizier recaptured the city, replaced the Abbasside caliph by the contemporary Fatemide governor of Egypt, and compelled Kaim to fly for his life; but on the return of Toghril in 1059 all opposition came to an end. From the reinstalled Abbasside caliph, Toghril received the title "King of the East and West," as well as the hand of the princess Zaidah Khatun, daughter of Kaim; but he died soon after, at the age of seventy, in 1063.

Thus the Caliphate was once more restored to artificial life; and from an ethnological point of view this event was significant enough. With it began a transference of power, unfortunate for civilization in its results and at which concealed forces had been working for many years: with one stroke the small hordes of Turks that had been imperceptibly filtering into the West, as well as the Turkish military colonies of the caliphs, became united under a ruler of their own religion and race. The Persians, however, who had already seemed to be in the act of attaining to supremacy in the Mohammedan world, and of whom the Buides may be looked upon as the pioneers, suddenly found themselves once more cast down from their high estate, overpowered in their own country by the nomads of the steppes. Never[illegible]ss, in the reawakening civilization, above all in their literature, they possessed a weapon far more difficult to withstand in the long run than the arrows of the Turks. Had it been the Seljuks alone with whom they had to do, the final victory of the Persians would have been certain; the Seljuk princes took an active interest in the [illegible], finally developing an enthusiasm for letters that fell but little short of [illegible] in the interest of poetry by the greatest of the Ghaznavides, who [illegible] the best poets of the land. But new and more barbarous tribes soon made their way through the gates of Khorassan; and at last both Persia and its capital were devastated and torn by the destroying hordes of savage Mongolians who advanced [illegible] from the Central Asian steppes.

[illegible]st the influence of the Seljuks, who had once more taken the caliph under their protection, was followed by the best results for the conquered territories, especially for the city of Bagdad. Order,—to be sure, as understood by the Turks, but at least order,—for centuries desired in vain, was restored as soon as possible to all the useful and active provinces of the empire. Arts and manufactures, freed from the oppressive burden of insecurity, arose once more in the towns; the caravans of merchants again made their way along the public roads, and the agriculturist returned to his neglected fields. In the streets of the capital the brawls of Sunnites and Shiites ceased as soon as an orthodox Turk succeeded to the dignity of caliph; and after the expulsion of the Buides the constant scuffles of Turkish soldiers and Dailemites came to an end. Both literature and science flourished during the reign of the Seljuks, who espoused the cause of intellectual pursuits with an enthusiasm scarcely conceivable in the chieftains of a semi-civilized nomad folk. Whatever they may have lacked in culture was replaced by a generosity and nobility of character that, in spite of all original barbarity, caused them to stand on very much the same plane as the Arabs of the

deserts and steppes. The period of the Seljuk dynasty was indeed to a certain degree a reflection of that earlier century during which the Arabs first became diffused over the lands of Western Asia.

Toghril's successor as "King of the East and West" was his nephew Alp-Arslan, who reigned from 1063 to 1072, and under whose government the Seljuks attained to the zenith of their power. He captured Haleb and entire Syria and Palestine from the Fatemides, and was successful in a war with the Byzantines, who, after having already lost Syria and their African provinces to the Moslems, now beheld Asia Minor, their last Asiatic dependency, gradually receding from their grasp. The emperor Romanus IV Diogenes vainly endeavoured to retrieve his fallen fortunes by advancing into Syria in 1068; in 1071 he invaded Armenia in order to support the princes there subject to his empire, but met with a crushing defeat and was taken prisoner. Henceforth the Byzantine lands were no longer disturbed by mere incursions of robbers: entire tribes of the Seljuks now penetrated into the interior of Asia Minor, and settled down on the steppes of Iconium. It was in vain that the Eastern Roman Empire made one despairing attempt after another to dislodge the intruders.

(*d*) *Asia Minor under the Byzantines.* — Inasmuch as on the appearance of the Seljuks a new period began in the history of Asia Minor, it is fitting that a short description of the peninsula under Byzantine rule should be inserted at this point. During the centuries following the Arabian upheaval, Asia Minor gradually became the true centre of the Byzantine Empire, loyally paying its tribute and supplying its quotas of faithful troops even during the most troubled times, when floods of Bulgarians and other barbarous peoples inundated the European provinces of the empire, and flowed onward to the very gates of Constantinople. When Syria, Mesopotamia, and Cilicia fell into the hands of Omar, the Byzantines took up their position behind the Taurus mountain chain, their flank covered by the Christian Armenians, and supported in the rear by powerful strongholds such as Cæsarea in Cappadocia, or, further in the interior of the peninsula, Phrygian Amorium. The frontier folk, organised into militia, kept guard over the Taurus passes, supported by strong garrisons of the foreign mercenaries with whose help Byzantium had always carried on her wars. These fine positions for defence were maintained throughout the most prosperous period of the Caliphate, and preserved to the Byzantines their possessions in Asia Minor. It is true that the passes were occasionally broken through, troops of Arabs advancing far into the peninsula; but behind the bulwarks of the Taurus permanent conquest was impossible. Many a time it was owing to sheer good luck that Saracen bands did not find themselves cut off, and helplessly exposed to the attacks of armies sent out against them from Byzantium.

When the power of the Caliphate began to weaken, the Eastern Roman emperors lost no time in endeavouring once more to make good their claims on Syria and Mesopotamia. Nicephorus II Phocas opened a series of brilliant campaigns with the reconquest of Cilicia, which had in the meanwhile become so completely Arabianised that it was found necessary to convert the inhabitants anew to Christianity. This was in the year 964; in 966 Nicephorus marched into Syria and captured Antioch. His successors regained the old Roman line of defence, Amida — Nisibis — Edessa, in 975, and in the year 995 advanced as far as the gates of

Tyre and Damascus. The caliphs and their Buidan protectors and masters were able to offer but small opposition to the Byzantines in Syria and Asia Minor after the decay of the powerful Hamdanide dynasty.

During this period Asia Minor found time to recover from the effects of the devastating invasions of the Persians and Arabians. Divided into military districts, well governed, and favoured by the inexhaustible fertility of the soil, the population increased and civilization flourished. Although the ancient splendour of the Greek cities of the coasts had vanished, the interior of the country became more and more homogeneously organised and settled, and the unity of government was rendered more secure. The careful attention paid to the garrisoning of strong positions, as well as the endeavour of the wealthy families of the towns to invest their riches in extensive estates, led to the creation of a feudalised system of landed property, which here, as elsewhere, was attended by many evils, not only to civilization, but also to the economic well-being of the inhabitants. Several of the emperors had vainly opposed this fatal development, endeavouring to crush the feudal nobility who were rapidly growing in power and becoming a menace to the head of the State itself. The destructive incursions of the Arabs were chiefly responsible for this turn in affairs, inasmuch as capitalists and influential citizens bought up the wasted tracts of land and constantly enlarged their possessions either by purchase or by seizure, while the native-born peasant population sank to the position of serfs; the inhabitants who had been killed or led away captive by the Moslems were replaced by slaves, who, when fortune once more favoured the arms of the Byzantines, were obtained in especially large numbers from Mohammedan Syria and Mesopotamia. It may well be supposed that the introduction of such elements behind the Byzantine line of defence led to the most serious results, especially when one considers the bitterness felt by the oppressed peasant class of Asia Minor. The feudal system itself was a very poor substitute for the diminishing power of the people, inasmuch as the more humane traits of western chivalry were completely lacking, and only the tendency toward the greatest possible insubordination and personal authority of nobles, united with a spirit of hostility toward kingly absolutism, was here manifest.

The emperor Basilius II. was reduced to the utmost embarrassment, when in the year 987 his general, Bardas Phocas, rose against him with the assistance of the noble families of Asia Minor, and temporarily acquired control of almost the entire peninsula. The emperor now redoubled his efforts to break the power of the nobility, and even accepted the assistance of the church, which had long shown an inclination to heap up the treasures of this earth in alarming profusion for its own purposes, and was therefore the more inclined to assist the emperor in the hope of sharing in a division of confiscated estates. The officials of the empire also, whose activities had been interfered with by the pretentiousness of the feudal lords, and whose pockets had consequently suffered, had every reason to support the emperor. Nevertheless, the power of the nobility steadily increased; and when the Seljuks finally took possession of the steppe districts of Central Asia Minor, the destruction of the already undermined Byzantine Empire followed with surprising rapidity.

(*e*) *Armenia at the End of the Ninth Century.*—It is a fact of great historical significance that the Seljuk invaders did not attack the passes of the Taurus, but

marched through Armenia, and that as a result of these incursions not only Christian Armenia, but even portions of Iberia were laid waste. Both provinces had been, if not entirely trustworthy, at least indispensable supports of the Byzantine frontier, and at the same time favourite recruiting grounds for the imperial armies. In spite of their fallen fortunes and apparent loss of warlike virtues, the Armenians still maintained their reputation for courage and strength no less than their faithful adherence to the Christian religion. But neither in Armenia nor in Georgia was there any sign of political unity; at the end of the tenth century as many as nine different dynasties were reigning in Armenia, while Georgia was divided into five more or less independent minor States.

Thus the Seljuks succeeded in entering Asia Minor at the Armenian boundary, while the bulwarks of the empire still remained intact in the south; nevertheless the defences of the southern frontier were in a constant state of siege, and had long been on the point of falling. The Armenians emigrated from their desolated homes and concentrated in Cilicia, where they energetically set about defending the land from the attacks of Seljuks and Saracens. However, on discovering that they were cut off from all assistance from the Byzantines, they dissolved even their nominal connection with the Eastern Roman Empire and established the kingdom of Lesser Armenia, of which the first ruler was Rhupen (Reuben), who ascended the throne in 1080. With the accession of this king the last remnant of the old line of defence to the east of Cilicia was lost to the Byzantines, despite the fact that Antioch managed to hold out for a few years longer.

(*f*) *Asia Minor under the Rule of the Seljuks.*—The establishment of an organised government in Asia Minor by the Seljuks did not take place during the lifetime of Alp Arslan, who met his death in 1072, stabbed to the heart by a revolutionist whom he had condemned to death. His son Melekshah assumed the rôle of protector of the caliph Kaim as well as of Muktadi (who succeeded the latter in 1075), and became, in fact, the ruler of the entire Seljuk Empire. Melekshah equalled his father in ability, and succeeded not only in restoring order, but also in furthering the material prosperity of his extensive dominions. Above all, he put an end to the system of local customs duties and tolls, the curse of minor States, which had developed to an alarming extent during the times of the Buides. The flourishing financial condition of his empire rendered it possible for him to be a patron of science and art; poets and scholars once more enjoyed a golden age.

Nevertheless, traces of decay began to make their appearance even during the time when the domestic affairs of the Seljuk Empire were most flourishing. Melekshah decided no longer personally to command his troops in Asia Minor, nor to employ the main army of the empire in the war of conquest, but entrusted the task to his cousin Suleiman, granting him permission to establish a semi-independent kingdom in the steppe lands of the peninsula. Thus the new Seljuk kingdom of Rum (Iconium), that arose in the years following 1073 under Suleiman, cannot be looked upon as an integral part of the Seljuk-Abbasside Empire. In like manner, without troubling himself very much as to the wishes of the sultan, the Seljuk leader Ansiz took possession of Palestine, and pursued the retreating army of the Fatemides as far as Egypt in 1077. Not until Ansiz found himself in difficulties and called upon Melekshah for assistance, did the sultan

succeed in removing this all too independent general, by sending out his brother Tutush, who brought Syria and Palestine under the immediate control of the Seljuk government.

The kingdom of Suleiman in Asia Minor was soon firmly established, chiefly because the king abolished the ownership of large estates, and by dividing the land among the people after the old custom of Islamite conquerors created a large and prosperous and consequently loyal peasant class. The majority of the Seljuks were in favour of reform, inasmuch as they were not in the habit of erecting permanent dwellings, but continued their old nomadic life on the steppe pastures. That the Seljuks were less tolerant than the Arabs had been and proceeded to Mohammedanise the country with great energy, finally led to the development of a large class of trustworthy subjects among the native population, however superficial the "conversions" may have been at first. Thus only can we account for the rapidity with which the Seljuks established themselves in Asia Minor, as well as for the failure of all attempts made by the Byzantines to drive the intruders from their new possessions.

But however willing the peasants of Asia Minor may have been to enjoy the advantages of the new régime, and notwithstanding that here and there the cultivation of the soil was pursued with great profit, none the less the presence of the Seljuks in the interior of the peninsula only betokened a new step toward the desolation of Western Asia, a fresh victory of nomadism over agriculture, of the steppe over the ploughed field. The more violent the efforts made by the Byzantines, and soon afterward by their allies, the Crusaders, to regain possession of the lost territory, and the wilder war raged in its fury over the elevated plains of Asia Minor, the more rapidly did the stationary population diminish, the sooner were fertile districts abandoned and transformed into the steppe pastures from which they had once been reclaimed with a vast expenditure of labour, and the more free were the nomads and their herds to expand over the desolated fields. Thus the Seljuks may be looked upon as having first laid a hand to the work of devastation that was finally completed by the Ottomans and Mongols.

(*g*) *The Beginnings of the Decay of Seljuk Power.* — The remarkable freedom granted by Melekshah to his vassals in the West was of itself a sufficient proof that the centre of the Seljuk Empire lay at that time in the East. In fact, the sultan was chiefly anxious to secure as well as to widen his eastern provinces, which after the subjection of the Prince of Kashgar extended as far as the Chinese frontier. But the unity of the empire was not long preserved, even in Iran. Immediately after the death of Melekshah, November 19, 1092, a violent struggle for the succession broke out, which dragged along for years, and paved the way for the final dissolution of Seljuk power. Not until the year 1104 was peace restored for a short time under the victorious pretender Mohammed. But again and again, just as in former days under the early Abbassides, attacks were made upon the reigning sultan in Bagdad from Khorassan, where the Seljuks were most firmly established and could levy efficient troops of auxiliaries among the warlike native population.

During the first decades of the twelfth century one insurrection followed another, in which Dubais, the feudal lord of Hilleh in Irak, especially distinguished himself as an implacable enemy of the reigning Seljuk sultan Mahmud

(1118–1132). In Dubais the powers of resistance of the Irakan Arabs once more awoke to life, and he might indeed have succeeded in restoring the supremacy of his race had he formed an alliance with Mustarshid, the caliph of the time, who was likewise endeavouring to free himself from the burdensome rule of the Turks. Unfortunately, however, these champions of the Arabian race hated each other bitterly in true Bedouin fashion.

But from this time forth the decline of Seljuk power constantly advanced. A transformation was taking place in Syrian affairs: the West had not only once more seized upon Palestine, but had founded a number of feudal states which were not to be overcome and finally annihilated by the champions of Islam until many a desperate battle had been fought. In this war, however, neither the Bagdad caliphs nor the Seljuk sultans took an active part; the contest was entered and the prize borne away by other Powers. Irak and Persia were torn asunder by the struggles for succession of the Seljuk princes, and consequently Egypt was given an opportunity for assuming the leadership of the Mohammedan world in its wars against the Crusaders, when the powers of the Syrians failed. A fundamental change thus took place in the conditions of the western part of the Mohammedan Empire; and this necessitates a backward look over the affairs of Syria.

6. SYRIA AND THE CRUSADERS. THE MONGOL PERIOD

A. Syria

When during the days of the early caliphs antagonism developed between Syrians and Irakans, ending in the Omeyads being elevated to the throne by their Syrian supporters, neither the ancient domestic Aramaic population of the country nor the Hellenised inhabitants of the towns were concerned in the political struggle; the battles of the Omeyads were fought by the Arabs who pastured their flocks or cultivated the soil in the steppe districts of Damascus, in the old kingdom of the Nabatæans, in the valley of the Jordan, and even in Palestine itself. The native Syrians were not concerned in the affairs of the time for the reason that the greater part of them were only gradually converted to Mohammedanism; and in addition a large number, especially those who dwelt in the mountains and in out-of-the-way districts as well as in the towns, held fast to the Christian faith with the greatest obstinacy. The caliphs as a rule did not care to convert the highly taxed Christians into free Islamites, for the sake of their own incomes; moreover, conversion to Islam was attended by greater difficulties in Syria than in any other province, owing to the trade with the West which had never been entirely suppressed, and the constant pilgrimages of Christians to Jerusalem.

With the accession of the Abbasside caliphs, the political significance of Syria still continued to diminish, inasmuch as the dissensions between Kelbite and Kaisite Arabs which had led to the fall of the Omeyads showed no signs of coming to an end. Although it was natural that the antagonism should gradually become less and less acute, and that a portion of the Arabs should become absorbed into the native population, nevertheless no true feeling of unity, no national spirit arose. Although the decay of Abbasside power furnished an opportunity for the development of an independent Syrian State, it was impossible to build the foundations even for a general political movement. The reasons for this

lay in the heterogeneity of the geographical formation of the land, in which were included broad steppes, snow-clad mountains, fertile valleys and plains, and finally a long stretch of sea-coast, rich in harbours, and separated from the interior by steep mountain chains. In addition, Syria was sharply defined and protected to the north and east by its mountain boundaries, while to the southwest it lay open to the powerful nations that arose in the valley of the Nile. Thus the entire course of history has known no purely Syrian State; and it is obvious that at the time of the downfall of the Syrian Caliphate various districts by no means shared a common fate.

In the North, ever since the beginning of the tenth century, the Hamdanides, whose chief possessions lay in Northern Mesopotamia, had been encroaching upon the neighbouring Syrian provinces. This was especially the case after Saif ed-Dauleh had captured Haleb in 944, and from this city as a base had carried on a war with the Byzantines, at first with brilliant success. At a much earlier date the southern portion of Syria had become involved in the various Egyptian struggles. The rebellious governor Ahmed Ibn Tulun advanced as far as the Mesopotamian frontier, and under the leadership of his son, Egyptian armies penetrated beyond the Euphrates. But the supremacy of the Tulunides soon came to an end; and in the year 904, after Syria had been lost to them, an Abbasside governor once more was installed in Egypt. During this last struggle the armies of the Karmates, who were at that time in possession of the whole of Arabia, made several incursions into Syria, but met with a severe defeat in 906, and were obliged to retire. It was but natural that the feebleness of the Caliphate should soon enough awaken a desire for independence on the part of the Egyptian governors, as a result of which Syria also suffered. Mohammed of Ferghana founded the dynasty of the Ikshidites, seized Southern Syria, and finally in the year 940 compelled the caliph to recognise his right to the newly conquered territory, while the northern part of the land, as has already been mentioned, after many vicissitudes fell for the greater part into the hands of the Hamdanides. However, this courageous race was unable permanently to withstand the constant attacks of Ikshidites, Byzantines, and Buides. It is true that when the struggle between the Ikshidites and Fatemides broke out for the possession of Egypt, the Hamdanides allied themselves with the former; but of this the only result was, that after the victory of the Fatemides the Hamdanides found themselves confronted by a still more hostile frontier neighbour in the shape of the latter; thus they had contributed to their own downfall.

The ultra-Shiitic movement in Iran, and its branches — Karmates on the one side and Fatemides on the other — have already been described. Their tendency was naturally in opposition to the Caliphate and its allies; and after the Fatemides had struck firm root in Egypt as a political power, they remained in close union with the Shiites of the East who belonged to the Ismailian sect. The Karmates, who owed their development to the same sources, and who succeeded in taking possession of the greater part of the Arabian peninsula, did not show the slightest inclination to humble themselves before the Fatemides; on the contrary, they disputed with the latter their supremacy in Syria. The Fatemides, however, succeeded later in organising the Persian Ismailians as well as in setting the dreaded sect of the Assassins as outposts of the Fatemid-Ismailian movement in the rear of their opponents. From the year 974 onward the struggle for Syria

continued; in addition to the Karmates, the Fatemides were opposed by the Byzantines, and a Turkish general who endeavoured to found an independent State in the North. The Hamdanides also took up arms in the defence of the remainder of their possessions. The Fatemides nevertheless maintained their position in Syria, except in the extreme North.

Although during the reign of the caliph Hakim (996–1021) there was no lack of isolated rebellions of governors, the dominion of his house over Syria remained unshaken, and his realm even included Haleb, owing to the voluntary submission of the Hamdanides. Hakim's successor, Mustanzir, tried to drive out his Abbasside colleagues; but he only succeeded in drawing on himself wars and insurrections. Syria and Palestine fell bit by bit into the hands of the Seljuks. Acre alone held out. After its governor, Bedr, had betaken himself to Egypt and had restored order with the help of his troops on the call of the caliph, the Fatemides succeeded in recapturing Palestine from the Seljuks, although the latter had already ventured on one campaign into Egypt. This, then, was the condition of affairs when the first Crusade was preached in Europe: Jerusalem was no longer in the possession of the Seljuks, whose unfriendly treatment of the Christian pilgrims, although not the direct cause, had nevertheless furnished a pretext for an expedition of vengeance on the part of the European nations. The defence of the Holy Land fell to the Egyptians, while the Seljuks remained inactive in Damascus and Bagdad, and beheld the developing drama with undisguised satisfaction. It was not the orthodox caliph of the Mohammedan world, but his Shiite rival who led forth his troops against the Christian armies.

The true ruler in Cairo at the time when the army of the Crusaders was marching through Asia Minor against Syria was not the Fatemide, but his vizier Alafdhal, the son of Bedr. The Seljuks of Asia Minor were the first to withstand the attack of the mail-clad Europeans, and paid for their resistance with a severe defeat, from which, however, they soon recovered; for the Christian forces immediately continued their march. The ruler of Lesser Armenia stood on very good terms with his Western companions in faith; and the Christians were also able to count upon the sympathy of the much-contested northern Syrian boundary provinces, which had been torn from the Byzantines a few decades before, and contained a large Christian population. Thus the principality of Edessa arose in the region of the old Roman military frontier; and on the coast Antioch followed by Tripolis also became the centres of small Christian kingdoms. All these were possessions of the Seljuks which now fell into the hands of the Christians. But the unsettled state of political affairs in the Mohammedan Empire prevented the rulers at Bagdad from coming to the rescue of the semi-independent governors in the north-west of Syria, especially after the main body of the Christians had advanced into Palestine proper, the possession of the hated Fatemides. The negotiations between the Christians and the latter were without result. While the vizier Alafdhal was still engaged in fitting out his army, the Europeans besieged and stormed Jerusalem, at that time the chief stronghold of Palestine. Almost all the Mohammedan and Jewish inhabitants were massacred by the victors, and the city opened its gates to a new population of native Christians. When Alafdhal's army finally advanced, it received an annihilating defeat in August, 1099. The Christian kingdom of Jerusalem now arose amidst the ruins of the Fatemide power in Palestine.

It has already been mentioned that the Fatemides possessed a terrible weapon in their struggle against the Caliphate and the nations of Christendom in the murderous sect of Assassins, — a weapon, however, that was soon lost to the Egyptian rulers. This sect arrived at its greatest period of prosperity during the time of the Crusades, although it had originated many years before. It has also been shown that the heresy of the Ismailians developed out of a mixture of Mohammedanism and various other beliefs, of which perhaps the most important were the communistic doctrines of the Mazdakites; and from the Ismailians developed the Karmates, and finally the Caliphate of the Fatemides. The doctrines of the Ismailians were gradually transformed into an esoteric system of belief, which, in the hands of the most intellectual of its adherents, approached pure nihilism, — the conception that all things are indifferent, and hence all actions are permissible, — while the bulk of the believers lived in a state of mystic respect for their still more mystic superiors and leaders. An academy in which the Ismailian doctrines were taught was founded in Cairo, and from there émissaries were sent forth into the lands of the Abbassides in order to prepare the way for the supremacy of the Fatemides over the entire Mohammedan world. At the same time the Ismailians of Persia looked to Egypt for their political and religious salvation.

Thus it came to pass that an ambitious sectarian, Hassan-i-Sabbah, born at Rai in Northern Persia, after a vain attempt to acquire influence at the court of Melekshah in Bagdad, betook himself to the palace of the Fatemide ruler in Egypt, and there formed the plan of establishing an Ismailian rule of terror in the East, quite in accordance with the unscrupulousness of his party. The power of the movement was not to be derived from extensive possessions of territory or great armies, but from the unconditional devotion and fanatical contempt of death of its adherents, who had at their disposal several impregnable fortresses as places of refuge; not open war but assassination was to be its basis and security. The first lurking-place chosen by Hassan was the mountainous region southwest of the Caspian Sea, of which the inhabitants had been looked upon by orthodox Mohammedans even as late as the Abbasside period as incarnations of heathen obduracy, and where the mountain fastnesses and castles had for centuries been the homes of the most desperate revolutionists. In the year 1090 the powerful fortress of Alamut in the district Rudbar, northwest of Kaswin, fell through treachery into the hands of Hassan and his followers. With this began the political activities of the sect, who were in the habit of working themselves up into a high pitch of bloodthirsty excitement by taking hashish and other narcotics, and hence became known as Hashishins, or, in the tongue of the Crusaders, Assassins. Two years later, the first victim of importance, Nisam el Mulk, the vizier of the first Seljuk sultan, and a friend and companion of Hassan's youth, sank under the dagger-thrusts of the Assassins. He was the first of a long series of unfortunates who paid for the attempt to suppress the sect with their lives. The blind submission of the sectarians to their superiors was almost incredible. The fact that mothers were overcome by despair because their sons returned from successful forays without having lost their lives, thus failing to die for their faith, and that Assassin sentinels cast themselves down from high towers and cliffs at a signal from their commander merely in order to prove their absolute obedience, abundantly proves why the Powers of Western Asia and Egypt trembled before

the daggers of the fanatics, and negotiated with the chief of the sect as with the sovereign of a mighty empire.

After the capture of the fortress, Alamut, Hassan-i Sabbah remained within its walls for the rest of his days; indeed it is said that he even left his room but twice. As "the Old Man of the Mountain," he lived in mysterious retirement, directing the activities of his adherents and extending his power, ever faithful to the traditions of the Ismailians. About the year 1100 the Assassins succeeded in capturing several additional strongholds in Iran. Contemporaneous with the Crusaders, their first envoys arrived in Palestine, and, favoured by the Seljuk prince Ridhouan, established themselves in the mountains of Syria. Although on the death of Ridhouan they were exposed to frightful persecutions, they were no longer to be driven away. Their daggers were kept actively employed and brought terror to their opponents. The death of Hassan in August, 1124, did not hinder the expansion of the Assassins; for Kia Buzurg-umid, his successor, proceeded with his work with equal craft and energy. Banias in Syria was captured in 1128, and twelve years later Maziat, that from this time forth became the centre of Assassin power in the West. The sectarians had then long been free from the influence of the Fatemides; and not only the Abbasside caliphs, Mustarshid and Rashid, but also one of the Fatemide rulers fell under their daggers. The practices of the sect made a profound impression on the Christians of the Holy Land. The Europeans in general did not look upon them as unconditional enemies, and that the Order of Knights Templars was not closed to the influence of the Assassins, in fact, that many of its characteristics were adopted in imitation of the secret Mohammedan association, seems to be beyond doubt. Thus the attacks of the Assassins became involved in a strange manner in the desperate struggle fought for the possession of the Holy Land between the Crusaders and the rulers of Egypt.

The Seljuks took a relatively small part in the struggle between the West and the East at the time of the Crusades. At the most, only a few frontier princes interfered in the affairs of Palestine, and were hostile to the small Christian States which had been established in Northern Syria. Not until the year 1111, when disturbances arose in Bagdad itself, did the Sultan Mohammed deem it necessary to despatch an army to Syria. In 1113 Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem, was defeated at Tiberias. But shortly afterward the leader of the Seljuk army was murdered by the Assassins; the result was a long series of quarrels between the Seljuk governors and princes, which effectively hindered all further action. Not until Zenki was appointed Atabeg of Syria and Mesopotamia in 1127, and entrusted with the leadership in the war against the Christians, did fortune again follow the Seljuk banners, although Zenki had to contend not only with the Christians but with other Seljuk rulers. Until the day of his death in 1146 he was the most formidable of all the enemies of the Crusaders.

His son Noureddin (Nur-ed-din) continued the war, and in 1153 took possession of Damascus, which Zenki had vainly endeavoured to capture from Anaz, a member of his own race. The successes of Zenki and his son aroused the entire Mohammedan world to a high pitch of enthusiasm, which was of great significance to the continuation of the struggle, and, as a result, even the most unfavourable of the princes were compelled to support Noureddin with both money and troops. Nevertheless Noureddin did not arrive at the height of his power until he suc-

ceeded through a lucky chance in destroying the Fatemide supremacy in Egypt, and was thus enabled to add the rich valley of the Nile to his possessions. At that time two viziers were quarrelling in Cairo over the position of adviser to the weak caliph Aladhid. One of them, Shawer, fled to Noureddin, and by making many promises contrived that an army should be placed at his disposal under a capable general called Shirku. But since after attaining his object he did not keep his promises, and called upon the king of Jerusalem to assist him against Shirku, he became involved in a war with Noureddin, which after many vicissitudes finally ended in his being driven away; with the consent of Noureddin Shirku was installed in Shawer's place, and after his death in 1168 his nephew Saladin (Salah ed-din Yusuf) became vizier of the Fatemide Caliphate.

Saladin (1137–1193) soon succeeded in becoming supreme over entire Egypt, although he permitted the Fatemide caliph to occupy the throne until 1171, probably because the existence of this lay figure guaranteed him greater independence so far as Noureddin was concerned. All the good qualities of the Turkish character, bravery, generosity, and decision, were united with a highly developed mind in Saladin, who felt that he had been chosen by fate to be the champion of Islam against Christendom. Noureddin soon perceived that he would find in him no pliant implement for the furtherance of his own plans, and was already engaged in making preparations for war against his insubordinate vassal, when his sudden death turned the danger from Saladin, and, in fact, enabled him to wrest the Syrian provinces of this truly great ruler from his feeble successors. Disputes between Salih, the son of Noureddin, and his cousin Saif ed-din of Mossul, as well as the quarrels of various court officials who laid claim to the vizierate, or, more correctly, the governance of the young Salih, caused Saladin to advance into Syria and occupy Damascus. After a long struggle with Salih, who had allied himself with Saif ed-din and various Christian princes, not despising even the assistance of the Assassins, Saladin succeeded in taking possession of his dominions as far east as Haleb, and in the year 1176 assumed the dignity of sultan. After the death of Salih in 1183, Saladin captured Haleb, and extended his empire as far as Mesopotamia and the Lesser Armenian frontier.

Thus a tremendous power encompassing the Christian possessions in Palestine was now united in the hands of a man who had firmly resolved to put an end to the rule of the Occidental nations in the East. The fate of the kingdom of Jerusalem was soon settled. In 1187 the Christian army was defeated by Saladin at Hittin, not far from Tiberias. The king himself was made captive. A few months later entire Palestine including Jerusalem was in the possession of the sultan; only a few Syrian coast towns still held out, together with Tripolis and Antioch. The arrival of new crusading armies commanded by Philip the Fair and Richard Cœur de Lion resulted in the recapture of Acre in 1191, in spite of most desperate resistance on the part of Saladin; however, he was at least able to hold Jerusalem. Shortly before his death Saladin concluded a treaty according to which the Christians were permitted to occupy the coast of Tyre as far as Jaffa, and some strips of territory in the interior; but he maintained possession of the interior of Palestine together with Jerusalem (1192).

However brilliant the victories won by Saladin over the Christians, and notwithstanding the inclination of Western historians to judge him in the light of these deeds alone, the fact remains that these wars comprised but a part, and so

far as the history of Western Asia is concerned, perhaps not even the chief part, of his activities. The Christian kingdoms in Palestine were and remained artificially nourished, totally incapable of deriving any sustenance from the dry soil of Syria; it was only with the greatest difficulty that they were kept alive through the constant importation of fresh settlers and means of subsistence. They were at no time a serious menace to the Mohammedans, for whose benefit the sabres of the Turks were engaged during this same period in conquering the old Christian land of Asia Minor, which thenceforth became a Mohammedan possession; and as soon as a more powerful Mohammedan Empire arose in the interior of Syria, the fate of the Christian kingdoms was sealed. That he succeeded in establishing a new and powerful Mohammedan Empire, however much his work may have been furthered by the previous conquests of Zenki and Noureddin, was by far the greatest deed accomplished by Saladin.

The fall of the Shiite caliphs of Egypt is also one of the most important events in the history of Islam. Their place was taken by Saladin's descendants, the Ayubides, as they were usually called, after Saladin's father, Nejm ed-din Ayub. With this the victory was won by the Sunnitic orthodoxy in the West. Saladin himself took good care that his empire should not become a menace to the Caliphate; for, following the bad custom of the Seljuks, shortly before his death he divided his kingdom between his three sons, in addition presenting single towns and districts to his numerous relatives. The result was a succession of wars that finally ended when Saladin's brother Aladil united the bulk of the possessions of the family under his rule in 1200. But the empire soon fell to pieces again after Aladil's death, when confusion once more broke forth in 1218 on an invasion of Egypt by the Crusaders. Alkamil, who succeeded to the thrones of Egypt and Palestine, closed a treaty with Frederick II, according to which Jerusalem was restored to the Christians in 1228. During the next ten years constant wars took place in Syria, an attempt being made in the North to form an independent State with Damascus as its capital, while the Egyptian Ayubides continued their desperate efforts, with the assistance of the Christians and all other allies whom occasion offered, to maintain their supremacy over the entire empire of Saladin. In 1250 a change in the occupancy of the throne of Egypt took place, with the result that the throne of the Ayubides fell into the hands of the leader of the mercenary body-guards. With this began the period of Mameluke supremacy, which in spite of various interruptions continued until the days of Mehemet Ali in the early nineteenth century.

B. The Mongols

(*a*) *The Fall of the Seljuks.*—The affairs in Syria and Egypt developed during the eleventh and twelfth centuries in comparative independence of the events which had been taking place in the eastern part of the empire of the caliphs. But here too the power of the Seljuks was in process of decay. In Irak, Mesopotamia, and Iran an entire series of lesser Seljukian States (Farsistan, Luristan, Azerbijan) had been formed, not to speak of the feudal provinces already in existence, which now became more independent than ever. The bulk of these States were ruled by princes called Atabegs, who as a rule recognised merely as a matter of form the supreme power of the caliph and the sultan. Moreover, the throne

of the sultan at Bagdad was a constant cause of violent disputes. Thus it came about that even the caliphs regained a portion of their old political influence, and here and there ventured to take up arms against their Seljuk "protectors" or the lesser princes of the neighbourhood of Bagdad. The power of the Seljuk sultans was now concentrated in Persia; but here also they were threatened by new dangers. It had indeed been an easy task to deal with the decaying Ghaznavides; and the Ghorides who arose in the place of the latter were more interested in the affairs of India than of Iran; but the frontier provinces of the Central Asian steppes were once more in a state of the utmost tumult and confusion.

Transoxania had been lost to Turkish tribes, while in Chvaresm (Khiva) a new and powerful State had developed, whose ruler soon set out toward Persia on a campaign of conquest. Sinjar, sultan at Bagdad since 1132, had already engaged in a severe struggle with these opponents, who were threatening the same gates of his empire through which the Seljuks had broken many years before; and at his death in 1157 a portion of Persia fell into the hands of the Khivans. A period of confusion followed: the caliphs at Bagdad endeavoured to arouse further dissensions among the Seljuks in order to free themselves from their burdensome guardianship; the Seljuks, on the other hand, fought among themselves for the sultanship, and the Khivan princes battled against one another for the rich inheritance of their house.

When finally Caliph Nasir, the last energetic Abbasside, came to the throne in 1180, he was already in a position to extend his dominions, owing to the wars which had been carried on between Seljuks and Khivans; nevertheless in the end he was obliged to grant to the victorious Khivan, Tekesh-Khan, the rôle of protector which had so long been enjoyed by the Buides and Seljuks. After the death of Tekesh in 1199, Nasir attempted to assume a position of independence, and opposed Tekesh's successor, Mohammed. But Mohammed, who shortly after his accession had annihilated the Ghorides in Eastern Iran and had extended his dominion as far as the Indus, resolved not only to restore Khivan influence, but to do away with the Abbassides entirely, replacing them in Bagdad by a caliph chosen from the descendants of Ali. However, the early approach of winter rescued for the time being the Abbasside caliph. Before Mohammed could collect his forces for a new move, the troops of the Mongolian conqueror Genghis Khan, who had been called upon for aid by Nasir, appeared in his rear; and with this a new act began in the tragic history of Western Asia.

(*b*) *Persia immediately before the Mongol Conquest.* — The first blow dealt by the Mongols, the most barbarous of all the Central Asian races, fell upon Persia. Neither the economic nor the intellectual prosperity of the land had yet disappeared; in fact, education had become still more general, the interest in poetry, philosophy, and religion more active. The material power but not the spirit of the Iranian race had been broken by the Turkish conquerors. Although both the literature and the language of the Arabians had had a deep influence on the Persians, — indeed, far too many Arabian terms were beginning to be used in Persian poetry, — scarcely one Turkish word was at that time to be found in the works of Iranian writers. The educated classes had always looked upon the rude conquering folk with a contempt that was even expressed by Enveri, the court poet of various Seljuk princes: "Ye Turks are rightly named asses and dogs, who know

nothing higher than gluttony and mere sensual delights." Nothing remained to the warlike Seljuk sultans, who were unaccustomed to retreat in battle, than finally to lay down their arms before the overwhelming superiority of the Iranian-Arabian intellect. Their courts soon became the rallying points of scholars and poets, their tongues grew accustomed to the Persian language, and their treasuries stood open to the masters of literature and science. Traces of barbaric lack of taste were exhibited by these Iranianised Turks in their love of exorbitant flattery, which soon began to exercise a ruinous effect on Persian literature, — bombastic songs of praise and extravagant deifications, bordering on imbecility, taking the place of true poetry.

Extravagance and exaggeration in poetry were soon followed by a reaction in the shape of an excessive tendency toward religious mysticism: poets to whom the atmosphere of the brilliant courts was not congenial, and who scorned to take part in unworthy competition for the favour of princes, turned to the mysticism which had long flourished on Persian soil, ever drawing fresh nourishment from the not far-distant land of India. Ascetic dervishes and Ismailian Assassins were alike inspired by these ancient doctrines; the pure were led upward to a higher degree of purity, but the wicked were plunged into the deepest abysses of depravity; a Buddhist was as well able to derive his power and love of mankind from mysticism as an Assassin his relentless hatred. Jelal ed-din Rumi, who stood first among the mystic poets of Persia, the greatest and most profound of all, luckily survived the evils of the Mongol invasion, living in security at the court of the Seljuk prince of Iconium. Together with the poetry of mysticism and of the courts, the poetry of romanticism flourished, of which the foremost representative was Nisami. Both Enveri, the master of court poetry, and Nisami, the romanticist, succeeded in winning the favour of Seljuk rulers as well as the unanimous applause of their own people.

Khorassan and Transoxania, in spite of many vicissitudes, were the centres of Persian-Mohammedan civilization until the Mongol period. The fertility and commercial prosperity of the land, the vitality of the warlike inhabitants, and the influence of the intellectual life of India, and even of China, as well as many other fortunate circumstances, caused Bokhara and Samarkand to become centres of science and art, — in a certain sense, universities of the Mohammedan world. The princes of Khiva also were greatly influenced by the civilization of Transoxania; and for the short time during which they enjoyed the heritage of the Seljuks in Iran, they continued the work of the latter as patrons of science and literature. It is true that their subjects differed but little from the very rudest of the nomads of the Central Asian steppes; and contemporary Persian chroniclers were doubtful as to whom to award the prize of detestableness, whether to the Khivans or to the Mongols.

(*c*) *Genghis Khan.* — Lack of enthusiasm in Iran for the cause of the Khivan princes contributed not a little to the victory of the Mongols, — perhaps more even than the original appeal of Nasir to Genghis Khan for assistance against his enemies. Upon the Khivan Mohammed, who reigned from 1199 to 1220, devolved the defence of Western Asia when the Mongol armies advanced on Transoxania; but when he assembled his troops for the rescue of Iranian culture, he had not even the support of the Persians, not to speak of the other Western Asian

nations; besides this, to his great misfortune, he appeared to be ignorant of the value of his strong defensive position in Transoxania, and boldly marched out to meet the enemy on their own steppes. The result was that he received a crushing defeat in the year 1219.

Entire Transoxania was occupied by the Mongols during the next few years; the province was not only lost politically to Persia, but lost to civilization. The libraries of Bokhara and Samarkand were burnt in 1220 and 1221; the professors of the institutions of learning were massacred, and such of their pupils as escaped sword or slavery fled from the scene of desolation. Mohammed, whose native country Khiva was also invaded by the Mongols, entirely lost courage. He retreated from his second line of defence in Khorassan without a struggle, and retired to Azerbijan, from which he was soon driven by squadrons of Mongol cavalry that advanced as far as Georgia, finally taking refuge on a small island in the Caspian Sea, where he soon died in misery and want. His son Jelal ed-din, who had escaped into Afghanistan, was compelled to retreat to India before the victorious standards of Genghis Khan. His cause was ruined by the hatred of the Iranians for the Khivans which was not forgotten even during this time of extremity. New Mongol forces streaming in through the open gates of Khorassan finally annihilated the last vestiges of his power in August, 1231.

In this manner were the flourishing towns and cultivated fields of Iran given over to a barbarous nomadic people of the steppes, that swept down upon Western Asia like the spirit of tempest and destruction, laying vast regions waste with fire and sword. But on this occasion also, the power of Iranian civilization, fresh from its peaceful victory over Seljuks and Khivans, showed its marvellous tenacity of life. The triumphant Mongols, at whose feet lay the greater part of the ancient world, were unable to visit every corner of this world with desolation and death; they failed to destroy all the minor States of the conquered territory. Nor were they persecutors: forbearance toward all men who submitted at the right moment was a law of this conquering race. Thus, for example, the wise atabeg of Farsistan, who announced his allegiance to the Mongol emperor while the latter was yet far distant from his province, was permitted to retain his throne, and his land was spared from devastation. In the same manner many poets and scholars were able to find secure places of refuge. In fact, the rise of Persian literature was so little affected by political changes, that its zenith was not attained until after the Mongol invasion. But gradually the results of the war became more and more visible, and it was soon evident that the ancient civilization of Iran was beginning to deteriorate with the constant additions of foreign elements. Just as the cultivated fields became once more the pasturing grounds of nomads, so the intellectual life of Persia grew weaker and weaker, and could soon be compared to the sparse, dry grasses of the steppes, withered by the glow of the summer sun.

(*d*) *The Destruction of the Assassins.* — After the death of Genghis Khan in August, 1226, Persia fell to the share of his fourth son, Tuli, who also died in a short time. Tuli was succeeded by Hulagu, after Mangu had been elected emperor of the Mongols. In 1256 Hulagu invaded Iran at the head of a vast army and re-established the authority of the conquerors; for after the death of Genghis Khan the Mongols had made but little progress in Persian territory. Hulagu could not

have chosen as an object for his campaign one better calculated to win for him the sympathy of all Western Asiatics, than the destruction of the Assassins. The wasp's nest of Ismailians still hung fast to the cliffs of Alamut; and the daggers of the fanatics continued to threaten all men who awakened their mistrust or anger. The Mongol ruler turned against these scourges of Western Asia, as if he desired to show that there were other forces still more ruinous than the sanguinary leaders of his race, and that the arms of the Mongols also could be employed in the work of justice. His summons to all princes of Iran, bidding them assist with auxiliaries, did not meet with a single refusal. The caliph in Bagdad alone was unwilling to comply with the request, and this furnished Hulagu with a welcome pretext for making war on him soon after, and for putting an end to the sovereignty of the Abbassides. Thus, without desiring it, but in entire harmony with the spirit of their faith, the Assassins, even while in the throes of death, were indirectly responsible for the destruction of Bagdad and the murder of the last orthodox Abbasside caliph by the sabres of the Mongols.

The first half of the thirteenth century had not been without its effects on the Assassins also. Without altering its principles to any appreciable extent, the sect had passed through several external changes, the Syrian branch having won for itself an almost completely independent position. The esoteric doctrines of the Assassins, of which the tendency was absolute moral indifference and unconstraint, were only known to the higher orders of the sect, while the majority were kept in a state of blind submission with the aid of a mystic and complicated formula of belief. But such a system was no more capable of permanent existence in the case of the Assassins than in that of any other sect. The secret doctrines gradually became known to the lower orders; and the higher authorities took no pains to avoid the inevitable, in fact were all the more willing that it should be so, inasmuch as the unscrupulousness and contempt for death of their disciples were increased rather than diminished by the general spread of nihilistic opinions.

Until their mysteries were disclosed, the representatives of the order had always been able to preserve the appearance of being upright adherents of Islam, even better Mohammedans than the orthodox caliphs: the Seljuk sultan Sanjar had received from Alamut in reply to his request for information regarding the sect, a confession of faith that was beyond the criticism of even the strictest of the orthodox. However, the veil of deception became more and more transparent, and the answer to the now openly confessed principles of the Assassins was an outburst of wrath from the entire Mohammedan world. Now, indeed, it might be said of the Ismailians as of their Ismaelite namesakes, that the hand of every man was lifted against them as their hands were lifted against all men. It was impossible for them to offer permanent resistance, their enemies were far too numerous; a fundamental change in their principles was unavoidable. Thus the Assassins, together with their grand master Jelal ed-din, suddenly began to embrace the orthodox faith. The "Old Man of the Mountain" burnt a mass of writings alleged to contain the godless esoteric doctrines of the Assassins in the presence of several orthodox Mohammedans, who had been invited to Alamut as witnesses; he sent off his wife on a pilgrimage to Mecca, where she outshone even the most princely of her fellow pilgrims through her lavish alms-giving and other good works; and finally he sought to connect the neighbouring feudal rulers of Azerbijan and Tabaristan with his house by marriage.

This last endeavour rested upon another cause besides that of the alleged change of faith: a temporal principality had gradually begun to develop out of the Ismailian possessions in Northern Persia, of which the rulers, provided they wished to maintain their positions, were obliged to adopt another policy than that of intimidation, murder, and secret propaganda. Instead of bands of Assassins, Ismailian troops now appeared in the field; and in the year 1214 an army was despatched by Jelal ed-din to Irak in order to assist the caliph in subduing an insubordinate governor.

Whether or not the apparent conversion of the Assassins would have led to a true alteration in their belief as time went on, it is idle to ask; at any rate, when Jelal ed-din died of poisoning in November, 1221, and was succeeded by his nine years old son Ala ed-din, the sect lost no time in throwing off the mask of hypocrisy and in openly professing allegiance to their old principles. Ala ed-din, who remained weak in intellect throughout his life, was not the man to face the dangers that soon arose as a result of this latest development. When after his murder in 1255, his son Rokn ed-din assumed the leadership of the order, the clouds of dust raised by the advancing Mongol hordes bent on the destruction of the Assassins were already in sight. However bold and unscrupulous the Ismailians had been until this moment, their fall was mute and inglorious. Only a single one of their fortresses held out for any length of time; the others surrendered immediately. At first it appeared as if timely submission would save them from the worst; but Hulagu only waited until the last sign of resistance had disappeared. Then he gave the signal for a general massacre. Almost all the Ismailians of Iran were slaughtered in cold blood, and with them the last grand master of the order on the 19th of November, 1256. The Syrian branch of the sect continued to exist for some years, until Beibar, sultan of Egypt, drove the dispirited sectaries out of their strongholds in 1271. However, the order was not completely annihilated either in Syria or in Persia. In the fourteenth century unscrupulous princes frequently employed Ismailian murderers from Syria; and to the present day remains of the sect, which has now become harmless enough, are to be found in Lebanon and in the mountainous regions south of the Caspian Sea.

(*e*) *The Fall of the Abbasside Caliphate.*— The destruction of the Assassins was soon followed by the fall of the Abbassides. Hulagu had in truth not come to Persia merely in order to annihilate the Ismailians: the object he had in view was the subjection of entire Western Asia, which, now that Iran had been won, lay at the mercy of the conqueror. The next difficulty to be removed was the caliph in Irak, whose power had somewhat increased during the preceding decades. Hulagu was no doubt well satisfied that the infatuated caliph had refused to supply him troops for the campaign against the Assassins, thereby furnishing the Mongols with an excuse for turning their arms against him next; and no time more favourable than the middle of the thirteenth century could have been chosen for an attack on the spiritual centre of the Islamite world. The decay of the Seljuks had deprived the Caliphate of its natural protectors, the caliphs themselves contributing not a little toward bringing about this state of affairs, for they had once more begun to adopt policies of their own, extending their possessions and increasing their authority in Irak and Western Iran through the employment

of mercenaries. So long as they had only to do with vassal princes and atabegs, they were more or less successful in their efforts to augment their political importance; it would even have been possible for an energetic and clever caliph to have transformed the spiritual supremacy of the Caliphate into a far-reaching temporal dominion.

But unfortunately the successors of Nasir, who had always set before himself a fixed policy and had laid the foundations for further successes in reorganising the financial system and army of the Caliphate, were men of small abilities. When Genghis Khan first marched through Persia, Mongol hordes had already penetrated as far as Irak, thus rendering apparent the danger that threatened the empire. In the meanwhile the caliph Mustanzir scattered the money that had been saved by Nasir, by erecting splendid edifices and establishing various religious foundations. His follower, Mustazim, who came to the throne in 1242, went to the opposite extreme. He was of an avaricious disposition, and even carried matters so far as to reduce his single means of defence, the mercenary army, in order to save expenses. Thus having robbed himself of his own power, he was helpless at the time of greatest danger, and in the usual manner of weaklings refused to acknowledge that his position was risked in the least, until all hope of rescue was past. Whether his Shiite vizier Alkami turned traitor, as the Sunnites maintained, or whether he did nothing more than add his own indecision to that of the caliph, thus increasing the general confusion, matters but little. And the fact that Nasir ed-din, an astronomer whom Mustazim had offended, betook himself to Hulagu, encouraging him in his plans against Bagdad, is of still less significance. The average man, whether he be a European or an Asiatic, beholds in politics as in nature personality and individuality alone; he fails to comprehend the workings of the vast forces of evolution that lie hidden below the surface; his love, as well as his hate, finds its object in man only. Thus in the eyes of the after-world the blame for the fall of Bagdad lay on the heads of the two "criminals," Alkami and Nasir ed-din.

First by attacking the Mongols with insufficient forces, and then by entering into feeble negotiations with them, Mustazim allowed the last chances of rescue to slip by. The city of Bagdad still remained to him; and its excellent strategic position on both banks of the Tigris, in a district cut through by canals, rendered a siege extremely difficult. In addition, we must understand that the Mohammedan rulers of the western provinces that had once been an integral part of the empire did not leave their spiritual head entirely in the lurch. But in the meantime, a Mongol army crossed the Tigris near Mossul and threatened the western side of the city. Then the caliph lost all hope, and repaired to the camp of Hulagu. His life was spared long enough for him to disclose the places where he had hidden his treasures; on the 21st of March, 1258, he was executed.

The inhabitants of Bagdad were led out in crowds and massacred in cold blood; the Mongols plundered and brawled in the streets for forty days. The greater part of the city, together with the priceless library of the caliphs and many of the finest buildings, were destroyed by fire. Single quarters, indeed, were spared; the splendid situation of the city enticed new settlers thither; and to this day Bagdad has in a large measure retained its importance. The success of Hulagu, however, had a ruinous effect on Mohammedan civilization. Bagdad was the connecting link between the western provinces of Islam and Persia; within its

walls the learned men of Syria, Egypt, and Andalusia had united in common pursuits with the scholars of Persia and Transoxania, so that the city was indeed the centre of the intellectual as well as of the ecclesiastical power of the Mohammedan people. But the murderous thrusts dealt by the Mongols struck Oriental civilization to the very heart. Never since has it arisen to its former lustre; it has lived during the last six hundred years only in the reflection of its former achievements. The poetry of Persia, indeed, continued to flourish for a couple of centuries, but it no longer found an echo in the West; and finally it, too, died away in its loneliness.

(*f*) *The Rise and Fall of the Mongol Empire.* — After the capture of Bagdad, Hulagu continued his campaign of conquest in the West, first declaring war upon Northern Syria. He stormed Haleb in 1260, compelled Nasir ed-din, the Ayubide, to flee from Damascus, marched through Palestine, and threatened Egypt. But on being severely defeated by Kotuz, the Mameluke regent of the empire, at Ain Jalut, not far from Sichem, he was obliged to withdraw his forces from the West. The small Ayubide dynasties in Northern Syria were soon forced to take one side or the other, and were for the most part annihilated in the repeated conflicts between Mongols and Egyptians. Just as Western Asia became more and more desolate as a result of these devastating struggles, so the political history of the land became less interesting and more cheerless as time went on. For a long time the history of Western Asia was occupied with the antagonism of two great powers: the Mongol dynasty of the Ilkhans in Persia and Irak, and the Mameluke sultans in Egypt and Syria. The leaden cloud of hopeless stagnation soon settled over the land, that was, indeed, occasionally lighted up by the flames of burning villages and homesteads. The work that had been begun by Kotur was completed by his successor and murderer, Beibar: Syria together with its Ayubide princes was brought under Egyptian influence, the power of the Assassins broken, and that of the Christians shaken. The princes of Iconium and Lesser Armenia who had allied themselves with the Mongols, defended themselves with difficulty against the attacks of the Egyptians. Since the greater part of Arabia and Mesopotamia also recognised the supremacy of Beibar, Egypt was in 1277, on the death of this none too scrupulous but energetic Sultan, the centre of a powerful empire, which, in spite of all quarrels as to the succession and its constant state of confusion, successfully barred the West to the Mongols.

The Mongol chieftains who had taken possession of Persia were soon affected by the influence of Iranian culture no less than by the religious belief of their new environment. Even Hulagu, who had chosen the province of Azerbijan for his residence, showed a certain inclination toward science, and ordered the construction of a great observatory — which was, however, never entirely completed — at an extraordinary expense, by the same Nasir ed-din who, according to popular opinion, had played such an important part in the destruction of Bagdad. Since the succeeding rulers were surrounded by viziers and courtiers of Persian origin, most of whom sought fame through the patronage of literature and science, and further, since many of the Lesser Iranian principalities had been preserved intact and continued to keep up the traditions of civilization, the intellectual life of Iran did not at first suffer to any great extent under the new political conditions; the burning of the centres of learning in Transoxania and the desolation that had been

brought to Bagdad had in reality only destroyed the outworks of Iranianism, which still remained sound at the core. Above all, Farsistan, the heart of Iran, had scarcely been touched by the ruin and havoc of war; its ruling dynasty still remained on the throne; and in Asia Minor an offshoot of Iranian culture flourished at the court in Iconium. The great mystic poet Jelal ed-din Rumi found a secure refuge in Iconium; and his great contemporary Sa'di ended his days in peace at Shiraz in Farsistan. It was not long before the Mongol rulers became quite as distinguished as patrons of literature and science as the domestic dynasties had been in former times; and when they finally were converted to Islam, thereby passing the barrier by which they had hitherto been separated from their subjects, the victory of the Iranian spirit over the conquerors of the Iranian people was complete.

After Hulagu's death in 1265 Abaka succeeded to the throne. The decay of the Mongol Empire which now set in, leading to bitter struggles between the various princes and to violent onslaughts of fresh tribes from Central Asia, hindered the expansion of the power of the Mongols toward the West. Under the followers of Abaka — who died in 1281 — the Iranian-Mongol Empire was torn in pieces by quarrels as to the succession as well as by other feuds, until in the year 1295 Ghazan ascended the throne. His predecessor Ahmed was the first Persian ruler of Mongol blood who adopted Mohammedanism as his religion, and in consequence advised his countrymen to embrace the same faith, much to the chagrin of the Christians, who had looked upon the Mongols as their natural allies against the Mohammedans from the very beginning, and during the time of Abaka had even hoped to convert the Great Khan himself to Christianity. Even more important than his conversion to Islam was Ghazan's capacity as a legislator; his code served as a model for all the later conquerors of Western Asia, above all for the Osmans, or Ottomans, and in truth were exceedingly well adapted to the mutual requirements of a warlike nomadic people and the stationary agricultural inhabitants of the conquered territories.

From a perusal of these laws, which were indeed sadly needed, we are able to gather much information as to the miserable condition into which Persia had fallen during the Mongol period. The wealthiest district of Farsistan, the province that had suffered least from the effects of the Mongol invasion, a land possessed of an exceptionally productive traffic in horses with India and an extensive pearl trade on the Persian Gulf, paid in taxes at the time of Ghazan but the eighth part of the sum which it had paid with ease during the Seljuk period — in spite of desperate attempts on the part of the tax collectors to increase the revenues of the government. The burden of taxation had been greatly increased by the evil system of farming out the taxes, — a system which Ghazan himself did not abolish, — and soon became unbearable. Broad tracts of fertile ground lay bare and deserted; such of the inhabitants as had escaped the sabres of the conquerors or of the troops of Mongol robbers who rode plundering through the province, fled before the inexorable tax officials, or were driven from their homes, hopelessly in debt to Mongol usurers. The tenth part of all produce of the land which was set apart for the support of the Mongol warriors was collected over and over again in a most unsystematic manner, until finally Ghazan succeeded in restoring a small degree of order by allotting certain fixed districts to certain bodies of troops. No good was expected from the increasing dissatisfaction of the Iranian people, as was

shown by Ghazan's order commanding the disarmament of the native inhabitants of Farsistan. The general misery had been increased by one of Ghazan's predecessors, who had unsuccessfully endeavoured to replace specie by paper money after the Chinese method. Ghazan himself rendered an undoubted service to his subjects by reforming the currency, introducing coins worth their face value and of fixed fineness and weight.

Whether or not the new laws would have produced a fundamental change for the better in Iranian affairs, we cannot say; at any rate, the confusion that followed the death of Ghazan and continued until the end of the supremacy of the Ilkhan Mongols prevented any true recovery of the enfeebled Persian people. After the expedition of Genghis Khan into Syria during the years 1300–1303 which ended in failure, nothing more was done in the way of conquest by the Mongol princes of Iran; and in 1323 Bu Zaid, the last Ilkhan who was able to maintain the integrity of his empire, concluded peace with Egypt. Soon afterward the Mongol Empire was divided, at first into two parts, Irak and Persia; and at the same time the family of the Mozaffarides obtained for themselves greater independence in Farsistan, their first sultan being Mobariz ed-din, 1313–1358, and the Turcomans founded an independent State in Kurdistan. The increasing power of Farsistan showed that the Iranian element was once more regaining strength and preparing for a fresh attack on the Mongols, whose powers were declining rapidly. Perhaps a Persian national state would again have been founded had not a new and still more frightful storm of conquest burst over the land of Iran, destroying all Persian hopes; the victory of Timur completely re-established the waning power of the Mongols.

C. The Ottomans

(*a*) *Asia Minor under the Last of the Seljuks.* — At the time when Timur's troops were pouring in upon Western Asia and India, a complete transformation had taken place in the affairs of Asia Minor; here a new monarchy was developing in the place of the decaying Byzantine Empire and the Sultanate of Iconium. The Byzantines, who had so long been successful in holding Asia Minor against the Mohammedans, were no longer able to drive the Turks out of their territories; and the Crusaders also, of whom so much had been expected in Constantinople, had likewise succeeded in obtaining temporary victories only over the Seljuks in Asia Minor. It is true that the most serious dangers had been averted with the assistance of the Western Europeans. Nicæa had been recaptured, and the western half of Asia Minor cleared of the Turks; but the hordes of nomads, constantly reinforced by new bands of Turkish immigrants, were no longer to be driven from the steppe lands of the interior of the peninsula. Had it been possible to strengthen Armenia once more after the old Roman military frontier had been again established through the rise of the Lesser Armenian State in Cilicia and the Christian kingdoms of Edessa and Antioch, then perhaps the Byzantines might have succeeded in surrounding, and finally in assimilating, the masses of foreigners within their boundaries. But Armenia as well as Georgia was utterly helpless, and only formed the open door through which the hordes of Turcomans streamed in from the East. The Seljuk Empire of Iconium, or Rum, which was only once united under the rule of a capable monarch, Izz ed-din Kilij Arslan (1152–1190), who died in 1192, suffered in general under the same evil conditions of disintegration and quar-

rels between brothers as to the succession that were the usual characteristic of Seljuk States.

Nevertheless, the people of Asia Minor were to all appearances better off under the government of the Seljuks than under the Byzantine bureaucracy; for the smaller the Eastern Roman Empire grew, the heavier became the taxes. It was a source of great anxiety to the Byzantines, that from certain of the imperial provinces of Asia Minor the inhabitants emigrated *en masse* into the Seljuk principalities. When in the year 1204 the Byzantine Empire was conquered by the Crusaders, and feudalism gained the upper hand, the stationary population of Asia Minor had no longer any reason for hoping that they would derive the slightest advantage from offering resistance to the increasing power of the Turks. On the other hand, the Seljuks, who had continued their old manner of life, wandering about with their flocks and herds, and at the same time always prepared for war, patronised the agriculturists, who had become indispensable to them, and whose interests in no wise conflicted with their own. The growing power of the Turks was still more increased when Persian-Arabian civilization began to awaken in the towns; for at the beginning of the Mongol wars scholars from Persia and Arabia sought and found refuge in Asia Minor, where they were gladly received by the Seljuk princes — Ala ed-din Kai Kobad (1219–1236), for example, — who did all that lay in his power to further the intellectual development of his people.

But the Turks of Asia Minor did not entirely escape the Mongol storm; they were now compelled to atone for having left the iron gates of Armenia and Georgia open behind them. Genghis Khan took the same route along which so many Turks had already passed, marching from Azerbijan to the peninsula; and only the timely submission of the Seljuks whom he encountered saved them from a far greater evil. For a long time the Seljuks of Asia Minor were the most faithful vassals of the Mongols, and, as such, the natural enemies of the Egyptians, whose sultan, Beibar, wrought havoc in the Turkish kingdom of Iconium, advancing far into the interior of the peninsula in 1277. The discipline of the Egyptians was fairly good; but the Mongols who came later under Abagha could not deny themselves the satisfaction of either massacring or enslaving the inhabitants of Iconium. Thus it seems that it stood written in the book of destiny that in Asia Minor also the Mongols should destroy all that the Turks had spared.

(*b*) *The Rise of the Ottomans.* — The destruction of the Seljuk Empire in Asia Minor was the natural result of the Mongol invasions; but the Turks were already too firmly rooted in the peninsula that the Greek Empire, temporarily restored in 1261, should derive any benefit from the fall of the Seljuks. Another Turkish race immediately came forward in place of the latter. During the Mongol wars a horde of Turcomans from Transoxania had marched toward the West under the leadership of Suleiman. A portion of this horde, of which the command was taken over after Suleiman's death by his son Ertogrul, emigrated to Asia Minor. The Seljuk prince Kai Kobad allotted pasturages in the neighbourhood of Angora to the new arrivals, and was not displeased to see that they soon began to increase their lands at the expense of the Byzantines. Ertogrul's successor, Osman, or Othman, who came to the throne in 1288, continued the conquests, strengthening his forces by the addition of other Turkish tribes, and finally freed himself entirely from the suzerainty of the Seljuk rulers. In honour of Osman, their first inde-

pendent sovereign, his subjects, consisting of many different tribes, took the name of Osmans, or Ottomans. Shortly before Osman's death, in 1326, Brussa was captured, and a few years later selected to be the capital of the new empire by his successor, Orchan. This new State, in which the entire military and destructive power of the nomadic Turks once more found a firm support, and which had succeeded to the civilized kingdom of the Seljuks, was naturally a serious menace to the culture of Asia Minor. It was only with the assistance of Persian civilization that the Seljuks had been tamed but at this time whatever culture there may have been left succumbed completely to the blows dealt by the Ottomans. With this the victory of nomadism was assured for centuries. During the reigns of Orchan and his successors, a number of the small Turkish principalities in Asia Minor were overthrown, and the European possessions of the Byzantines were also attacked. Murad I captured Adrianople in Europe, as well as Angora, Kutahiah, and various other towns in Asia Minor. His successor, Bayezid I, conquered the whole of Asia Minor with the exception of the principality of Kastamuni and the imperial State Trebizond, and was on the point of continuing his victorious campaign to Constantinople when the invasion of Timur began, hindering for the time being the rise of the Ottoman Empire.

D. Western Asia before the Coming of Timur

At the time when Timur (Tamerlane) was preparing for his invasion of the West, a great change had taken place in the balance of power in Western Asia, which for the last century had been determined by the mutual antagonism of the Mongol Empire in Persia and the kingdom of the Mamelukes in Egypt. The empire of the Mongols had fallen; in Northwestern Iran only was a portion of its old power retained; and after the downfall of the Seljuk States and the victorious invasion of the Ottomans, the influence of the Mongols had naturally come to an end in Asia Minor also. Thus Egypt had been placed in a position most favourable to expansion; for, governed by Mameluke officers of the guard, and distracted by constant quarrels about the succession, it would never have been able to achieve anything against a strong and active opponent. Now, however, in view of the rapidly disappearing influence of the Mongols, the case was different. Moreover, Beibar, the sultan of Egypt, had understood how to make the most of the destruction of Bagdad and the fall of the Caliphate in the East by installing an Abbasside caliph in Cairo, thereby transferring the weak but useful nimbus of spiritual supremacy of the Mohammedan world to his own kingdom. His followers also retained this advantageous feature. Thus a dynasty of Abbasside caliphs arose at the side of the Mameluke sultans, and lasted until the Ottoman sovereigns broke the power of the Mamelukes, and assumed the dignity of caliph themselves. In truth, the Abbassides never had any power of their own; for the real rulers of Egypt and Syria were the mercenary troops that consisted either of stolen or bought children and slaves, who were trained into guardsmen (Mamelukes), or of Turkish and Mongol soldiers of fortune. Nevertheless, the mercenaries were seldom united, and clever and energetic sultans were often able to retain for themselves a determining influence on affairs by playing off one body of the hired troops against another.

That Egypt was able to maintain itself as a Power of the first rank for so

long a period, in spite of the confusion that reigned in domestic affairs, and the lack of a firm national foundation, was due to its financial prosperity and the favourable situation of the land in regard to commerce; for the more the uncertainty of the political situation in the East caused men to desert the northern routes of Indian trade, the more exclusively the route through Egypt was used, and therefore the amount of customs duties and tolls that flowed into the Egyptian treasury became proportionately increased. This artificial prosperity concealed the decay of the true sources of national economic welfare until the time of the discovery of the ocean route to India; then Egypt immediately sank to the insignificant position it occupies to-day. The foreign policy of Egypt was primarily commercial. When the Venetians and the Genoese formed an alliance with the king of Cyprus, undertook a new "crusade," and plundered Alexandria, peace was soon restored; for the Egyptian treasury found that the losses it sustained owing to the absence of the Italian merchants were more than it could bear (1365). Otherwise the Christians possessed no influence in Egypt aud Syria. Their last stronghold, Acre, had fallen in 1291; and in the year 1370 the Christian kingdom of Lesser Armenia, that had long been on the verge of dissolution, became a province of Egypt. The Egyptian rulers took small part in the affairs of the East; even the sultan Nasir (1293–1341), whose reign was distinguished by a strong and consistent foreign polity, neglected to take advantage of the opportunities for conquest opened to him by the confusion that reigned in Irak and Persia.

It was not long before things came to such a pass in Egypt and Western Asia, that all development of power was confined exclusively to the newly arrived hordes of barbarians, while the original native populations, the old representatives of civilization and industry, sank to a position of feebleness and decay. The wounds received by the ageing empires of Western Asia healed more and more slowly, or not at all. Again a wave of semi-barbarous nomads swept over the unfortunate land after Timur's victorious march; and to make matters worse, the appearance of the new conqueror was preceded by the plague, or black death, which spread over Western Asia and Europe, and raged longest and with most deadly effect in the hot valley of the Nile.

E. Timur

The conquests of Timur in Western Asia formed but a portion of his gigantic plan of restoring to its old splendour the empire of Genghis Khan; they were insignificant even, compared to his captures of territory in Central Asia and Eastern Europe, and in permanent effects were surpassed by his achievements in Northern India. However, the invasions of Timur were nowhere so destructive as in Western Asia, in the provinces that were just beginning to recover from the effects of the first Mongol storm; that is to say, in districts where utterly hopeless desolation had not taken the place of former prosperity. In the year 1380 Timur appeared at the head of his army in Khorassan, after he had conquered entire Transoxania and Khiva. He marched along the old Mongol and Turkish routes south of the Elbruz Mountains to Azerbijan, Armenia, and Georgia. Farsistan — still ruled by the Mozaffarides — was conquered, Ispahan stormed, and a pyramid erected of seventy thousand skulls, — an example of what Timur's conquests meant for Western Asia. After the national dynasty of Farsistan had

ended on the death of Shah Mansur in 1392, the Ilkhan, Ahmed ibn Owais, who had maintained his position in Irak after the loss of Azerbijan, was driven out of Bagdad. The Indian campaign of Timur in 1398 gave many of the defeated rulers an opportunity for reoccupying their provinces; but this only led to new attacks by the Mongols after their victorious return from the East.

The defence of the threatened provinces of the West fell to the Ottomans and the Egyptians, who were unfortunately unable to agree with one another or to engage in common undertakings. The Ottoman sultan Bayezid II was, however, at least able to support the Armenians and Georgians, who had been overthrown by Timur, as well as to assist the Ilkhan in Bagdad, thus erecting a wall of defence, that was nevertheless broken through at the very first attack on Timur's return from India. On the other hand, Berkuk, sultan of Egypt, who had more reason to tremble before his own Mamelukes than before the Mongols, evacuated Syria after much boasting and little fighting, and left his Syrian subjects to be the helpless victims of Mongol fury in 1400. In the year 1401 Timur invaded Asia Minor and totally defeated Bayezid, taking him captive. Asia Minor had already suffered greatly from the Ottomans; now it was once more plundered and its inhabitants massacred; even the last of the wealthy seaports, Smyrna, that had not yet fallen into the hands of the Turks was completely destroyed. The Ottoman Empire became a Mongol province; and Egypt itself was saved from the sword of Timur only by the immediate submission of its ruler.

The death of the dreaded conqueror in 1405 was not only followed by a halt in the advance of the Mongols, but was the signal for the dissolution of Timur's empire. In Irak the Ilkhan, Ahmed (died 1410), returned to the seat of government; in Kurdistan, Kara Yusuf, the ruler of the Turcomans of the Black Ram — who defeated the last of the Ilkhans, shah Walad, in 1411 — captured Bagdad and put an end to the old Mongol dynasty which dated back to Genghis Khan; the Egyptians reasserted their influence in Syria, and the Ottomans were restored to their independence in Asia Minor.

Persia alone remained to shah Roch, the successor of Timur, whose only serious entanglements during his long reign were successful wars with the hordes of Turcomans of the Black and the White Ram in Kurdistan. The efforts of this ruler to restore his devastated country to prosperity, and to assemble about his throne the few remaining scholars and poets of Iran, were a pleasing contrast to the rule of blood of Timur. But the intellectual no less than the economic power of the country was in a hopeless state of decline. Almost contemporaneously with his patron, the Iranian Muzaffarid in Farsistan, died Hafiz, the greatest of Persian poets, in Shiraz. The last celebrated Persian poet, Jami, whose birth took place after the death of Timur, flourished in the period of transition during which the barren spirit of the Turkish people finally became supreme, the literature of Iran being replaced by bombast, mechanical verses in the form of epistles supplanting the true poetry of former times.

F. Western Asia in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century

Although some small signs of progress were still visible in Persia, and in Asia Minor the efforts of the Ottomans to elevate themselves to a position of political supremacy was at least a proof of military activity, Syria and Mesopotamia

had reached the lowest ebb of wretchedness, — the one suffering under the miserable government of the Egyptian Mameluke emirs, and the other filled with hordes of nomads, who after their old custom looked upon a civilized country as existing only for plunder. These Turcoman nomads were divided into two main clans: the Kara Koinlo, or the Black Ram, and the Ak Koinlo, or the White Ram, so called after their totem-like war standards. They had gradually succeeded in taking possession of a large part of Armenia, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, Azerbijan, and Eastern Asia Minor. All the lawless and unsettled hordes of Western Asia assembled under the banner of the Turcoman chieftains, united only in the hope of obtaining spoils; and when Kara Yusuf, the leader of the Kara Koinlo, prepared for war against shah Roch, he was joined by innumerable bands of predatory nomads, all eager for an opportunity of advancing into the rich land of Persia. But Kara Yusuf died suddenly while on the march; and on the same day his vast army dispersed in all directions. Only the corpse of the leader, naked and despoiled, the ears cut off for the sake of their golden pendants, lay unburied on the trodden soil of the deserted camp. It was fortunate for Western Asia that the black horde soon became the deadly enemies of the Ak Koinlo, and that the two clans began to destroy one another; but before the desired end was attained the circle of devastation had increased to an alarming extent. The Kara Koinlo conquered Mesopotamia and even took possession of Bagdad, but were finally defeated by the Ak Koinlo under Uzun Hassan, who temporarily ruled over the greater part of Persia, and destroyed the last remains of Timur's Empire (1467). Persia remained in the hands of Uzun Hassan and his successors for about twenty years, until at last, after a long period of servitude, the Iranian people began once more to develop a national spirit, and a domestic dynasty arose to power.

In contrast to this miserable state of affairs in Persia and Irak, the Mamelukes in Egypt succeeded in maintaining their position as a Power of the first rank for many years longer. This was partly due to the fact that the Ottoman sultans were content to allow Egypt to remain in peace, and for the time being were directing their attention almost exclusively to their European campaigns. Egypt became more and more dependent upon its mercenaries, and on the possession of the East Indian trade. The latter, however, was not properly taken in hand, but was looked upon as a source of income only, and exploited to the utmost. This wretched economic system reached its highest point of apparent prosperity under the sultan Bursbey, who ruled from 1422 to 1438, and endeavoured to convert all the more important branches of commerce into government monopolies. In addition he became involved in a serious conflict with the Italian seaports by raising the price of pepper, then one of the most important articles of trade. He also transformed the city of Mecca — at that time under Egyptian "protection" — into a veritable gold mine for the state treasury, by subjecting the pilgrims to all manner of extraordinary taxes.

Since Egypt was able to maintain itself through the exploitation of merchants in spite of its abominable government, and since the feeble empire of Trebizond in Northern Asia Minor managed to cling tenaciously to life — only for the reason that a small portion of Asiatic trade found its way to the Black Sea through Northern Persia and Armenia — it was at least to be hoped that after order had been somewhat restored in Western Asia, the celebrated ancient commercial route from the Persian Gulf through Basra and Bagdad to Syria would again come into use;

that as a result of this, agriculture and manufactures would also begin to reawaken in Irak, and finally that new life would be infused from the natural centre and heart of Western Asia into the other provinces. If, in spite of all the devastation and destruction, normal conditions were once more to have resumed their sway, it would have been entirely due to the favourable geographical situation of Irak. But Bagdad's former splendour did not return. The city still remained the greatest in the region of marshes that, to-day as before the beginning of ancient Babylonian civilization, extends between the Euphrates and the Tigris; it still harboured many merchants and contained numerous bazaars; but richly laden caravans no longer made their way thither from India; no ships brought the wares of the farthest East to the former emporium of Western Asia; and no long trains of merchants journeyed from Bagdad to the West, distributing their wares among the peoples of Europe. The caravans of Persian pilgrims that each year crossed the Tigris near Bagdad while on the way to Mecca, were the only sources of mercantile life remaining to the city.

The final blow to the sinking prosperity of Western Asia was not dealt by the Turkish or Mongol nomads, but by the nations of Europe, whose early navigators had discovered the new ocean route to India, thus leaving the overland roads through Persia in hopeless desolation. During the time that the sultans of Egypt were filling their treasuries with tolls extorted from merchants of all nations, and endeavouring to satisfy the constant demands of their Mamelukes with gold obtained from new monopolies and taxes, the poineers of Portuguese maritime trade were cautiously feeling their way along the coast of Africa, until finally the Cape of Good Hope was discovered, and the ships of Vasco da Gama sailed into ports of India. The warlike merchants of Portugal took good care that their discovery should be rewarded by a monopoly of the Eastern trade. Their men-of-war blocked up the commercial route through the Red Sea in the year 1507; and soon afterward Ormus, the most important intermediate trading station on the Persian Gulf, fell into the hands of the Portuguese Albuquerque. Ten years later the Mamelukes of Egypt, deprived of their artificial means of support, succumbed to the attacks of the Ottomans.

7. WESTERN ASIA IN MODERN TIMES

A. The Ottomans immediately after the Fall of Constantinople

The warlike Ottoman people did not immediately recover from the crushing defeat inflicted on them by Timur near Angora; moreover, the empire was torn asunder by struggles as to the succession. The attention of the Ottoman rulers was chiefly directed to European affairs, and thus for the time being the Turkish principalities which still existed in Asia Minor were enabled to retain almost complete independence. Not until the year 1424, during the reign of the sultan Murad, did the Ottomans reassert their influence throughout the peninsula. At this time the military organisation of the Ottomans had reached a very high state of perfection; the Turkish cavalry was supplemented after the Egyptian example by enslaved or impressed Christians, who received a thorough military training and were incorporated into the standing army of infantry, the Janissary guard. In later years this army became as great a menace to the safety of the sultan as the

Mamelukes had been to the ruler of Egypt; but for the time with which we are dealing they answered every purpose. A new epoch began for the Ottomans when the last remains of the Byzantine Empire disappeared with the capture of Constantinople in 1453; and the Turks succeeded to the inheritance of this vast empire as well as to the claim to supremacy granted them by the possession of the gigantic city on the Bosphorus.

That the Ottoman sultans invaded even Apulia because it had once formed a part of the Byzantine Empire, and was therefore looked upon by them as theirs by right of conquest, was a certain proof that it would not be long before their covetous eyes would be turned toward the kingdom of the Mamelukes in Egypt. The two nations had been hostile to one another as early as the time when the hordes of Timur were threatening without discrimination entire Western Asia; and as years passed the feeling of enmity increased rather than diminished. The Egyptian sultans clearly recognised that the small Turkish States in Asia Minor, which had hitherto withstood the Ottomans, formed their best wall of defence against the danger that was threatening them from the North. Especially important was the kingdom of Karaman in the southern part of the peninsula, for which Ottomans, Egyptians, and Turcomans of the White Ram had long struggled, sometimes resorting to diplomatic deceit, sometimes to the sword. When the Ottoman sultan Mohammed finally succeeded in driving Uzun Hassan, the Turcoman ruler of Persia, out of Asia Minor in 1473, Karaman fell to the share of the Turks, no attempt being made by Egypt to dispute the possession of the land with them; in fact, Kait Bey, then sultan of Egypt, instead of taking an active part in the struggle, did nothing, and was content to imagine that the power of the Ottomans was being weakened by their wars with the Turcomans. In later times also the Egyptians were unable to support the small States of Asia Minor. When finally in 1485 war broke out between the Porte and Egypt, the Egyptian Mamelukes showed that they had by no means forgotten how to fight; however, Kait Bey decided upon peace in 1491; for in spite of many sources of income, Egypt was unable to find means for the support of its spoiled army, or to comply with the insolent demands of the Mamelukes. After Kait Bey's death in 1496 insurrections and struggles for the succession effectively put a stop to all Egyptian plans of foreign conquest.

When at last an energetic sultan in the person of Kansuveh Alguri ascended the Egyptian throne in 1501, it was clearly to be recognised that the position of the country as a Power of the first rank could only be maintained by means of still more excessive taxation, and the burdening of commerce with all manner of duties and tolls. But it was at this very time that the Portuguese were beginning to ruin the Indian-Egyptian trade. Had not the sudden decrease in the yield of taxation alarmed the sultan, his attention would soon have been called to the approaching evil by the cry of despair that arose from the Genoese and Venetians, who likewise were reduced to the utmost extremity by the cessation of their commerce. However, it now became apparent to what an extent the unwise fiscal policy had weakened the power of Egypt on the Red Sea and Indian Ocean; a new fleet had to be procured, and this was accomplished with the greatest difficulty. When finally in 1508 a small squadron sailed forth in the defence of Egypt's interests, the Portuguese experienced no difficulty whatever in inflicting on them a crushing defeat. And before a new fleet could be built, the rule of the Mamelukes in Egypt and Syria had already come to an ignoble end.

In the meanwhile the Ottomans had engaged in a successful struggle with the newly awakened kingdom of Persia, in order to render secure their eastern frontier. The final contest with Egypt now became only a question of time, inasmuch as there was no lack of excuses for a war in view of the troubles over the boundary question in southeastern Asia Minor. The wretched financial condition of Egypt had not only prevented the sultan Kansuveh from entering into an alliance with Persia, but had put a stop to all proper preparations for meeting the threatening danger. When Kansuveh finally succeeded in concentrating his forces in the North of Syria, the Ottoman sultan, Selim I, had already assembled a superior army on the frontier; deceiving the Egyptians by pretending to enter into serious negotiations with them, he crossed the Cilician Passes unhindered in 1516. The decisive battle was fought on the plain of Dabik to the north of Haleb; and in spite of the bravery of the Mamelukes, the Egyptians were severely defeated. Kansuveh fell, and what were left of his troops retreated to Egypt. Syria fell into the hands of the Ottomans almost without a struggle; indeed, Selim was welcomed with joy in many provinces as a liberator from the Mameluke yoke. During the following years Egypt also was conquered, an end soon being put to the courageous but hopeless resistance of Tuman Bey, the newly chosen Mameluke sultan: Syria and Egypt henceforth became provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

Selim also carried the Abbasside caliph off with him to Constantinople. The latter was the last representative of a long line of spiritual governors, who although possessed of only the shadow of temporal power, had led a very comfortable life of contemplation and ease in the valley of the Nile. The Ottoman sultans kept up the farce of having an Abbasside caliph for some years, until they finally did away with this unnecessary arrangement and took the dignity upon themselves. They had all the more right to do this, because together with Egypt the sacred cities of Arabia had also fallen into their power. The sceptre of the caliphs regained its old authority in the hands of the dreaded Ottoman rulers; the Persians alone were able to shield themselves from the consequences of this event by openly declaring for the Shiite doctrines.

Syria had neither gained nor lost by becoming a part of the Ottoman Empire; but Egypt, already reduced by the turn taken in commercial affairs, not to speak of the fact that the greater part of its diminished income was now sent to Constantinople, became more and more desolate. The interests of the Ottoman sultans remained also in the future chiefly bound up in European affairs; at first they succeeded in forcing back the defenders of Occidental civilization, but in later times were desperately engaged in defending themselves from the counter-assaults of the Christian nations. In the future, also, war was the main interest of the Ottomans; the idea of endeavouring to alleviate the misery of the conquered races of their vast empire scarcely entered their minds. It was only in respect to the art of warfare that they learned anything from the Europeans: for example, their artillery was admirably organised after European methods at a very early period. But in other respects the unimaginative, barren mind of the Ottoman held fast to old customs and conceptions of life with indomitable tenacity; every attempt toward improvement or progress was crushed. Thus Turkish Western Asia continued to remain in the same hopeless condition into which years before it had been plunged by Timur's campaigns. Wherever a sign of prosperity became visible, the Turkish system of government took good care that poverty and misery should be restored

as soon as possible. Unnoticed and avoided, untouched by the world's commerce, and unable to arouse itself to new life without exterior assistance, the Ottoman provinces of Western Asia continued to exist only as arid, hopeless wastes.

B. Persia

The fate of Persia was more fortunate than that of Egypt; for the people of Iran showed that in spite of all the misfortunes to which they had been subjected there was at least enough vitality left in them for the formation and maintenance of a national government of their own. But in order that the new conditions in Persia may be understood, it is first necessary for us to take a backward glance over that miserable period during which the rude hordes of Turcomans of the White Ram invaded and subjected the greater part of Iran, Mesopotamia, and Armenia.

In Azerbijan, that is to say, in a region that together with the neighbouring provinces of the Elbruz Mountains held longest and most tenaciously to its Iranian character, arose the national dynasty of the Sefids, who, it must be confessed, were greatly indebted for both their influence and power to the mixture of Turkish blood that ran in their veins; the Iranians were, indeed, compelled to make the best of the Turkish elements that were now ineradicably fixed in the heart of Persia. At the same time, however, — as had now become the rule in Persia, — the new dynastic movement centred in a religious question which was very closely connected with the national feeling. The Turks had become orthodox Mohammedans or adherents of the Sunnitic doctrines almost without exception, — the simpler Arabian spirit of the Sunnitic teachings appealing far more to their nomadic temperament than the imaginative symbolical treatment of Islam of the Shiites. All things that had to do with the latter originated with the Iranians. The Alides always succeeded in finding adherents in Persia; an Alidic dynasty even had long been able to maintain itself in the mountain valleys of Tabaristan.

Thus Ismail el-Safi, the founder of the Sefid dynasty, was able to unfold the banner of the Shiites together with the national standard without arousing the enmity of the Turks; for he was descended on his mother's side from Uzun Hassan, the sultan of the Turcomans of the White Ram, and, indeed, his most faithful followers were Shiitic Turks. Ismail experienced but little difficulty in establishing himself in Ghilân, and in a comparatively short time succeeded not only in depriving the descendants of Hassan of their inheritance, but in extending his dominion from Armenia and Irak as far as Transoxania, in 1507. The new Persian government at once aroused the hostility of the Ottomans, the more so for the reason that the doctrines of the Shiites had become the national religion of Iran, and were in open opposition to the Sunnitic confession of the vast majority of the Turks. The Ottoman sultan Selim was not slow to follow the time-honoured traditions of his race, inasmuch as he immediately made arrangements for a persecution of the Shiites in his empire on a great scale, cutting down without mercy all he could capture of these natural allies of the Persians. Ismail, who thereupon fell upon the eastern Ottoman provinces, was forced to retreat before the superior forces of Selim, and was thoroughly defeated at Tebris in 1514; the result was the loss of Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, and Western Armenia. Ismail's son Tamasp, who reigned from 1524 to 1576, was obliged to

abandon Irak and Azerbijan to the Ottomans in 1534; not until the reign of shah Abbas I, 1586–1629, was the Persian frontier extended farther to the West.

Although the adoption of Shiitic doctrines played a great part in the reawakening of the Iranian national spirit, it was at the same time an insurmountable obstacle to complete unity. Ever since the time of the Ghaznavides, the Afghans had been fanatical Sunnites, and as a result were far more sympathetically inclined toward the Turks than toward their Shiite relatives. The unfortunate state of affairs that had reigned in Iran ever since the fall of the Sassanidæ was still visible in this religious division. However, the Iranian people were well able to control the Turks, at least so long as the latter did not receive fresh additions from the northeast. The Kisilbashes, a tribe of Turks who had adopted the Shiitic faith together with the Persian language, were the first example of the coming amalgamation. It is true that these Turks considered themselves to be the true masters of the land; and it was not until Abbas I had succeeded in surrounding himself with a circle of unconditionally faithful adherents, and in establishing a standing army of Persian infantry and cavalry, that the supremacy of the Iranianised Turks was overcome. At all events, the Sefids performed the great service of closing the gates of Khorassan, thereby checking the advance of the Central Asiatic Turks towards Eastern Iran. The military importance of Khorassan again caused this province to play a very independent part in Persian history; the Sefid, Abbas, reigned there independently for many years, even during the lifetime of his father, the shah of Persia, until finally the rest of Iran fell to him as an inheritance.

During this comparatively prosperous period of Sefid rule, the economic condition of Persia gradually improved; Abbas sought to infuse new life into industry by inducing Armenians to immigrate into his provinces, and to further commerce through the construction of new roads and bridges. The discovery of the ocean route to India had affected the commercial position of Persia no less than that of Egypt. Iran was now scarcely taken into consideration as a commercial route from India to the West; still, the Persians of the Southern coast were able to establish direct commercial relations with the maritime nations of Europe; while in the North, trade began to develop with Russia over the Caucasian passes and the Caspian Sea. Traffic with Russia was also furthered by the bitter hostility between Persia and the Ottoman Empire, which led to the blocking up of all the overland routes to the West. Persia was the natural ally of the European nations that were threatened by the Turks; and European envoys appeared more and more frequently in Iran as time went on, Abbas having already endeavoured to form a great confederation of nations against the Ottomans. The English in particular sought aid from the Persians during their attempts to take possession of India and of East Indian trade; and thus it came about that Persian troops, in combination with an English fleet, conquered Ormus, still a flourishing province, drove out the Portuguese, and transformed the land into a wilderness. But the Persians were sadly disappointed in their hopes of a great development of Iranian-English commerce. The port of Bender Abbas, founded by shah Abbas, never attained to any great importance.

The chief article of export from Persia at that time was silk,—no longer the silk of China, carried by caravans along the celebrated routes of Central Asia over Transoxania to Iran, but a product of Persia itself; as early as the period of Sassanidæan rule the silkworm had been imported from China to Iran and the

West. But Persia only temporarily maintained her supremacy in silk-weaving; as soon as the Byzantines became acquainted with the trade they outstripped all competitors, Greek silk taking the place of Persian. In the dowry of Fatimah, daughter of Melek Shah (1072–1092), who married the caliph Moktadi Billah in 1077, were included nine hundred camels laden with Greek silk. But the fall of the Byzantine Empire and the decay of its economic prosperity following the capture of Constantinople by the Turks caused Persian silk once more to become an important article of the world's commerce.

But now that Persia had once more risen to prosperity after centuries of devastation and decay, the land became at the same time a tempting goal for nomadic robber expeditions, as well as a favourite plundering ground for domestic disturbers of the peace. Bitter experience in the past had taught the Persians that they could not maintain their dangerous intermediate position — which might be compared to that of Germany — nor could the prosperity of the country be retained unless the inhabitants were effectively organised and ready at any moment to spring to the defence of the threatened frontiers. Shah Abbas attempted to adapt the excellent military system of the Turks to Persian requirements, and to form the nucleus of a national army by the creation of a standing force of infantry; but his weak successors added nothing in the way of improvement to these insufficient beginnings; and finally the Sefids submitted almost without a struggle to the attacks of new opponents.

These new enemies were the Afghans, the eastern Sunnitic branch of the Iranians, who had managed to retain a large amount of independence owing to their geographical situation between Persia and the powerful empire of the Great Mogul successors of Timur in India. Finally it became necessary for the Persians to send an army to Kandahar in order to re-establish the influence of the shah and to strengthen the Indian frontier. The unscrupulous conduct of the Persian troops drove the Afghans into rebellion; and since the latter took up arms also as champions of the Sunnitic faith, numerous Turkish and Kurdish tribes followed their example and rose against the Shiitic rulers of Persia. At the same time another horde of Turks burst into Khorassan. Mahmud, the leader of the Afghans, boldly advanced on Ispahan with a small army, defeated the Persians, and after a long siege entered the capital in triumph; Hosain, the last independent ruler of the Sefid dynasty, abdicated in favour of Mahmud in the thirty-second year of his reign (1722).

Apparently the Iranian element had now won a complete victory, and had shaken off the last remains of Turkish influence, which the Sefids had still been obliged to tolerate; nevertheless, the differences in religion rendered it impossible for a true reconciliation to take place between East and West. When Mahmud, who had at first distinguished himself by showing great moderation, finally lost his head completely in his endangered position at Ispahan, and endeavoured to render his throne secure by senseless massacres, as well as by filling the ranks of his weak army with semi-barbarous Kurds, all hopes of prosperity under Afghan rule disappeared. Moreover, the kingdom was unprotected from external foes. The Russians under Peter the Great occupied the passes of the Caucasus at Derbent without encountering opposition; and the Turks were prevented from advancing into the interior of Persia only by the heroic resistance of the inhabitants of Tebris. In fact, a division of Northern and Western Persia between the

Russians and Turks had already been agreed upon. Fortunately for Ashraf, the successor of Mahmud, the war against the Sunnitic Afghâns was as little popular with the Turkish people and army as was the alliance with the Christian Russians. Ashraf made the most of these circumstances; and after winning a small victory near Ispahan showed a most generous spirit of reconciliation, and consequently was enabled to come to fair terms of peace. The Western provinces were indeed lost; and the Persians were obliged to recognise the spiritual supremacy of the Ottoman sultan.

The new Afghan dynasty did not remain long at the head of affairs. The Sefid prince Tamasp occupied Masenderan, and his troops, commanded by the Kisilbash Turk Nadir, finally routed the Afghans in 1730. However, it was not the Sefid prince who ascended the throne of Persia, but his general, in whom he had evidently placed too much confidence. It appeared, in fact, that Persia was incapable of an independent existence without the Turks. Nadir, after several successful campaigns against the Ottomans, advanced his frontiers further to the West; he also completely overthrew the power of the Afghans, and on doing away with the last remains of the Sefids in 1736 felt himself called upon to renounce the doctrines of the Shiites and to become a convert to orthodoxy. The dissatisfaction aroused by this step did not appear immediately; the energy of the shah, and the brilliance of his victorious campaigns against the descendants of Timur in India, silenced all opposition. Owing to his defeat of the Afghans, Nadir was enabled to occupy the Indian passes; and he well knew how to make use of the advantages gained thereby. The empire of the Timurides under Mohammed Shah (1719–48) was thoroughly plundered in 1738–39, and the Indus became the future Persian boundary; laden with booty, the army returned home. The large amount of money now in circulation, coupled with a general reduction in the taxes, although a cause of great joy to the common people, was naturally of no lasting benefit to the economic affairs of the land. But at least the army, which had been splendidly trained by Nadir, lost none of its efficiency. The subjugation of the Transoxanian Turks and the Khivans soon proved that Persia was able to hold the gates of Khorassan, as well as to undertake expeditions against the nomadic tribes of the North.

Unfortunately Nadir, like so many of his predecessors in the Orient, became transformed from a clever and energetic ruler into a mistrustful, bloodthirsty despot, who was led to commit unspeakably stupid atrocities out of anxiety for his treasures and suspicion that the Shiites desired to deprive him of his throne. To be sure, it had been unwise, so far as his popularity was concerned, to appropriate the excessive wealth of the priesthood; but on the whole this step was rather beneficial than hurtful. As a rule, Nadir's efforts to increase the national revenues and to enliven commerce were praiseworthy, however unpractical; for example, he ordered wood for the construction of a fleet on the Persian Gulf to be sent all the way from the Elbruz Mountains. Nevertheless, he showed in all his attempts to improve the economic condition of his State knowledge of what constitutes the true wealth of a land, — a knowledge that is rarely found in the usual gold and precious stone hoarding rulers of the Orient.

After the murder of Nadir, June 20, 1747, a new period of adversity began. An Afghan general immediately proclaimed his independence in Kandahar, and thereby opened the way to the permanent separation of Eastern Iran from the

empire, while Persia itself was given over to quarrels as to the succession, and finally threatened to fall to pieces entirely. At last the successors of Nadir were able to hold Khorassan alone. The confusion continued until Kerim Khan, a member of the nomadic Persian tribe of Zend, took possession of the throne in 1751, and came forward as a champion of Iran against the claims of the Turks.

After his death in 1779, the land fell once more into complete decay, until finally in 1794, Aga Mohammed Khan, the leader of the Shiite-Turkish tribes of the Kajars in Masenderan, succeeded after a severe struggle in founding the dynasty which occupies the throne of Persia to-day. The transference of the capital to Teheran was of itself an indication that the kingdom was again ruled by Turks; for Teheran is situated nearer to the pasturages of the Turkish clans of the Northwest and North than is either Ispahan or Shiraz, the residence of Kerim Khan, who characteristically chose the ancient Persis for his seat of government. Khorassan, the headquarters of the descendants of Nadir, was once more conquered, and the unfortunate province of Georgia, which had placed itself under Russian protection, reduced to the utmost state of desolation. A Russian army shortly appeared and threatened Azerbijan; but the death of the Empress Catherine and the accession of her successor Paul, who recalled the troops, averted a conflict that would in all probability have been fatal to the fortunes of Aga Mohammed.

It was then that the first suspicion may have dawned in Persia of what the vast, constantly advancing power of Russia signified for Western Asia. A few centuries earlier Persian garrisons had looked out beyond the iron gates of Derbent at the clouds of dust which announced to them that the restless nomads of the steppes were again marching on the flourishing provinces of Iran. Now, however, the sun was reflected on the bayonets of Russian battalions, before whose victorious advance the hordes of nomads of the desert were as helpless as the wild Tartar defenders of the mountains. Twice Persia endeavoured to drive back the champions of Western civilization and Christianity beyond the Caucasus; but each time her efforts were of no avail. According to the terms of the peace of October 24, 1813, the majority of the Persian provinces of the Caucasus fell into Russian hands; and after the second war, Persian Armenia, together with the capital Erivan, were evacuated by Persia, in accordance with a treaty concluded on the 23d of February, 1828. Throughout the later wars carried on by Russia against the tribes of the Caucasus, Persia has remained inactive. During the course of the nineteenth century Russian armies also advanced to the east of the Caspian Sea, and into Transoxania, where one province after another was compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the conquering Europeans. Finally, the last tribes of free Turcomans of Akhal-tekke and Merv submitted to the superior arms and discipline of their opponents. There is no longer any danger to be expected from the nomads of Central Asia; the power of the Iranians, that for thousands of years was exerted against Turania, has become superfluous; it is the civilization of Europe that now knocks for admittance at the gates of Khorassan. Thus the old conditions are reversed. Culture once flourished in Iran, and again and again overcame the might of the intruding barbarians. To-day Persia herself is in a condition of semi-barbarism; the dangerous task of assuming the manners and customs of the superior races of Europe without being devoured by them during the process now lies before her.

The Kajar rulers have not shown themselves to be completely blind to this necessity; at any rate, the position of their land in regard to the development of European-Asiatic politics, as expressed in the growing jealousy of England and Russia, will finally compel them to assume a definite political policy. For a long time England has been endeavouring to maintain friendly relations with Persia for the sake of commercial interests alone. In more recent times she has also begun to look upon Iran as a flank protection to her position in India. But it has clearly been shown in the war of diplomacy with Russia, that England's powers fail her in respect to great continental questions the moment she encounters a stubborn enemy who has a great land force at his disposal. The efforts of England to assert her influence in Teheran have come to nothing. Even when the Persian rulers first began to interest themselves in the civilization of Europe, they did not turn to England, but to France and Austria, for instruction in the affairs of war and industry. That the English themselves have but little faith in the Persians was proven by the rupture that took place in the relations of the two countries on the occupation of Herat — important for the defence of India — by Persian troops, which led to a formal declaration of war November 1, 1856. Through a blockade of the Persian Gulf the Iranians were compelled to evacuate the city in 1857. In the meanwhile, however, the advance of the Russians to Merv and Penj-Deh had rendered the position of the Persians in Herat untenable.

Of the rulers of Persia little need be said. Aga Mohammed was murdered in the year 1797. He was succeeded by Fath Ali, who occupied the throne until 1834, and during whose reign the unfortunate wars with Russia took place. Mehemet Shah, the grandson of Fath Ali, was weak and unenterprising; his son, Nasr ed-din, who became shah in 1848, took a prominent part in the new development of Persia, in spite of the fact that he was not distinguished by any very remarkable ability, and always retained traces of a neglected education. With the assistance of his grand vizier, Mirza Taghi, Nasr, while still very young, overcame the many difficulties aroused by his accession. The last echoes of the wars with the Porte for the possession of Khorassan still sounded during his reign. Merv was captured at his command; but the Persians were unable to hold the city for any length of time. An attack of the khan of Khiva on Meshhed ended in an unexpected victory for Iran, the leader of a squadron of irregular Persian cavalry entering the tent of the khan by night, and cutting him down, together with his nearest attendants. Merv was vainly attacked in 1860 and 1876; after that the advance of the Russians into Central Asia put an end to the frontier wars. Nothing showed more clearly what a wretched position Persia occupied in respect to trade on the Indian Ocean than the fact that the ruler of the Arabian province of Oman succeeded in establishing his power across the Gulf on the coast of Persia, and even in taking possession of the seaport Bender Abbas. For a time he indeed paid a certain tribute, but finally considered it to be no longer necessary. The storming of the city of Bender Abbas by Persian troops finally restored the authority of the shah in 1855. A war with Turkey was happily averted by a peaceful agreement as to the regulation of the frontier. A great stir was caused in the Western world in 1873 and 1878, when shah Nasr ed-din betook himself to Europe for the purpose of studying civilization. The results, however, were not so remarkable as might have been expected. The attempt of England to establish a railway system in Persia, with the assistance of Baron Reuter, the financier, —

naturally for the benefit of England, — was wrecked directly after the return of the shah to Persia in February, 1874. Since that time the progress of civilization has been very slow; the most important developments having been the reorganization of the army by Austrian officers, and the construction of numerous lines of telegraph. The last years of the reign of Nasr ed-din, who was struck down by the dagger of a fanatic May 1, 1898, passed without the occurrence of any events of special importance.

C. Afghanistan

Afghanistan, the natural bulwark of Western India, was in the meantime drawn deeper into the game of diplomacy and intrigue played by England and Russia. As long as England seeks to maintain her position in India, Afghanistan, with its passes that lead down into the country of the Ganges and Indus, must neither fall into the hands of Russia nor assume a position of decided hostility to the English government. Since Afghanistan is a relatively small country and open to attack from the Indian frontier, the diplomatic war has repeatedly resolved itself into sanguinary conflicts.

After the death of shah Nadir, Afghanistan soon regained her independence and severed all connections with Persia. The Sunnitic-Eastern Iranians did not feel themselves bound to the Shiitic Persians by any common ties. But unity was not long preserved in the new State; and finally the English found a welcome opportunity for interfering in the struggles of the various claimants to the throne, and for supplying pecuniary assistance, therewith inciting the Afghans to enter into an alliance with England, or, more correctly, to reduce themselves to political servitude. When in 1838 shah Sudshah, a descendant of Ahmed, the founder of the State, called upon England for armed intervention against the pretender, Dost Mohammed, an Anglo-Indian force advanced into the Afghan mountain country. In 1839 the English penetrated to Kabul, installed shah Sudshah as ruler, and erected a fortified camp for his protection near the imperial fortress Balahissar. But the English were doomed to a bitter disappointment, — the natural result of their frontier policy. The Afghans arose in rebellion against the hated foreigners in 1841, the passes were blocked up by the mountain tribes, and of the Anglo-Indian troops only a few hundred succeeded in regaining the valley of the Indus. A victorious campaign of the English during the next year secured ample revenge, it is true, but from this time forth the influence of England in Afghanistan could be maintained by force alone. When new quarrels about the succession broke out on the death of Dost Mohammed in June, 1863, the English government still maintained its reserve; and in March, 1869, the finally victorious ruler, Shir Ali Khan, was granted a loan.

But now the diplomatic struggle with Russia, the development of which was by no means favourable to England, put an end to the British policy of peace. Shir Ali himself, who had organised his army according to the European system, soon became convinced that he could secure his throne only by seeking support from one or the other of the two great Asiatic-European Powers. He first turned to England; but England, true to her former policy, referred him to the existing agreement with Russia, in accordance with which the independence of Afghanistan was to be preserved. The result was that Shir Ali placed himself completely under the influence of Russia. Thereupon the English occupied Quetta in

Southern Afghanistan beyond the passes in February, 1877, at the same time connecting the town with the valley of the Indus by a railway, thus obtaining a strong flank position. War broke out with Afghanistan soon afterward, and England was obliged to restore by force of arms the influence that she had so lightly trifled away. At the end of November, 1878, the most important points in the land were occupied. Shir Ali died on the 21st of February at Masarasherif, where he had taken refuge, and his son Yakub Khan made peace with England May 19, 1879. Scarcely had the British withdrawn their forces when the English consul in Kabul was murdered, September 3, 1879, and a new campaign had to be undertaken.

In the meanwhile, Gladstone, champion of the policy of forbearance and restraint, had become premier. The Conservative government would have straightway reduced Afghanistan to a dependency of the British Empire; for after the murder of the resident an expedition against Kandahar had immediately been decided on. The Liberal cabinet, however, resolved upon the evacuation of the country. Neither England nor Russia became involved in the struggles for the succession that followed, and finally resulted in the victory of Abd ur Rahman, a grandson of Dost Mohammed, who ascended the ameer's throne in July, 1880. The recent policy of the Conservative party also has been one of "hands off" Afghanistan, safety against Russia being sought in the occupation of the mountain wall in Northwestern India, hitherto the home of various independent tribes. Even this policy is hazardous, as was shown by the rebellion of the border tribes, especially the Afridis, which was put down with the greatest difficulty in 1897. On the other hand, Russia has extended her outposts along the entire Northern Afghan frontier, and ever since the completion of the trans-Caspian railway has been in a position to concentrate large masses of troops in the borderland at the shortest notice.

D. Armenia

Much sadder than the fate of Afghanistan, the buffer State of Eastern Iran, has been the destiny of Armenia, the western neighbour of Persia. Ever since the short-lived efforts of Tigranes to establish a great empire, Armenia has been neither independent nor united. It is true that the mountainous character of the country has to a certain extent protected Armenia from attacks from without, but it has also favoured the division of the land into small and defiant tribal kingdoms, whose constant feuds have presented foreign powers with welcome opportunities for interfering with Armenian affairs. The conversion of the inhabitants to Christianity, and the remarkable tenacity with which they held fast to their belief, converted Armenia into a bulwark of the Byzantine Empire, and at the same time a favourite object for all attacks made with the object of weakening the Eastern Roman Empire and the power of the Christians. As long as the Byzantines were able to hold the line of the Taurus Mountains, it was necessary for the Armenians and Georgians to defend a portion of their frontiers only; and at that time the Armenians, who were still a warlike race, had little difficulty in maintaining their position in spite of their lack of unity. Not until the downfall of the Abbasside caliphs, followed by the invasion of Azerbijan and the lower country of the Kur by the Turks, who not only constantly harassed the Armenians but opened up through their country a way to Asia Minor, did the days of com-

plete destruction begin. Azerbijan now became the favourite headquarters of the nomads, and Armenia their chief plundering ground and highway to the West. The Seljuks were followed by the Mongols under Hulagu, and the latter by the armies of Timur. In later times the unfortunate land was torn by the struggles between Turcomans, Ottomans, and Persians.

Already during the time of the Seljuks multitudes of Armenians had emigrated southward to Cilicia. After the victories of the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus Phocas, Cilicia was evacuated by the Mohammedans; its rough mountain valleys and ravines offered a welcome place of refuge to the feudal nobility of Armenia. But this State of "Lesser Armenia," an independent principality subsequent to 1080, and a kingdom under Christian rulers after 1198, was in itself a land of roads to the West, for the possession of which many a sanguinary contest was fought. Sometimes the Byzantines or the Crusaders, and again the Egyptians, the Mongols, or the sultan of Iconium sought to render their influence supreme. Finally in 1350 the Egyptian Mamelukes conquered Armenia, now in close union with the Christian kingdom of Cyprus, and put an end to the Lesser Armenian State. The emigration from Armenia itself still continued, however, when after the Mongol period the Turcomans of the Black and the White Ram founded their kingdom in the Armenian-Kurdish mountain country; and the place of the retreating population was soon taken by Kurds and Turkish tribes. The Persian-Ottoman wars, of which the bulk of the expenses was paid by the Christian Armenians and Georgians, completed the evil; scarcely one million of the original inhabitants were now left in their native country. The majority had become scattered over the provinces of Western Asia, some indeed penetrating as far as Eastern Europe.

During this period of trial and misfortune the character of the Armenian people underwent a fundamental change. Once warlike and lovers of liberty, feared on account of their exceptional bravery, they now became merchants and money-dealers; and it was with dissimulation and deceit, the weapons of the oppressed, that they struggled for their existence. And now that they have cast away most of their ideals, they have become a ready tool in the hands of such Powers as seek their object in the continued dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. Both in destiny and in character the Armenian people present an instructive parallel to the Jewish nation with its capacity for commerce and its spirit of scepticism and negation. Western Europe often ascribes outbursts in Armenia arising from social and economic causes to Mohammedan intolerance and race hatred.

E. Asia Minor

The Ottoman government was not only unable to prevent the decay of Armenia, but, moreover, never made any really serious attempt to improve the condition of its inhabitants. And this is also true of the rest of Turkish Western Asia, of which the history for the last four hundred years has been on the whole a period of complete stagnation. Nor could it well have been otherwise, according to the principles of Ottoman administration. Asia Minor, however, has always been better off than the other Western Asian provinces. It is true, that with the exception of a few remnants left in the cities of the coast, the ancient Roman-Byzantine civilization wholly disappeared; but as an offset to this a healthy peasant and

soldier population speaking the Turkish language developed in the heart of the peninsula, with this population, thanks to the years of Seljuk rule, the greater portion of the original inhabitants have amalgamated. The old Phrygians and Cappadocians, Bithynians and Galatians, now appear in history as "Turks," however small the infusion of Turkish blood may often be; to this very day it is from Asia Minor that the Ottomans derive most of their power, and here will they be able longest to withstand the advance of European civilization.

The chief reason for this phenomenon is due to the fact that in Asia Minor the Ottomans do not rest upon the native population as a mere separate stratum of aristocracy, but have become completely identified with them, so that an emigration of the Turks, as in Servia or Greece, is entirely out of the question. The insignificant development of the feudal system in Asia Minor becomes at once apparent when one considers that the provinces of Morea and Roumelia, only sparsely settled by the Turks, were able to furnish eighty thousand feudal horsemen, while the vast and completely Turkicised peninsula of Asia Minor could supply only some fifty thousand. The supremacy of the Turkish language and of the Mohammedan religion preserved Asia Minor from many of the miseries that usually accompany the government of the Ottomans. The power of the pashas was here — also by reason of the proximity of the capital — not so unlimited as in Syria or Mesopotamia; the impressing of Christians into the Janissary corps, that had in part a very evil effect, scarcely came into consideration at all in Asia Minor; and the bulk of the population, which consisted of peasants and farmers, was but little affected by the decay that soon set in among the ruling classes. The labours of civilization that were undertaken during the flourishing period of the Ottoman Empire — to be sure, chiefly military in character, but nevertheless including the building of bridges and roads and thus conducive to the general welfare — had a decidedly improving effect upon the condition of the Turkish peasant population of Asia Minor; and the stagnation and retrogression that followed were of but small injury to the country districts, which as a rule were well able to take care of themselves.

The Greeks of the coast provinces were always dangerous enemies, and gradually succeeded by peaceful means in forcing back the Turks and in scattering Christian villages throughout the peninsula, the very heart of the Ottoman Empire.

F. Syria

An entirely different picture is presented by Syria, only temporarily awakened from her lethargy by the conquest of Selim I. Here an extensive immigration of Turks did not take place; and the Mohammedans who had dwelt there before the advance of the Ottomans were confronted by a large population of other confessions, especially Christians, who were a serious menace to the Turkish government, inasmuch as the nations of Europe had taken a certain interest in the affairs of Syria ever since the Crusades, and had ever striven to protect the Christians who dwelt there. Far from the centre of the empire, encompassed by hostile neighbours, and entrusted with the welfare of the unstable inhabitants of their own provinces, the governors of Syria and Mesopotamia led a practically independent existence, although it is true that the Damocles sword of imperial disfavour was always suspended above them. They sometimes even went so far as to make

war on their own initiative; and such of them as had powerful friends at the court in Constantinople, and were ready to offer bribes at the right moment, not only were able to retain their positions, but were often allowed to pursue their own policy unmolested. The pashas of the smaller districts, however, possessed far less authority, especially in Syria, where neither the mountain tribes of Lebanon nor the Arabs of the steppes were willing to submit to the Turkish yoke. The jealousy between the pashas of Egypt and Damascus formed an absurd epilogue to the old struggles between the Egyptians and the Western Asian peoples for the possession of Syria.

For a time it seemed as if the mountain tribe of the Druses would succeed in establishing an independent kingdom in Northern Syria. The Druses were one of those remarkable races of refugees that are formed out of various elements in almost all lands of high mountains, and originally developed from a colony of Ismailian immigrants who wandered into the ravines of the Lebanon about the year 1020, during the period of confusion that followed the death of the caliph Hakim. In the course of time they were joined by the persecuted of various other nations. The Druses were distinguished from the other mountain tribes, especially from the Christian Maronites, the descendants of monotheistic refugees who had long been their neighbours, by their peculiar religion, — a combination of Islamite, Christian, and Zoroastrian doctrines. They had no relation whatsoever to the remnants of the Assassins. Toward the end of the sixteenth century the Druses greatly increased in number and influence; and it was only their division into two hostile groups, the Yemenes (Yemenites) and the Kases (Kaisites) after the manner of the ancient Arabians, that enabled the Turks once more to reassert their influence in the mountains of Lebanon. An Ottoman army was despatched against them in 1585; but in spite of fire and sword and all possible atrocities the success of the Turks was temporary only. In 1599 Fakhr ed-din, a man of great ability, assumed the leadership of the Kases, subjected or expelled the Yemenes, and took possession of a portion of the Syrian coast. Interest was aroused in Europe, and Ferdinand I of Tuscany entered into an alliance with Fakhr ed-din and planned a great league between the Pope, Spain, Tuscany, and the Druses, for the reconquest of Jerusalem. Fakhr ed-din even visited Florence in 1613; but nothing further came of the scheme. In truth, the power of the Druses could not exist without constant support from Europe and the bribing of influential personages at the Ottoman court, who were able to prevent any active steps being taken against them; as soon as they were deprived of these two pillars of support their kingdom came to an abrupt end. In 1633 a Turkish fleet blockaded the coast, and an army advanced into the mountains; the next year Fakhr ed-din surrendered, and soon afterward was beheaded in Constantinople.

In comparison with this attempt to establish a national government, the numerous rebellions of Turkish pashas of which the recent history of Syria is chiefly composed, scarcely deserve mention. The campaign of Napoleon I in Egypt had no other effect than that of rendering the lot of the Christians still more wretched than it had been before. Mehemet Ali, who sought to renew the ancient claims of Egypt upon Syria, accomplished but little of permanent good during his temporary period of rule, which lasted from 1833 to 1840. The fate of Syria continued to be unfortunate until the present day; the influence of European civilization has finally begun to reach the districts of the Mediterranean coast, and progress is now

noticeable, especially in the economic conditions of Palestine. But the rise of a national spirit is not to be thought of. In the middle of the nineteenth century, from May to October, 1860, the Druses began to massacre the Maronites, and thereby gave occasion to the French for renewing their old claims to the protection of the Syrian Christians, by taking a military promenade to the mountains of Lebanon. During the most recent times the majority of the Druses have migrated to the Hauran, where they live still more independently of the Turkish pashas than before.

G. Irak and Arabia

(*a*) *Irak.* — These two countries, once centres of the Mohammedan world, have continued to sink lower and lower, until to-day little remains to either of its former prosperity and importance. Irak had always been a semi-artificial state, chiefly dependent on a vast system of canals and the commercial route from India and Persia to the West for its wealth and power. But the constantly recurring invasions of hostile races, combined with the change in the routes taken by the world's commerce, transformed the ancient plain of Babylon once more into a desolate, poisonous land of swamps and marshes, which the Turkish pashas of all men least understood how to restore to welfare.

(*b*) *Arabia.* — In the meantime Arabia had fallen into a position of insignificance that was in truth wholly consistent with its small population and low plane of culture. Caravans of pilgrims still journeyed to Mecca, and brought temporary life and wealth to the city of the prophet. But the position of supremacy which Mohammed had expected his birthplace to occupy had long ago been usurped by other cities, — Damascus, Bagdad, and finally Constantinople. Even the blessings of the prophet had failed to transform the deserts of Arabia into densely populated regions, no less than to cause his native city to remain an object of unqualified reverence. As early as the period of the Caliphate, the Kaaba suffered both from fire and showers of missiles thrown by catapults; the Ismailian Karmates, who ruled a large portion of Arabia during the tenth century, even went so far as to rob the Kaaba of the sacred black stone, and to obstruct the pilgrims on their journeys. From this time forth Arabia was left to itself; and its degeneration into small, mutually hostile emirates was not hindered by the caliphs. Only in Mecca and Medina the Abbassides, the Fatemides, and all other powers who laid claim to the leadership of the Mohammedan religious world sought to retain their influence. The pilgrimages in consequence often had the character of warlike expeditions. In the year 969 the Egyptian Fatemides obtained the place of honour in the sacred cities; and their promises and threats were supported by the circumstance that the inhabitants of Mecca were obliged to fall back on the importation of commodities from Egypt for their livelihood.

Not long afterward an Alidic family succeeded in putting an end to the republican-anarchic state of affairs in the city of pilgrims and in founding the Grand Sherifat of Mecca, that from this time forth possessed sometimes more, sometimes less power in Western Arabia. The ablest of the Grand Sherifs was Oatadah (1200), whose descendants reigned over their little kingdom until the time of the Wahabees in the eighteenth century. Various influences were at all times centred in Mecca; even from Yemen, as soon as order was restored there, claims

were constantly being made to the sovereignty of the city. When the Ottomans conquered Egypt, Mecca fell to them without a struggle; Yemen, however, could only be subdued by force of arms. Thus there was no end to the contests between the various descendants of Ali for supremacy in the sacred city. The old commercial significance of Yemen was lost after the country was conquered by the Ottomans. As an offset to this, the independent Sultanate of Maskat arose in Southeastern Arabia on the ancient commercial route between India and Irak, and after the Portuguese had been driven out, developed into a firmly constituted State, setting firm foot in Persia and finally also in Zanzibar. It was the Arabs of Oman who came forward as the heirs of the old Yemenites, and gave to the eastern coast of Africa a tinge of Arabian civilization.

But in the central provinces of Arabia, where the inhabitants had continued to live undisturbed after their old Bedouin manner, a storm arose in the middle of the eighteenth century that calls to the mind the early warlike period of Mohammedanism. The reforming sect of the Wahabees, founded by Mohammed abd-el Wahab, about 1745, expressed their views with all due emphasis of fire and sword, and finally succeeded in conquering Mecca itself in 1803. A striking parallel to Mohammed was presented by this reformer. The doctrines of the Wahabees were a protest on the part of the old Arabs, who were true to the traditions of their native land, against the caricature of the original belief which had gradually developed out of the simple teachings of Mohammed in the hands of the various races that had become converts to Islam, as well as against the degeneracy and luxury of the inhabitants of Mecca, who had grown rich on the money received from the pilgrims. Mecca did not remain long in the possession of the Wahabees; for in the year 1818 the Egyptian Viceroy Mehemet Ali took advantage of the confusion that reigned in Arabia and occupied Hedjaz. However, the plans of this ambitious prince eventually came to nothing, and Western Arabia was once more placed under the direct government of the Turks. Yemen also, where the Iman of Sana had established an independent kingdom, was occupied anew by Turkish troops in 1872.

H. Retrospect

Western Asia presents a gigantic picture of the hopeless decay of an ancient civilization; an immense amount of labour must be expended in order to replace that which has been destroyed, that the desert wastes may again be rendered inhabitable and the inhabitants prepared for new intellectual and economic development. Europe alone is fitted for the office of instructor, and thereby may the Western nations repay a portion of the debt they owe to the East for the rich inheritance that has descended to them from the ancient races of Western Asia. That the attention of the nations of Europe is only now beginning to be directed to Western Asiatic questions is in itself a proof no less of the insignificance into which Western Asia has fallen in the eyes of the civilized races of the world than of the obstacles which are placed in the way of improvement by the Mohammedan religion. It has indeed been a matter of the utmost difficulty to win back to culture even the lands of the Eastern Mediterranean coast. Already there are signs of change. The Suez Canal has restored the world's commerce to its old route through the Red Sea; and European steamships now carry pilgrims to Mecca from India and Persia. But the construction of a railway along the old road of com-

merce from the Persian Gulf to the harbours of Syria, and of another line from Constantinople, through Asia Minor to the Euphrates, projected by Germany, will be of far greater significance. Then a new leaf will be turned in the history of Western Asia; and, as once before in years long gone by, the agriculturist will again become supreme over the nomad, and production over decay. It may well be doubted, however, that any one European power will be allowed to dominate in the whole region.

III

AFRICA

By DR. HEINRICH SCHURTZ

1. AFRICA AS PART OF THE HABITABLE GLOBE

A. Introduction

HUGE and massive, its inhospitable shores for the most part scorched by the burning rays of the tropical sun, Africa stands confronting the continents of the Old World, wrapped like the sphinx of the Egyptian desert in gloom and mystery. As is the country, so are its peoples. For thousands of years they were almost unknown to the races in occupation of Europe and Asia; by the very fact of their complexion, they were excluded from contact with more favoured nations; for unnumbered ages Africa has lived to itself alone, and its natural boundaries have remained unbroken by the intercourse of peace or the shock of war. Egypt is the only African country which has contributed of itself to advance the great work of human development; but even Egyptian civilization offers no strong contrast to the unbending introspective spirit of the African continent: even when the allied civilizations of Asia and later of Europe pressed into the Nile valley in the train of their victorious armies, Egyptian civilization, instead of rising to higher planes, began to shrink backward under a foreign touch and slowly but inevitably to disappear.

Hence it is that Africa has been the least explored of all the quarters of the globe; for a long time less was known of this continent than of the comparatively modern discovery of America, or of the uninhabitable regions about the Pole. It has been reserved for our own age to break the spell, and to spy out the inmost corners of this mysterious country. At last the continent has been opened up, and we are able to examine the races which inhabit it, their physical and social characteristics, their manners and customs: merchants hasten thither to barter their wares for the treasures of the country, the planter seeks labour for his plantations, missionaries make expeditions, the leisured classes find their sport in shooting the game upon the plains, African questions trouble the policy of Europe; but do we really know anything of the African peoples, which stare upon us dreamily as though but half awakened out of deepest sleep? European civilization is shaking them from their drowsiness with ever-increasing rudeness; soon in their new bewilderment they will have forgotten the spirit which once possessed them: but we, who would know and understand them from their origin, ask ourselves what can have happened before the period of their discovery, before the time of these upheavals and convulsions which our civilization has brought upon them; what gorgeous dreams have passed before them previous to their awakening? The history of the European races may be compared to the progress of labour beneath a sunny sky; but the history of Africa is like a baseless vision of

the night: it may cheer or it may terrify the sleeper who tosses uneasily upon his bed; but he alone is conscious of it, and when he wakes, it is gone.

Who could venture, in modern times, to write a true "history" of Africa, in the sense in which the scientific world understands the term? The historian's tools are not to be found here. It is only the civilizations of America, Europe, and Asia which can give an intelligible answer to the investigator who inquires into their past: they have evidences and chronicles in abundance, for by means of written record they have created for themselves an imperishable memory. The Africans can tell us nothing but dark and doubtful legends, and history in our sense, beginning only with the entrance of the European peoples, remains miserably incomplete.

Yet we ought not to despair of wider knowledge. The pure light of true history will probably never illuminate the remotest corners of Africa's gloomy antiquity; but can we seriously desire such illumination? Is our knowledge appreciably increased by the information that some negro race with an unpronounceable name emigrated in such and such a year to a neighbouring territory, that in another year it was shattered and annihilated? If Africa is indeed a land of monotony and the destinies of its peoples repeat themselves in monotonous sameness, the great features hold our attention, not these small events with their confused particularities. But just for this reason the little stretch of historical development which we can behold is more valuable in the case of Africa than elsewhere; if we consciously renounce all hope of ascertained historical knowledge in the narrower customary sense of the word, and keep our eyes upon the questions of universal import, then one little piece of African history will certainly serve to teach us as much as hundreds could do. We must carefully examine those small occurrences which are passing before our eyes, and these will help us to unravel the greater events of past ages.

We have, moreover, other sources of information. Those mighty revolutions which the course of decades and centuries brings to pass, leave ineffaceable traces behind them; not in human memory, which can call no written tradition to it said, but in language and physical characteristics, in the style of dwellings and implements of labour, in the habits and customs of individual races.

To read these half-obliterated records of prehistoric times is no easy task; but the new-formed science of ethnology can help the historian, and enables us to trace the rise and fall of peoples even before the outset of a fixed chronology. Upon ethnology we must rely, unless we are to dismiss prehistoric Africa as a riddle incapable of solution. The methods of history and of ethnology are utterly different: the latter science advances like the tracker in the primæval forest; a footstep here or there, a piece of rubbish carelessly cast aside, a bent twig shows the ethnologist the path of earlier wanderers: he examines the ground and the climate, gives keen attention to the almost unintelligible answer of a child whom he may question in the way; refuse and fragments which others pass carelessly by, speak to him in clear and certain accents.

B. The Configuration of Africa

We cannot hope to understand a foreign people until we know something of the characteristics of the country of its development. Nor is it enough merely to

know the country in question; favourable or adverse influences are exercised upon it by neighbouring districts. The majority of the nations inhabiting the earth are in constant communication with one another; the mutual influence of their several civilizations facilitates their progress upon the path of development; but only faint echoes of this stress and struggle reach the nations which dwell apart upon the outskirts of the inhabited world. Hence the position of a country relative to its neighbours is of no less importance than its configuration and climate, in which, whether adverse or advantageous, the life of the inhabitants is developed.

Africa is in form like a heavy cumbrous wedge, broadest upon the north and running to a point at its southern extremity; in outline it is not without resemblance to the other two continents of the Southern Hemisphere, South America and Australia. The massive uniformity of its outline corresponds to the lack of natural boundaries in the interior; of all the divisions of the globe, Africa is the most uniform and the most self-contained. This is, again, the most striking characteristic of its inhabitants; Africa is the home of the black races, as Europe is of the white, and Asia of the yellow. At the same time there are limits to this characteristic exclusiveness. The geologist and the geographer may divide this giant continent as they will; for the ethnologist, it falls at once into two main divisions, the line of demarcation being given, though in a very general sense, by the character of the inhabitants and the position of these two divisions relative to the countries of the Old World: on the one hand, we have the lands on the north of the Sahara, including Egypt; on the other hand, we have the main bulk of Africa which lies to the south of that line of desert. The southern portion is the real Africa, of independent development; upon the north, those districts which were in the lines of communication with Europe and Asia have been influenced by these latter, and partly colonised by them in early times. This division of the continent into two main portions is inevitable, and it is as well to draw attention to the fact at the outset; but the general features of Africa are at least equally obvious.

The equator runs almost through its very centre, and the larger portion of its area lies within the tropic zones, so that Africa is the hottest quarter of the globe. This fact may well claim our attention for a moment, for of itself it affords the key to an explanation of many peculiarities in the African races. Their dark complexion, so often considered as the brand of Cain, is certainly due to the climate and the burning sun, though science may be unable to explain the details of the process. Whether primitive man was fair or dark is an insoluble question. This much, however, is beyond doubt; as the light complexion of the Aryan points to his origin in the cool regions of the globe, so the dark colour of the African is evidence for the fact that this family of the human race was developed in the same hot climate which forms its environment at the present day. Where the fervent tropical heat relaxes, as it does in the north and south of the continent, the light brown races at once appear, — in the north the Berber tribes, in the south the Hottentots with their dwarf relations, the Bushmen. From this point of view alone the division of the north from the south of Africa is seen to be justified: the most southerly point also forms a special district, though of less extent and therefore presenting less salient features.

The African climate is hot and, generally speaking, rather dry than damp although exceptions to this rule are by no means rare. Its northern portion con-

tains the greatest desert in the world, — a mighty barrier, far more formidable and inhospitable than the stormy Mediterranean, forming the boundary which divides tropical Africa from the civilization of the old world. Arabia is really a portion of this desert, being a continuation of Africa divided from the continent by the waters of the Red Sea gulf. Further westward, the desert is broken by the Nile valley, which forms a narrow strip of civilization amid the surrounding desolation: the river would form a convenient means of communication with the interior of Africa, were it not for the rocks which bar its passage in mid career, so that the verdure of its banks disappears in places where the river is forced to pass these obstacles in rapid and cataract. However, the desert itself is by no means absolutely impassable; it is possible for the adventurous merchant to cross at several points. It is also inhabited, in spite of its desolation, by peoples who have exercised a considerable influence upon neighbouring civilizations. The history of the Sudân, in particular, is to be explained only by a knowledge of the Sahara and its peoples.

The hypothesis that the Sahara is merely the bed of a prehistoric sea can no longer be maintained: that area lying between the shores of the Mediterranean and the Atlas Mountains on one side and Senegal, the Niger, and Lake Chad upon the other, is not a level plain covered with sea sand; on the contrary, it is a district of very diverse characteristics, and its general desolation is due solely to the absence of water. But even this scarcity is not everywhere so terrible as earlier descriptions would lead us to suppose. Upon occasion, rain seems to fall in every part of the desert, and of the total area about two per cent may be oasis and quite sixteen per cent pasture and prairie land; hence we find nomadic races tending their flocks in districts which have been characterised as entirely uninhabitable. The percentage of arable and pasture land is highest upon the west: in proportion as we advance eastward the drought increases and the population diminishes. In early times there was more water in the Sahara than at the present day. Gorges lead down from the mountains upon the west and also from the Atlas range which have been water-worn, though they are now absolutely dry. Their drought is, however, only apparent on the surface; sheltered by heaps of rubble and sand from the burning sun, the water filters down, and comes to the surface where it is dammed up by some accident of the ground, or fills the wells which have been sunk by man in the old watercourses.

Thus the Sahara, in spite of its desolation, is the dwelling-place of important peoples, differing one from another in race, although their environment has stamped them ineffaceably with the same marks of character. The thin sinewy frame and the sharp-cut features are seen in the Hamitic Tuareg and in the Semitic Arab as well as in the negro Tibu; similar types are also to be found in the East African steppes. These races also show similarity of habits: they are restless nomads, forced by the poverty of their lands not only to wander, but also to be constantly fighting for the pasturage and fruitful lands of the oases. Poor, warlike, and eager for booty, they have never been content merely to subdue and plunder the settled inhabitants of the oases or to rob the merchants travelling through their districts with precious goods; they have also proved a danger to the fruitful frontier lands of the desert. The North with the snow-crowned Atlas and its hardy mountaineers has seldom attracted them; Egypt, fortunately for herself, was protected by the Libyan Desert; but the negro lands upon the South lay open and defence-

less before them. Upon these districts the peoples of the steppes and of the desert have descended again and again, until a zone of conquered States and mixed populations was formed, lying as a broad stripe along the south of the desert. This district is the Sudân.

The Sudân is distinguished from the rest of Africa both by the character of its inhabitants and by its geographical nature; it again falls into several more or less similar divisions, but these are of no very high importance, as a glance at the geography and the configuration of Central and Southern Africa will show.

The special characteristic of the whole of this quarter of the globe can be at once made plain in figures: the average height of Africa above the sea level is probably more than six hundred metres or very nearly so. This height is everywhere considerable, and considerably in excess even of the average height of Asia, although Asia has the highest mountains and the most extensive table-lands in the world. The force of this fact becomes plain as soon as we remember that Africa has very few regular mountain ranges, and cannot display that backbone of lofty peaks which is a special feature in almost every other continent; Africa has no Alps, no Cordilleras, no Himalayas. She does not owe her high average in this respect to the possession of separate mountain systems; instead, the larger part of the whole country forms a table-land, from which particular peaks rise here and there, — a table-land which only in places, especially upon its edges, rises into a true mountain range. The heart of this table-land lies to the south of a line running from Loanda upon the south of the Congo mouth to Massaua; north of this line, it is a less pronounced feature, being divided by the beds of the Nile, the Congo, and the Niger, so that this characteristic of Africa is there represented rather by separate highland districts. And in this respect the Sudân forms a special portion of Africa.

The inhospitable and exclusive nature of the continent is the immediate result of its configuration. Behind the scanty harbours of the fever-smitten coast-line tower these highland heights, impassable in many places for the individual, and much more for the trader's caravan. Elsewhere, and especially in South America, which greatly resembles Africa in form, the streams and rivers provide a broad and easy trade route to the heart of the country; but in Africa they partake of the hard repellent character of the continent. In the interior they certainly form extensive waterways, which will become of great importance in course of time; but their descent from the highlands to the coast is a succession of rapid falls and whirlpools, so that even when the mariner has entered the river mouth, he cannot pass the coast line. This is true of the Zambesi, and still more of the Congo; the Nile would provide communication between the Mediterranean and the great lakes, did not the Nubian cataracts form an impassable barrier half-way. Only the Western Sudân differs in configuration, and this greatly to its advantage; the table-land characteristics are not so strongly marked as in other parts of Africa; the main river of this district, the Niger, together with its mighty tributary, the Benuë, provides an easy passage for a considerable distance up-country, and not before Rabba, at nine degrees latitude north, do rapids stop the further advance of the steamer. It is true that this impediment cuts off communication between the larger portion of the Niger and the coast, whereas the Benuë lies open to the natural limits of navigation.

The configuration of Africa has very important bearings upon the history of its peoples. We should not, perhaps, consider the interior of the continent as uniform

table-land; on the contrary, upon closer examination, we should be forced to admit that the country is greatly diversified by mountains and rivers, great depressions, extensive lakes, and tremendous heaps of volcanic ejection; but a comparison with other continents will plainly show that the special characteristic of Africa is the lack of any great obstacles to intercommunication. There are no long mountain ranges dividing the country into distinct provinces; no gulfs running into the heart of the land and separating one settlement from another. The results of these facts are recognisable in other parts of the world, of similar formation: uniformity of configuration implies uniformity of population. The Pamirs of Asia are full of Turco-Tartar peoples, whose physical character, language, and customs betoken a close relationship; so also the African table-lands have been the scene of struggle between the black races, with the result that an apparent uniformity has been evolved, visible not only in physique, but also in language. This point has been attained only after a long period of development. Peoples have been continually driven in rout, like the dust before the wind, by the onslaught of warlike invaders, and the tribes that have settled again and again upon these broad plains have invariably tended toward a greater uniformity; but the remnants of peoples collect in every place which affords some protection from the blasts of persecution, in the inaccessible mountains or in the swamps and islands of the rivers. Thus in the interior of the continent constant movement and commixture has ever been the history of the black races; but the inhabitants of the plains bordering upon the prairie and the desert succumbed to the attacks of the desert tribes, and states were founded upon this mixture of different nationalities, in which conquerors and conquered gradually coalesced to form new races.

Thus the uniformity of Africa is eminently favourable to the migration and the union of races; in another direction it is disadvantageous to the survival of primordial features. An important point in the history of the continent is the fact that all those districts in which individual tribes could escape the levelling influences of migration and commixture are very scattered and very small in extent. Such isolated districts are the cradles of those individual peoples who are content with the natural conditions of their home, and long retain their special characteristics and peculiarities, even after they have found their territory too small and have gone forth on a war of conquest. In Africa, typical swamp-races are to be found, such as the Dinka on the Upper Nile; there are hardy tribes of mountaineers in Kilima-Njaro and on the slopes of the Kamerun mountains; but all these little tribes are too scanty in numbers to have exercised any definite influence upon the inhabitants of the African plains. Nor has Africa any of those extensive islands which in other parts of the world have been the birthplace of distinguished nationalities, such as England in Europe or Japan in Asia; Madagascar is the only great island. The sole exception to the law of assimilation are the sons of the desert; however long a tribe (such, for example, as the Fulbe) may have been settled in the Sudân, it preserves, while it maintains its exclusiveness, those characteristics which have been stamped upon it by a nomad life in the thirsty plains — the lean, nervous frame, the lighter complexion, and the flashing eye. But upon admixture with the negro tribes of the Sudân some of these peculiarities gradually disappear, and, again, a mixed race is formed, in which the negro element preponderates.

In order to comprehend these details some consideration of the several districts

of Africa is indispensable. The North may be left aside in view of its special ethnological and historical situation (on this point cf. Vol. IV, pp. 220–254); let us then begin with the Sudân.

By the Sudân we mean in a general sense all that district bordering upon the south of the Sahara, that is to say, the district of transition which divides the desert from tropical Central Africa, and forms a zone of mixed populations and civilizations. It is impossible to lay down any hard and fast boundary to the north of the Sudân, for on that side the fruitful soil becomes gradually poorer and poorer until it fades away into steppes and deserts; similarly upon the south there is no natural line of demarcation between the pure negro districts and the Sudân districts under the influence of Islam. Nature, indeed, but rarely provides those sharp frontier lines with which our political maps have familiarised us, and which are beginning to appear perforce upon much enduring Africa; yet, considered as a whole, the special peculiarities of the Sudân distinguish it from those regions which border it upon the north and the south. The entire zone of the Sudân is a unity, not so much by reason of its orographical or hydrographical characteristics as in virtue of its climatic and therefore of its ethnological features. The Sudân is the transition district to equatorial Africa from the desert droughts: it has but one rainy season during the late summer and autumn, whereas equatorial Africa has two; moreover, the zone of the Sudân is the hottest part of Africa. And as it is the meeting-point of two climates, so is it also of the two peoples belonging to these climates, the light brown Hamite and the dark-skinned negro.

This extensive course of development which we have followed in the Sudân has been repeated elsewhere in Africa upon a smaller scale, especially upon the east of the continent. The east corner of Africa is a far-stretching land of steppes, divided only by the Abyssinian table-lands from the steppes of the Eastern Sudân. This similarity of conditions has produced ethnological commixtures similar to those which took place in the districts which we have just described.

The East is the most mountainous portion of Africa, and is at the same time rich in the possession of great lakes. A central highland with mountainous frontiers and wide depressions in which the great lakes have been gathered, may be distinguished from the lower steppes of the table-lands lying farther to the east, Somaliland and Gallaland. Farther southward the mountains fringing the central plateau come down so near to the sea that room remains only for a strip of coast line more or less narrow. Like Somaliland, the table-land of the interior has, in general, but a scanty rainfall. Where the surrounding mountain ranges tower aloft, where isolated volcanic peaks rise from the plateau, or where the steep sides of the depressions catch the cloud-laden breezes from the west, there rain falls more abundantly and vegetation grows in tropical luxuriance. Hence it is that about the deep inlet opposite Zanzibar, which is chiefly exposed to external influence, a fruitful mountainous country extends behind the coast; to this succeeds a dreary region of steppes, and finally about the great lakes the rainfall again becomes more frequent and regular, and agriculture is consequently more extensive. The mountains on the eastern frontier, among which should be considered the volcanic peaks of Kenia and Kilima-Njaro, are higher and more important than those on the west; in truth, the highland of Abyssinia and its mighty elevations form merely the northern forerunners of this high range, in which Elisée Reclus sees some analogy to the great ranges of other continents, the Alps or the Cordilleras.

From this description of the Sudân it becomes obvious that the Atlantic seaboard must not be included in that great zone of mixed populations and Mohammedan politics which we comprehend under the name of the Sudân, but that we have here a district of true negro population, as is proved by anthropological evidence and by the nature of its civilization.

In the extreme north of this district, in Senegambia, special circumstances have to be taken into account; for Senegambia borders immediately upon the desert, and is therefore, to a certain extent, subject to those influences which produced the ethnological conditions of the Sudân; hence it remains a doubtful point whether or not this country is better included in the Sudân. Another special characteristic of Senegambia is the fact that the two great rivers, the Senegal and the Gambia, make communication possible far into the heart of the country, which consequently loses much of that exclusiveness which is characteristic of the larger portion of the Guinea coast.

The northern boundary of the district is determined by the course of the Senegal and the frontiers of the plateau of the West Sahara. The southern boundary cannot easily be defined. In Senegambia we have a fairly well-watered country, stretching unusually far northward to the very edge of the desert,—a fact to be explained by the existence of the Futa-Jallon mountain system, which collects the moisture of the breezes from the coast and transmits it by numerous rivers partly to the coast and partly to the Niger. It is the most extensive of those elevated districts upon the edge of the African table-land, broken by valleys and ravines, which distinguish the Sudân from Guinea in point both of hydrography and of ethnology; as such, it continues southward and eastward under other names, following the coast line in a great curve, until it reaches the Niger.

The coast line between Senegal and Gambia belongs by origin to the sandy district on the southern border of the Sahara, but has been increased to an extensive plain by the alluvial deposits of the rivers. Further south the mountains run closer down to the sea, and the plains on the coast, which become appreciably narrower towards the south of Senegambia, are further diminished in size about Sierra Leone. The conformation of this plain is, however, totally different from that of the more northerly plains with their boundary of monotonous sand hills; numerous rivers widen into broad estuaries, swampy peninsulas and islands are formed, and at low tide banks and strips of land appear for a moment before they are again covered by the returning sea. Here we have a district eminently fitted to shelter the wrecks of persecuted peoples, and here the influence of the Sudân definitely ceases.

The Grain coast is not so broken, though the plains are not wide, for the spurs of the highlands run close down to the sea. However, that coast formation soon begins, which is characteristic of Guinea as far as the bay of Biafra, known as the lagoon coast. Instead of the huge delta-shaped estuaries and the islands lying at their extremities, we have a sandy and generally even strip of land stretching away, upon which the rollers of the Atlantic thunder, and which is broken only at rare intervals. But if we enter one of these openings we do not find ourselves in a river mouth, but in an expanse of water of more or less breadth, stretching far away behind its boundary of coast line; rivers also empty themselves into it, which flow down from the highlands of the interior. Only here and there, especially in a large part of the Gold coast, does this kind of coast formation disappear, and the hilly country come down to the sea.

At the gulf of Biafra the lagoon coast terminates, and in its stead begins the huge swampy Delta, formed by countless river mouths, which the Niger has built up in the sea; further onward the coast takes a southerly turn, and we have a district of broad estuaries, the land of the "oil rivers." But just at the point where the coast line bends round, between the mouth of the Calabar and the estuary of the Kamerun rivers, rises a mighty mass of volcanic mountains, the Kamerun mountains, of which Clarence Peak, in the opposite island of Fernando Po, is a continuation. Farther inland rises the table-land of Central Africa in terraces; at this point and farther southward it catches the warm west wind and occasions the growth of the wildest primæval forest, forming a zone of almost impenetrable thickness; in the depths of this forest the remnants of the shy dwarf peoples have found a refuge. Such is the formation of the coast line almost as far as the mouth of the Congo.

On the further side of the mouth of the Congo the vegetation of the coast becomes scantier, and almost entirely disappears as we pass on to the steppes of South Africa. The formation of the coast line, behind which the highlands rise in successive terraces, remains in its main features the same as in Upper Guinea, except that the plains upon the coast in the district south of the Congo are considerably narrower than they generally are in the North. Ethnologically there is also a striking affinity between the two districts; for the southerly coast line is, on the whole, separated from the interior by a fairly sharp line of demarcation, although settlements of pure negro blood are to be found upon the coast as well as in the interior. There are also other and no less remarkable similarities between the two parts of Guinea.

The coast of Lower Guinea is broken by the mouth of a mighty river, the Congo, which is deep enough to admit ships of considerable draught. But the mariner who may hope to penetrate far into the interior by this road, soon finds his passage barred by the impassable obstacles offered by a succession of rapids and cataracts, where the mighty flood rushes over the terraces of the highlands of the interior. For a long period the short navigable distance through the plains upon the coast was the only known part of this great river, until Stanley's expedition informed Europe of the enormous area covered by the Congo river-system with its multitude of navigable tributaries.

About the point where the eastern source of the Congo, the Luapula, first crosses the equator the river rushes in a number of cataracts, the Stanley Falls, over one of the terraces of the highland of Central Africa. Now begins the central and navigable course of the Congo, which makes a gigantic curve far northward of the equator, and then sweeps southward again, passing at length over the lower falls already mentioned before entering upon its short course to the sea. The central division of this broad stream, richly studded with islands, traverses the immense forests of Central Africa which extended from about the point where the Ubanggi enters the Congo almost to the western sources of the Nile. This thickly wooded Congo basin forms the real heart of Africa. Here, until very recently, dwelt the African tribes, wholly undisturbed by foreign influence; here the remarkable tribes of dwarfs have maintained themselves in largest numbers. During its course through this district, the Congo receives numerous tributaries, such as the Aruwimi and the Rubi on the right bank, and the Lomami on the left. The position, however, of the Congo relative to its mighty tributaries

is peculiar, and forms a special feature of the whole district; these secondary rivers run almost parallel to the main stream, receive all the waters which flow down toward it, and then deliver them into the Congo itself. A case in point is the Ubanggi upon the north, and the Juapa and Lulongo on the south, and especially the Kassaï, which with its numerous tributaries absorbs almost all the water south of the Congo valley. It would be preferable, perhaps, to name the whole system Sankuru, after the greatest of those rivers which unite with the Kassaï. Its more western tributary, the Kwango, was for a long time the only one known upon the coast, and hence upon old maps the real Congo is overshadowed by this comparatively small tributary.

The sources of the Kassaï and of its southern tributaries lie beyond the forest region of Central Africa: at this point begins a *savannah* district, interrupted here and there by forests, and finally passing into the steppes of South Africa. Geographically this most southerly portion of the Congo valley has certain affinities with the Sudân, and from an ethnological point of view, parts of it are not unlike the frontier zone of the Sahara. Within the Congo valley there is no approach to anything like a uniform state, whereas in this district important states are found, such as the famous kingdom of Lunda and others to the east and south of this.

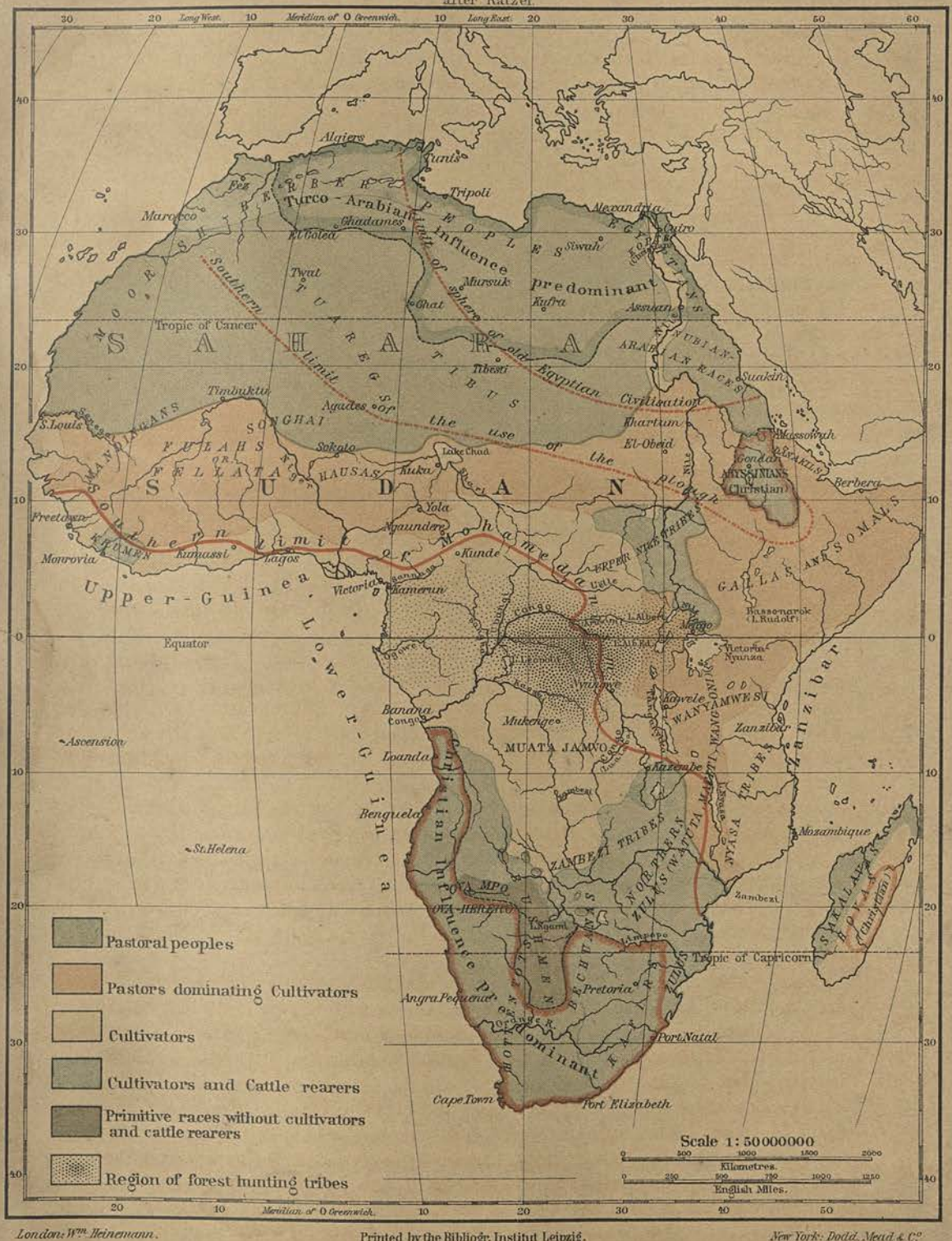
The Zambesi valley is of importance as forming a transition district from the well-watered tropics to the deserts of South Africa; the peoples permanently settled about this river have always been under the influence of the shepherd tribes of South Africa. The Zambesi takes its rise in the mountainous plateau which lies behind the coast of Benguela. As it descends from the highlands of the west coast into the lowlands of the interior and enters the depression which divides the table-lands of East and South Africa, it forms numerous waterfalls and rapids, including the Victoria Falls, the most important in Africa. These interruptions prevent it from becoming a means of communication between the peoples of the district. It is more important as a boundary line, as a protecting barrier, behind which peoples might find a domicile and a temporary refuge from the attacks of the warlike shepherd tribes of the South. But it was not a barrier which remained permanently impassable.

In South Africa we have a new zone before us, also the scene of ethnological convulsion, which like the Sahara exercises a powerful influence not only upon neighbouring districts, but also, mediately or immediately, upon the far interior of the country. But even as the Sahara is not a monotonous sandy waste, as was once popularly supposed, so it would be incorrect to conceive South Africa as consisting merely of barren steppes or as the counterpart of the North African wilderness.

Those bold and simple features which characterise the configuration of Africa are also to be found in their entirety in the southern portion of the continent. Considered as a whole, South Africa is a table-land, the edges of which attain the height of mountains, running in some places close down to the coast, and in others leaving room for plains upon the seaboard of greater or less breadth. On the eastern side these mountains are higher and of more massive structure than those upon the west. The consequence is that the east, which is further benefited by the prevailing winds blowing from that quarter, is much better watered than the west; this latter side, with the exception of the southernmost region, possesses only periodical streams; the Orange River certainly runs out on the west coast,

OCCUPATIONS MAP OF AFRICA

after Ratzel



London: Wm. Heinemann. Printed by the Bibliogr. Institut Leipzig. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

but rises in the eastern mountains, and so do all its tributaries. The district with the smallest rainfall, which is therefore the dryest and the most desolate, is the interior, the Kalahari Desert.

The mode of life and the character of the inhabitants of South Africa correspond to the special peculiarities of each district: in the centre are the wandering Bushmen, on the west shepherd tribes of comparatively scanty numbers, in the east the numerous warlike Kaffirs, half cattle-breeders, half tillers of the soil, the most important native race of South Africa. Finally, the southern extremity was the home of a race which did not belong to the black peoples, the Hottentots, who were driven forward by successive waves of migration, and finally found a home in the remotest corner of the continent.

On the northeast the mountains bounding the table-land retire far enough from the coast to leave room for a broad, low-lying plain, through which the Limpopo, the chief river of Southeast Africa, runs down to the sea, as also does the Zambesi at a more northerly point; here the nature of the country and of its inhabitants more nearly resembles that of the tropical districts.

Thus within Africa three main zones may be distinguished: a mighty region of steppes and desert upon the north, a smaller region of steppes in the south, and lying between these two, tropical Central Africa with its vast forests and rivers. These three great zones correspond to the three main ethnological groups of Africa: the light races in the north, the yellow Hottentots and Bushmen in the south, and in the heart of the continent the black negro type. Each group has conformed to the special nature of its environment (see the inserted double map, "Occupations Map of Africa. Ethnographical Map of Africa"). They have grown up influenced by the characteristics of their habitat; and when we have learned the special nature of their country, some of the secrets of their mysterious origins stand revealed before us.

C. The Importance of the Fauna and Flora of Africa in the History of its Civilization

Ground and climate do not constitute the whole environment of the African races. Long before man became lord of created things, the earth was covered with luxuriant vegetation and countless species of animals were rejoicing in their existence. The botanist and the zoölogist have their own methods of arranging fauna and flora into orderly groups and of tracing their development. The anthropologist is forced to employ a wholly different method of division, and cannot do better than follow the example of Friedrich Ratzel, who was the first to emphasise the standpoint adopted by the historians of civilization, in his "anthropogeography." Among the influences which plants and animals exert upon men, he distinguishes those which affect large numbers and those which affect individuals. Of the first class we have examples when the action of nature upon the face of the earth influences the whole human race by hindering or facilitating movement, as may be seen in the case of woods, meadows, coral banks, and so on. The second class of special influences falls into two divisions: those exerted by nature in hostility to man, as in the case of beasts of prey or noxious plants, or in support of man, to which class would belong any advantage that man gains from nature by the possession of domestic or sporting animals, of plants for food or for wearing fabrics.

It is necessary further to extend Ratzel's division for our purposes. Not only may man draw profit immediately from the plant or animal world, but also mediately, when he disposes to other men of such of his acquisitions as he finds useless to himself or at any rate in some degree superfluous. An African example is seen in the case of ivory (cf. p. 409). This brings us to the subject of trade and commerce, whereby not only natural productions, but also other commodities, may be exchanged, and in particular to the subject of that commerce so pregnant of consequences for Africa, the slave trade (cf. p. 411).

(*a*) *Vegetation in General.* — As void of vegetation we may note the peaks of certain mountains, and in particular the vast area of the North African desert. We have already seen, however, that the Sahara is not so black as it has been painted (cf. p. 395). Even in the most barren districts the least drop of moisture will produce one or other of the sturdy desert growths with which the much enduring camel may satisfy its hunger. Vegetation is richer in the thirsty valleys and even becomes luxuriant, so soon as a mountain thunderstorm has filled the watercourse with its rapid torrent Moreover, in the western portion of the Sahara, districts are to be found which for part of the year are covered with green verdure; and in the oases under the groves of date-palms other more delicate nut-bearing plants flourish.

The savannah, with its thick grass and scattered trees, forms the commonest and most characteristic landscape of Africa. This feature of the country, together with the extensive high table-lands, is so widespread that the interior of Africa presents but few obstacles to the fusion of peoples which has constantly taken place, whereas the conformation of the coast line offers almost insurmountable obstacles to penetration into the interior. Hence we may trace one of the special characteristics of African history, — constant movement in the interior, but little interchange of influence between the interior and the coast.

The savannahs are connected with the treeless steppes, and the steppes with the desert by almost imperceptible gradations. Again, the transition from the savannah to the forest is by no means invariably abrupt. In the grass-grown plains the groves become thicker and thicker, the lakes are surrounded with the characteristic "gallery woods," and thus the steppes gradually change into woodland, and the primæval forest begins, broken with open clearings and grassy glades. "On the left bank of the Ituri we reached a small belt of higher trees, into which we penetrated after the column had crossed the river; then to our heartfelt joy we entered upon a broad plain, as green as English turf, coming out into the bright, cheerful daylight, the warm, splendid sunshine, where we breathed in the fresh air with unspeakable delight" (Henry Morton Stanley).

The huge primæval forests are the second great feature in the vegetation of Africa, which is of importance for the development of the population. The main portion of this forest growth fills the eastern side of the Congo basin, reaching almost to the western sources of the Nile and in a westerly direction nearly to the mouth of the Ubangi and Lake Leopold; northward, the whole of the forest district does not extend far beyond the valley of the Congo; southward it passes somewhat beyond the valley of the Sankuru. Beyond these limits the savannah country begins, although there is no lack of close forest, especially in the western Congo valley. A second forest district begins upon the Upper Nile, and continues

up to the ethnographical boundary of this remarkable district. The forests upon the edge of the African table-lands may also be considered as a third group of primæval forest which rises with the coast line in terraces to the level of the interior, the moisture giving every opportunity for the forests to take root in the declivities. Thus in Guinea, especially in the Kamerun and Gabun districts, a broad strip of forest divides the interior from the coast; a similar belt, though not of uniform depth throughout, is a feature upon the East African coast for a considerable distance. Where these woods which border the table-lands have been strongly developed, we may consider them as the most important of those obstacles which shut off the interior of Africa from external communication.

The primæval forest is inhospitable alike to the European and to the true negro. Only upon the border line between forest and savannah, where the gloomy shadows of the woods are broken by broad glades, can the negro make his plantations, fell the giant trees to clear fresh spaces and penetrate this uninhabitable zone more deeply, as the pioneer of agriculture. There are, however, peoples who belong to these forests and keep body and soul together within their depths; these are the African dwarf tribes, who wander through the forest lands of the Congo basin and of the interior of the Kamerun and Gabun district (cf. p. 413).

Compared with the forest and savannah, those districts in Africa overgrown with scrub are of small importance, though in other countries, especially in Australia, they are an important feature in the landscape, and may be a serious obstacle to communication. They are most extensive in Somaliland and in South Africa, and may be considered as a special and by no means useful variety of the steppe.

(*b*) *Dangerous and Infection-bearing Creatures.* — When we turn from the general to the special influences exercised by the natural world upon man, we have, first of all, to consider what Frederic Ratzel calls the "influences of opposition," that is to say, the dangers with which the existence of harmful animals and plants threaten mankind. In this respect nature has dealt kindly with Africa, as compared with other countries; the reason may be found in the fact that the African climate is for the most part dry. At any rate, the number of victims to beasts of prey or to snake bite is far smaller in Africa than in India. Predatory animals naturally exist in largest number in those districts which are richest in game, and therefore especially in the plains of East and South Africa, whereas West Africa, which has but few wild animals, can sustain but few beasts of prey. When the game upon the plains has been driven out or exterminated, and man appears with his flocks and herds, then the war against predatory animals is naturally prosecuted with vigour, and man generally proves victorious in the struggle. We have, it is true, such instances as that adduced by Emil Holub, who found, during his South African travels, the inhabitants of a small Batoka village preparing to leave their home, because they and their flocks of goats were undergoing a regular siege by lions, which attacked them every night; but changes brought about by such causes are never of great importance, and we shall find no instance of beasts of prey causing migration upon any large or permanent scale. The only influence which they could exercise in this direction would be to increase the desolation of districts already thinly populated.

Of much greater importance is the influence exercised by poisonous insects and by those minute organisms to which the spread of epidemic diseases must be ascribed. Even in this respect Africa is better off than some districts of Asia, the breeding-place of those devastating plagues which may desolate a whole continent; and, moreover, the population of Africa is upon the average far more tenacious of life than any other of the races of mankind. Contagious diseases (smallpox, syphilis, and others) have found their way to Africa from other continents; but they have proved far less destructive than in Polynesia or in South America.

By far the most important of the local diseases of Africa is the swamp fever, the notorious malaria, which is also to be found in all other swampy districts provided that they do not lie too far northward, as, for instance, in Holland and in parts of Germany upon the North Sea coast. The fact that malaria has attained its great notoriety only since the beginnings of European colonisation is an indication of the part played by this disease in African history; it, too, forms one of the barriers defending the country, invisible, it is true, but more formidable than any other, for Europeans are especially liable to its attacks, and in most cases succumb sooner or later. It will, perhaps, ensure the black races in the possession of the larger part of tropical Africa. We do not, however, imply that the negro as such enjoys complete immunity from swamp fever. Africans who have passed from a healthy district into a malarial zone do not escape the attacks of this disease. Thus we have a factor to be reckoned with in the internal history of Africa; by this influence migration must often have been checked, and the pursuit and extermination of a conquered people hindered.

In a country which provides support for so many shepherd peoples as Africa, those enemies become highly important which strike at the very basis of man's existence by imperilling the safety of his flocks and herds. The larger beasts of prey are often of relatively small importance compared to the destructive powers of smaller foes. Among these the Tsetse fly is known to be one of the most fatal possessions of the African continent. Putting all exaggeration aside, it remains perfectly certain that this diminutive winged organism, whose bite is harmless to man but deadly to cattle and horses, makes cattle breeding impossible in places, and thus restricts the wanderings of the nomadic tribes. The area of its distribution begins nearly upon the northern frontier of the Transvaal, and continues toward German East Africa. The fact that the Transvaal boundary has been pushed no further northward or that no new Boer States have been formed north of the Limpopo is chiefly due to the destructive agency of this insect, which killed horses and oxen upon every attempt at settlement, and thus checked all advances northward.

The tsetse fly is confined merely to certain districts and does not extend its ravages beyond these; the contrary is true of another destructive insect, the locust, and of a destructive epidemic disease, the rinderpest, probably introduced into Africa in the first instance, and often alternating with other diseases of no less fatal effect. German East Africa has recently felt the combined effects of both plagues, — for the locusts have destroyed the harvest, and the rinderpest the cattle almost simultaneously. That proud warlike race of nomads, the Masai, formerly the terror of all neighbouring tribes, has been reduced by these causes in some cases to a tribe of half-starved beggars; and other tribes of this race have been

nearly swept away. Political changes can generally be retraced to causes of this nature; tribes are weakened and become incapable of resisting their enemies, are shattered and destroyed, or forced to give up their land and so seek new and less fertile districts for themselves. Again in other cases, as has recently happened in certain districts of the Sudân, nomadic tribes which have lost their cattle have been forced to turn their attention to agriculture and have thus taken the first step toward a complete change, not only of their mode of life, but also of their national character.

(*c*) *Useful Animals.* — Among the forces of destruction are many which have been brought into Africa from without, the introduction of which has then led to historical consequences. This statement is even more true of the plants and animals useful to man. In our pursuit of this subject we come from time to time upon problems, the solution of which would throw much light upon the early history of Africa.

Generally speaking, man's influence upon the distribution of large game is purely negative in result. The ivory trade, which arose upon the suppression of the slave trade, is founded upon a system of destruction, and is not likely to continue for any length of time. The huge pachyderms are constantly being trapped by eager huntsmen, and have now entirely disappeared throughout the larger part of Africa; only in remote districts are elephant herds to be found in any quantity. Thus this lucrative trade will soon come to an end, and commerce will have to be content with other and less valuable commodities.

At the outset of our enumeration of domestic animals we are confronted by the difficult question of their origin. Some of them are very probably of African origin, in particular the donkey, assuming the supposition to be correct, that the wild ass of Eastern Africa is the ancestor of our patient beast of burden. The African elephant appears to have been tamed in ancient times. The dog is found in every continent as the companion of man, so that only by careful examination into the characteristics of the different breeds, could we gain information upon their respective origin. It is noteworthy that the dwarf tribes in the primeval forests of Africa keep a special breed of hunting dogs: other races use the dog for food.

The other domestic animals have certainly been introduced from other continents, as, for instance, the camel, which seems to have been entirely unknown in Africa before the period of the great migrations. This is a fact of no small historical importance: it is the camel which now makes communication possible between the Sudân and the north coast of Africa, and consequently the want of this "ship of the desert" in earlier times must have hampered communication, and this helps us to explain the absence of relations at that period between North Africa and the negro districts. The horse is of importance only in the North and in the Sudân: cavalry is the strongest arm of the service of the Sudanese potentates, and brought destruction upon the heathen negro races, who were exposed to its attack upon the open plains. In South Africa, the introduction of the horse by European agency has transformed certain Hottentot races into tribes of mobile riders; but in this case the tsetse fly has in places prevented the northward advance of the horse and his owner.

In West Africa, sheep pasturing has spread among the natives as far as the southernmost point, and also in the Sudân and the northeast of the continent:

the pig, originally brought to the west and south coasts by Europeans, is now to be found far in the interior. Of much greater importance than either pig or sheep is the ox, which was also introduced, though it seems to have been domesticated within the black continent from a very early period. It is the chief means of subsistence to many great tribes; there are even typical nomad peoples to be found in Africa who devote the same tender care to their herds, and make their welfare the motive of their every thought and deed, as did the old Indian Aryans in the case of their "sacred cows." It is the ox that makes the steppes habitable enough to be the cradle of those great tribes whose attacks upon the fortunes of their agricultural neighbours form so large a part of African history. With the exception of a few scattered districts elsewhere, the Congo basin, that is, the forest zone of Central Africa, is the only district where the ox is also entirely unknown.

While we are considering how far the possession of cattle and of poultry for food made existence possible, we must not forget the fact that everywhere customs universally recognised or special prohibitions of certain meats precluded all possibility of using certain animals for food. Thus the pig was excluded from Mohammedan districts; poultry, which are to be found almost everywhere in Africa, were in many cases not eaten, and even the eggs were despised. Among many nomadic tribes, the ox was so highly reverenced, that the owners contented themselves with the milk of the cows. Similar prejudices prevent the eating of this or that kind of game, and on a large portion of the East African coast, fish are never touched.

(*d*) *Useful Plants.* — Whatever the importance of hunting and cattle breeding among large portions of the population of Africa, the existence of the negro is based upon the cultivation of certain plants useful to man, agricultural operations being performed in the simplest fashion with the mattock, or hoe, — "mattock cultivation," as Edward Hahn has well named it. The African is most teachable in this respect: he has adopted a large number of plants from other tropical countries, and has gradually imparted them to races dwelling further inland. Africa itself is not particularly rich in such plants. The most important and probably the first to be cultivated are those like *Panicum distichum*, *Holcus sorghum*, and *Eleusine*, from which the negro is able to brew intoxicating liquors. Beside these, there is the maize, which was introduced from America, and the manioc root, from the same continent. European grain corn, in its several varieties, will only grow in the tropics upon the higher mountain districts, which are in Africa no very prominent feature; however, it is cultivated successfully in the sub-tropical districts up to the far interior of the Sudân. Rice, on the other hand, a true tropic plant, is gathered on the east and west of the continent in the better-watered valleys. Earth nuts and special kinds of beans and peas are probably indigenous. The banana, which is a staple food in places, especially in Eastern Africa, becomes scarce elsewhere, and seems to be sporadically distributed. The date palm, a native of Western Asia, is found only in the deserts of the North and their frontiers; the cocoa palm is confined to the coasts. On the West African coast, the trade in palm oil and the fruit of the oil palm is rapidly increasing, and is likely to become a permanent source of income, as it does not usually involve the destruction of its source; on the other hand, the collecting of india-rubber in the woods upon the coast has lately received a considerable impetus, but is so unsystematically carried on that it will probably decline. It is only quite recently that plantations of any size

have been made under European direction, a movement which may revive the trade to some extent.

In consequence of the great uniformity of the African continent, the conditions essential to successful agriculture are rarely so different in neighbouring districts as to offer any obstacle to the spread of population. Moreover, the number of plants for cultivation is large, so that for every piece of ground, even when offering only moderate possibilities, the proper kind of plant or grain is easily procurable, and the negro, generally speaking, is a cultivator by no means to be despised. It is true that the desert peoples, upon their invasion of the fruitful Sudanese districts, had to give up their diet of dates, and this sudden change of habit produced dangers and inconveniences to them, which may be considered as tending in some slight degree to protect the inhabitants of the Sahara frontiers.

D. Slavery and the Slave Trade

The possession of domestic animals and serviceable plants enables the negro to settle upon the soil, and a scarcity or a superfluity of food has a deep and an immediate influence upon his life and his powers of resistance. Mediate influences are also unmistakable: the poorer man covets the rich ground or the numerous herds of his neighbour, and tries to seize the alluring spoil. Thus arise those continuous wars and upheavals in the interior of Africa, with the consequent total fusion of races, although the area of disturbance is confined to the territories of the black races. A special fact increases the number of these convulsions and makes their details of greater importance with reference to the fusion of the races of Africa, — the fact that slavery and agriculture were so closely connected. The ideal of the African is to acquire the largest possible number of wives and slaves, who may till his land and enable him to live comfortably and trade upon the products; in Africa the best and most secure investment for capital is the slave, for the possession of slaves insures a rich income. Consequently, in every war the chief object in view is the capture of slaves, who then coalesce gradually with the tribe of their new masters and modify the characteristics of the conquering race. Moreover, from an early period, slaves were not only valuable property, but also a highly prized commercial article, for which the inhabitants of other continents stretched out eager hands.

Africa has never attracted so many merchants to its coasts as other tropical countries have. When the Portuguese had circumnavigated the continent, they paid no attention to the exploration of the country for a long period, only wishing to enrich themselves with the treasure of India; and even at the present day African commerce has, comparatively speaking, developed but little. Again and again, the beginnings of a vigorous trade with Africa have sprung up, and yet no permanent advantage has been gained, because African commerce depends almost invariably upon methods which destroy the sources of wealth, so that a transitory period of prosperity is followed by decay and irreparable loss. Above all is this true of that ruinous trade which has nowhere attained such proportions as in Africa, the slave trade. It is a trade, moreover, of greater importance to the ethnologist and the historian than any other, for it has brought about the distribution of the black races in territories which they would never voluntarily have entered, and in short, for a long period the slave trade has given Africa the only historical importance which it possessed in the eyes of the rest of the world.

For Africa itself the results of a highly developed slave trade were very great. In early times the increase of slaves within a community was checked by natural, well-defined limits, the transgression of which was rather dangerous than profitable; but these salutary checks fell away as soon as the slave became an article of traffic; constant wars and marauding expeditions, the destruction of small tribes, the desolation of wide districts and the collapse of many a body politic were the results of this change of conditions. On the other hand, states arose which existed solely for slave-catching. Chronologically, the export of slaves from different districts began at very different epochs. During the period of the Egyptian and Græco-Roman civilization the Sudân sent constant supplies of slaves to the Mediterranean peoples, and these numbers increased considerably after the Arab conquests. Exportation from East Africa was begun by the Arabs, from West Africa by Europeans after the discovery of America, when the trade was carried on with unexampled harshness and vigour. The suppression of the slave trade in modern times gives an entirely new direction to the course of African history.

E. Useful Minerals

Among the minerals which have been of importance in the history of Africa, the first to be mentioned is iron, the metal of African civilization. Iron is to be found almost everywhere in the continent, for the geological formation of the country is especially favourable to its outcrop; almost every nation is able to smelt the ore and make iron, arms, and tools. Copper is more rarely met with and is of no special importance for the time being. Gold is found in abundance in two districts, on the Gold coast and in the interior of Senegambia and also in Southeast Africa. In the latter district, it was worked by foreigners at an early period, a fact which undoubtedly brought about important modifications in the native races and civilizations. In our own times (1899, in the Transvaal) the existence of gold has produced momentous political changes. But for the history of the interior of Africa no mineral has been of greater importance than salt, for the negro is almost exclusively vegetarian in his diet, and salt is therefore indispensable to his health. The localities where salt is to be had in the interior of the country are not very numerous, and have consequently been the object of many ambitions and the prize of numerous wars; moreover, many inland tribes emigrated to the seacoast, because they could there obtain a plenteous supply of this precious seasoning. The natural result was the establishment of a flourishing trade with the interior.

Here we may conclude our examination of external conditions and circumstances in so far as they have influenced or are influencing the course of African history.

F. The Population

(*a*) *The Origin of the Negro.* — We have now to inquire what position is occupied by the negro, the inhabitant of tropical Africa, in a general scheme of the human race as a whole. Is he indigenous to the district which he inhabits, or where was he situated in antiquity? Has he relatives among the other races of the earth; if so, where are these relatives to be found?

To whatever extent different negro races and individual types may have varied under the pressure of manifold external and internal influence, the negro remains a special and characteristic type of humanity. The colour of his skin in its varying

shades of blackness, the dolichocephalic skull, the prognathous face, the prominent lips, the flat nose, and the woolly hair, —these are the main features distinguishing the black races of Africa. In point of language, the race is not a unity.

Now, far away from Africa, in Australia and in the islands of Melanesia, is to be found another black-skinned type of man, corresponding in very many respects with the African negro, and the correspondence would undoubtedly be more striking than it is, had not this type been strongly influenced and modified by infusions from Malay Polynesia. The true Melanesian is hardly distinguishable from the typical negro. Are we then to assume forthwith that both types have the same origin, or are we to conclude that similar conditions prevailing in tropical Australia have produced a race similar to the African negro? Philology, which can often decide difficulties of this kind, is of little help in this case, and the investigation of the progress toward civilization which these two types have made, leads to no certain result, although many indications seem to point to a blood relation between the races.

In favour of this relationship other arguments may be adduced. Let it be first observed that in the third great tropical district of the earth, in America, no indigenous black race has been produced, though the negro flourishes admirably when introduced into that continent; moreover, the gap between Africa and Melanesia is considerably reduced by the fact that primitive races of the negro type appear on some of the Sunda Islands and in the south of Nearer India. The Malays travelled much further across the sea than the distance between Ceylon and Zanzibar, when they colonised Madagascar, to which they seem to have come from Sumatra. However, the Malays are the most seafaring race of savages in the world, while of the negroes exactly the opposite is true; if we can assume that a nation can entirely lose its seamanship upon settling in a new environment, then the hypothesis of a negro migration either from Australia to Africa or *vice versâ* is more than possible.

Another argument, which is at first highly attractive, may be mentioned. Wherever the black races have settled in the neighbourhood of alien peoples, they appear to have entered upon a course of retrogression; the negroes of the Sudân, the Dravidian peoples of Southern India, the Negritos of the Philippines, are decidedly backward compared with their lighter-coloured neighbours. Possibly, then, we are looking on at the last act of a long course of development; at one period the black races were collectively in occupation of Southern Asia and of Northern Africa, until their union was broken by the advance of the fair races, separate contingents of negroes being driven southward into Central Africa, the south of India, and the Australian islands.

This theory is, however, untenable, in view of the many arguments against it. It rests perforce upon the hazardous assumption that the early home of the negroes was not the tropical district which they now inhabit, but lay further to the north in localities where the populations exhibit not the smallest trace of resemblance to the negroes. Moreover, the negro is the ideal type of tropical inhabitant, and is exactly conformed to the environment of his present home. Further, the theory is no longer generally received which would retrace the history of individual races to an origin in remote districts, declaring the Aryans to have come from Tibet, which is an inhospitable desert, overrun by Mongolian tribes, or asserting that the races of the American continent migrated thither from Asia across Behring

Strait. A far more scientific method of inquiry is to look for the early home of a race, that is, for the district where its special characteristics have been acquired, in the locality around which the population centres in modern times. It then becomes highly probable that the cradle of the negro race must be placed in the tropics. On these matters we reason strictly as observers, not rejecting but excluding all else.

We may recall the high antiquity of man and the long period of his development, not so much with a view to the solution of the problem — for which task the time has not yet come — as in order to discuss all possibilities which might lead us to a solution. There is much probability in the view that man was upon the earth during the Tertiary period, one of the periods of greatest disturbance in the world's history, and even earlier than the great changes of the Diluvial period. But if this view be accepted, all theories resting upon deductions from the present shape of the earth's surface are almost entirely invalidated, and it is waste of time to propose new theories in view of the present unsatisfactory state of our knowledge. We must be content to admit the possible existence, at some remote epoch, of a connection by land between Africa and the negro districts in the East, and to suppose that if this could be proved, the problem would be more than half solved. Many details tend to confirm this opinion, among others the similarity between the flora of the Cape and that of Australia, but no certain evidence can as yet be adduced.

(*b*) *The Anthropology of the Negro.* — All questions which touch upon periods so far anterior to historical times as questions about the origin of the African peoples and the primæval condition of the earth, require the production of other evidence for their solution than such as can be gained from an examination of the physical characteristics of the country. Such help must be given by ethnology or anthropology, if we choose to consider this latter science as the more comprehensive of the two. It is of less importance in the case of Africa than other countries to divide ethnology into the two parts severally concerned with primitive and with modern times. Discoveries of primitive remains are not wholly wanting in Africa, but they are not numerous, and are far more difficult to interpret than the antiquities of any other part of the inhabited world. Only from a careful examination of the people of modern times can we expect results of any importance.

The physical structure of man is correctly considered as the distinguishing mark of his race, for this he hands down through future generations, and is incapable of modifying it of his own free will. The English-speaking negroes of America have remained negroes, notwithstanding all modifications of language and environment; the Jew may be recognised by his physical characteristics, no matter with what other races he may have mixed. It is true that, as a general rule, and especially in Africa, we have not to deal with such clear and simple questions of race as these, but with the results of complete racial fusion. Even as an alloy of metals cannot be reduced to its component elements by purely mechanical means, but only by laborious chemical analysis, so the fusion of races in Africa is not separable into its primary elements at the first glance; nothing short of the most comprehensive anthropological examination will help us here.

The first point to be noticed is the colour of the skin, the most striking characteristic of the African peoples. A shade of colour often enables us to

recognise the mixture of a fair Hamitic element with indigenous dark-skinned negro races, though in itself colour is not always satisfactory evidence: for even within the pure African tribes greatly varying shades of colour are to be found, a result undoubtedly due to varying conditions of climate. "Among the dark races colour varies with habitat and mode of life, and the type alone remains constant" (Oscar Baumann). Yet, on the other hand, it appears that the dark complexion is the most easily transferable of all the racial characteristics, as is seen in the case of commixtures of negroes and fair races, and no amount of subsequent commixture appears to weaken the depth of colouring. At any rate, a case in point is to be found in the Arab-Nigritic bastards, almost the sole representatives of Araby on the east coast and in the Sudân: in darkness of complexion they are in no degree inferior to the purest negroes, while at the same time their sharp-cut profile betrays their Semitic origin. However, cross-breeding between negroes and Europeans appears to produce quite different results.

Height and breadth are also important evidences of origin. Thus the small stature of certain Central African races points to the existence of a strain of dwarf blood; the dwarf peoples themselves must be sharply distinguished from the negroes chiefly on account of their difference in stature. Slightness of build, on the other hand, is a distinguishing feature of the desert tribes, and is often continued long after emigration into fertile districts. In South Africa among the Hottentots and Bushmen, this slender build is often combined with rugosity of skin, and also with excessive fatness in certain parts of the body (steatopygy or obesity), a characteristic which is also found among the races on the Upper Nile and on the steppes of Northeast Africa.

The formation of the head, which is highly characteristic in the case of the negroes, is invariably an important feature, though too little attention has been paid to it in the past. Investigators have generally contented themselves with cephalic measurements, and though this is a valuable undertaking, yet it has led to no definite result as affording information only upon one part of the head, and that comparatively unimportant. A "physiognomy of races" resuming on scientific methods the incomplete researches of Johann Kaspar Lavater (1775–1778) has hardly been thought of as yet, and indeed the difficulties in the way of such research are unusually great. As it is by their physiognomy that the mixed Arab races can be most sharply and definitely distinguished from the pure negroes, so only by examination of those racial marks which the countenance displays will the investigator be able to discern other fusions of races going back to prehistoric times.

Together with the dark complexion, the hair is another racial feature of the African which often enables us to note a strain of negro blood in tribes which are generally considered to belong to other races. On the contrary, if we find negroes with hair diverging from the woolly type, we may presume an earlier commixture with some other nationality.

(*c*) *Negro Civilization.* — Physical characteristics have been dealt with thus early, because they are indisputable signs of true racial fusion; an Arab with a jet-black skin must have some physical relationship to the negro: no other explanation is possible. But this is not the case with civilization, whether material or intellectual, which is communicable without the fusion of races. And so

we are confronted with a further series of problems, increasing the difficulty and the uncertainty of our investigations. This is, relatively speaking, not so much the case with the second great group of racial marks, namely, languages. To put language in the foreground as the distinguishing feature of a race would be to exaggerate its importance: Africa is proof enough of the fact that the distribution of a language more often hides than reveals the truth concerning the race using it. However, from an investigation into the African languages we may expect to gain much information upon the obscure past of this continent.

First and foremost, philology teaches us one great fact, that the Nigritic populations as a whole are connected by the common tie of language. All the races that live south of a certain line (with the exception of the utterly different Hottentots and Bushmen) speak the Bantu languages, which are very closely related to one another, and are to be distinguished by special characteristics from the other great families of languages in the world. This line begins on the Atlantic coast about the old northern boundary of the German Kamerun, then continues in an easterly direction to the Victoria Nyanza, leaving the States of Unyoro and Uganda on the south. In East Africa itself the line has been much broken as the result of recent migrations; however, Bantu peoples are found as far north as Tana.

From the special group of Bantu-speaking races, we are obliged to exclude the negroes of the Sudân and also those of the Guinea coast. Though the languages of these negroes do not belong to any one family, we must, however, consider them as the second great division of the African races. It is thus obvious that a division upon purely philological principles would be erroneous. In vain have investigators attempted by emphasising certain presumed physical differences to show a sharp line of demarcation between the Bantus and the remaining negro races; the fact cannot be denied that, anthropologically, the pure negro of Guinea and of the Sudân is inseparably connected with the Bantus. If this fact is not strongly emphasised, the whole foundation of African pre-history will appear in a false light.

None the less, the distribution of the languages of Africa is a matter of high importance for the history of the continent. For the extension of the Bantu languages is undoubtedly the result of a long period of development and of important historical events.

Any one who examines dispassionately the present condition of such uncivilized races as those, for example, of Australia, will recognise that we have to admit the multiplicity of primitive languages as the first step in our investigation; within small and isolated races, there is a constant tendency to form separate dialects. Hence we may assume that in African antiquity a large number of different languages were in use. The last stages of this state of affairs are now apparent in the distribution of the languages on the coast of Guinea and in part of the Sudân. Upon the great table-land to the south a change gradually set in, the process of which is in close connection with long wars, displacements, and fusions of the inhabitants of that district. In course of time, one people imposed its language upon all the others; but who were that people, and how can we picture the whole process to ourselves?

We are helped to the answer to the second of these questions by an important fact, which shows us that those forces which brought about the spread of the Bantu languages are at work elsewhere in Africa at the present day, and with very similar results: in the Western Sudân a district of uniform language is being

formed, and we are in a position to follow the process of formation very closely. Here it is the Hausa language which is gradually defeating and overpowering the other tongues, so that it is already predominant over a large part of the Western Sudân, and is yet further extended as the language of commercial intercourse. At this very moment, the people known as the Hausa are a motley mixture sprung from different sources, and their language is the sole tie which makes them a unity and enables them to extend their influence. "We come," says P. Standinger, "to the conclusion that the present (Hausa) population is a union of the most diverse elements and that we have here to do with a mixed race. Different races constantly appear as we change the site of our inquiries. . . . In spite of this, the real Hausa race has the power of bringing about a great fusion of races and of imposing its language and manners upon the peoples living under its rule." But the same investigator also informs us that the newly formed unity is again beginning to fall asunder into separate dialects.

In like manner we must conceive the process of extending the Bantu languages, though with one great difference necessitated by the lack of civilization in Central and Southern Africa: the Bantu dialects must have been spread more by military conquest than by peaceful trading. Such a process must have involved great disturbances. It is not, however, necessary to suppose that the original Bantu-speaking race overran, subdued, and colonised the whole district. The whole process may have been carried out very slowly, lasting through thousands of years: in many cases, peoples may have helped to spread the Bantu languages who had themselves received it from others, and in this way the tongues may have been passed from race to race in the most varied way. From this point of view the linguistic uniformity of Central Africa may be considered as the result of opposition to those seething movements of the outer world which for a very long period form the history of Africa and are a consequence of that lack of obstacles to communication which is characteristic of the whole continent. Sir Harry Johnson is inclined to place the primal home of the Bantu race in the district of the Upper Ubangi and the lakes at the sources of the Nile, and supposes the migratory movement to have begun some three thousand years ago, almost contemporaneously with the first attempts of the Semites at colonisation in North and East Africa.

Language is part of man's intellectual civilization, and as it is certainly the most important foundation for all further progress, so it is the most useful of all aids to the investigation of the beginnings of history. But the conceptions and relations implied by this intellectual achievement are of infinite abundance, and every one of these ought to be individually noted, for they promise important results to the inquirer who turns to examine them. Not only have we to deal with mythology and legend, but also and in equal degree, with social conditions, with manners and customs, with the general knowledge possessed by separate races and the connection of this with the beginnings of poetry and art. But it is indeed difficult to gain any personal knowledge of these intellectual achievements: we cannot test them immediately for ourselves; we can but see with the eyes of those who have been fortunate enough to gain a more intimate knowledge of the life of different peoples, and we are always confronted with the danger of being led astray by our informant, or of misunderstanding a vague narrative. Thus a fruitful sphere of inquiry is almost entirely closed to us, and many a well-meaning effort to treat the subject comprehensively has produced confusion instead of enlightenment. The

material products of civilization are much more likely to furnish a secure standpoint for investigation; unfortunately, examples of primitive workmanship are scarce. And even though it were impossible to arrive at a conclusion in individual cases, with the help of ethnological criticism, yet there is no immediate prospect of writing the history of African civilization, though this is an indispensable preliminary to the production of a history in the narrower sense of the word.

For the moment two indications only may be given. The great uniformity of the dark races brought about by natural conditions is especially noticeable in their social relations. Village communities and village States have now taken the place of the local units of society, the tribe and family; and the totemism which is closely connected with tribal life has left but few traces behind it. Hence hereditary chiefs rule in the place of patriarchs, usually surrounded by a kind of State council, a survival from the old constitution. The second important point is that West Africa, including the Congo basin, forms a special area of civilization, distinguished in many respects from the rest of the continent. This fact, which has been definitely proved by the extensive researches of L. Frobenius, is best referred to the circumstances that the West is a distinctive area of mattock agriculture, whereas cattle-breeding predominates in other districts. Accordingly, in West Africa we find a preference for the use of vegetable materials, in the rest of Africa for animal products. Compare the fabrics woven of grass and palm fibre in the West with the leathern coverings of other districts; compare the shields of wood and cane with those of skin, the bowstrings of vegetable fibre with the strings of animal sinew. Many other peculiarities, such as the secret societies and masks, which are not found in the rest of Africa, have been retained or developed in the West, which is less open to foreign immigration.

2. THE HOTTENTOTS AND DWARF PEOPLE

In writing the history of an entire continent, which may be considered primarily as a geographical whole, the different subdivisions of the subject will naturally be made upon geographical principles, in other words, locality and not ethnological peculiarity will give the point of departure in each case. We propose to continue our work as far as possible upon this principle, and if at the outset we temporarily abandon it in order to deal with a special family of peoples, if we bring races into connection, some of whom are situated in the west of South Africa, others in the Congo basin, others on the East African lakes and in the interior of the Kamerun and Gabun coast, then we must justify this departure from our method by sufficient reasons. The truth is that by force of circumstances we are now confronted with deep and comprehensive problems, which can only be properly examined in connection with one another; and as, besides, these problems immediately concern the early history of the continent, we make no excuse for placing the discussion of them at the outset of our historical narrative.

South Africa itself has certainly been inhabited from a very early period. Proofs of this fact are found in the numerous traces of an ancient population, such as the stone weapons, some examples of which remind us of the stone clubs of New Guinea; to these we may add the heaps of mussel shells and kitchen refuse on the coast. The attempt has been made to divide the Stone Age of South Africa

into two periods. Unfortunately it is at present impossible to show a connection between the objects brought to light by discovery and the utensils in present use, and therefore it remains uncertain whether these remains have been left to us by the ancestors of the present inhabitants of South Africa or by other races.

Like the steppes and deserts of North Africa, this arid southern point of the continent, lying in the temperate zone, was inhabited by a fair people, in many respects dissimilar to the negroes; this people was driven out by European settlers or modified by cross-breeding. Two racial groups can here be distinguished, the nomadic Hottentots and the Bushmen, who are wandering hunters. Both are easily distinguishable: the Hottentot is of medium stature, the Bushman dwarfish. Their languages appear at first to be related, but display many points of difference, as also do their respective attainments in civilization. However, their relationship can be confidently asserted upon anthropological grounds. It can be seen in the formation of the head, in the fair colour and rugosity of the skin, and in other points of similarity (obesity, Hottentot aprons; cf. p. 414) and in the number of clicks used in their respective languages.

In modern times, light-skinned dwarf races have been discovered at numerous points of Central Africa, usually dwelling in the seclusion of the primeval forests, and, like the Bushmen, belonging to such primitive types as "garbage-eaters," "hunters of small game," or "unsettled peoples." In respect of language, most of them have adopted the Bantu speech of the neighbours round them; but their anthropological characteristics, to which may be added, in the case of the Akka, who have been more carefully examined than any others, the rugosity of the skin, leave no room for doubt that we have here also relations of the Bushmen and Hottentots, and that consequently the fair South African races and the dwarf peoples belong to a common race.

When we find part of a race sundered from the main body by the interposition of other tribes and races, we may be certain that we have before us the results of important historical events, though this bare result does not provide us with any explanation of the manner of its occurrence. This disruption, of which the dwarf peoples are so conspicuous an example, may have been brought about by a variety of causes, any one or several of which might have accomplished the present result. All that we can see is that migrations and disturbances of population must have taken place, in which the scattered peoples may have played either a passive or an active part. When a wave of conquering peoples sweeps forward, and overruns territory already in the possession of another race, it may easily occur that remnants of the conquered are left in the inaccessible parts of the country, while the main body is driven forth to seek new habitations elsewhere. Such occurrences are frequent enough in Africa. But colonisation is another and by no means unexampled form of development. Friendly parties advance into neighbouring territory which is but sparsely populated, and found new settlements, which are thus scattered about in the midst of a strange people, their dispersion being brought about by a voluntary act of immigration. The unsettled hunting tribes and pariahs are especially inclined to this kind of immigration. Within historical times, Europe has reluctantly received those Indian pariahs, the gypsies; and more recently in Norway we see the reindeer-breeding Lapps advancing southward among the settlements of the Norwegian peasants, notwithstanding their somewhat inhospitable reception.

A. The Settlements and Mode of Life of the Hottentots and Dwarf Peoples in Historical Times

In order to understand the course of the early history of the Hottentots and dwarf peoples, we must briefly examine their settlements and mode of life, as they appeared when European inquiry first shed light upon them.

At the time of their discovery, the Hottentots, or Koi-koin as they call themselves, inhabited most of the modern Cape territory. Upon the east, fronting the Kaffir territory, the Kai (Kei) River formed their boundary. Further northward the Hottentot district extended in an easterly direction to the western part of the "Orange Free State." Even at that period scattered tribes lived north of the Orange River in Lüderitzland (German Southwest Africa) so that no definite northern boundary of the race can be fixed. The people that dwelt in these districts were shepherds by profession, rich in cattle, sheep, and goats, knowing nothing of agriculture or pottery-making, though well acquainted with the art of smelting and forging iron.

It was quite otherwise with the Bushmen, or San. Their districts partly corresponded with those of the Hottentots, for little bands of nomad Bushmen wandered about almost everywhere among the Hottentot settlements, in some cases carrying on the profession of cattle-breeding, though they were more generally hated and persecuted as robbers and cattle-stealers (see the plate facing this page, "Bushman Drawings"). Similarly upon the east of the steppe district to the bordering mountain ranges, San tribes mingled with the South African negroes, especially with the Bechuanas. The Kalahari Desert as far as Lake Ngami is pure Bushman territory. The Bushmen are an unsettled people, collecting the poor possessions of their homes by constant wanderings, hunting the game upon the plains, and also spoiling the herds of the shepherd tribes, and in later times of the European settlers, low in the scale of civilization, but extremely hardy and simple in their wants.

Races similar to the Bushmen are also found further north. We may mention first the Mucassequere (Mucassiquere), a light-coloured race of hunters, living in the woods in the interior of Benguela, near the negro Ambuella, though they do not approach or mingle with this agricultural people. As regards their mode of life, physical characteristics, and civilization, they are very similar to the real Bushmen.

The dwarf peoples in the narrow sense of the term inhabit a broad zone stretching obliquely through Central Africa, which corresponds very nearly with the area of the dense forest, and is only interrupted where the forest is replaced by the more open savannah land. In East Africa there is one remarkable exception in the tribes of the Wanege and Wassandani, first discovered and described by Oscar Baumann. The Wanege are a hunting people of diminutive stature, wandering over the plains to the south of the Eyassi Lake; but the Wassandani, a name which perhaps re-echoes the national title of San, are a branch of the race which has settled in one spot. Both tribes speak a special language of their own, full of clicks, and utterly unlike the Bantu dialects, but in other respects, especially in their form of civilization, they have been greatly influenced by their environment. Yet in such matters as their burial customs they strongly remind us of the customs in use among the Hottentots.

BUSHMAN DRAWINGS

EXPLANATION OF THE BUSHMAN DRAWINGS OVERLEAF

"From South Africa to the heart of Central Africa," says Emil Holub, "no race has developed such great and profound artistic skill in stone-working as the Bushmen. They spent their idle hours stone-carving, with tools of stone, and decorated the primeval simplicity of their dwellings with the results, which are clear evidence of their artistic feeling, and will long outlive any memorials which other races living in these districts have left behind." Wherever Bushmen now live or have previously settled, their drawings are to be found, on the boulders lying in the road, at the entrances to their caves, or on sheer precipices, and such settlements are found from the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope and in the whole of Cape Colony far beyond the Orange River. These rock pictures surpass those of the Indians and Australians in extent, in variety, and in cleverness of execution. As in Australia they are either painted on the hard rock in red or light brown ochre, black and white being also used, or have been scratched out upon soft rock of a dull colour by means of a harder stone, being deepened within their outlines, or else have been chiselled in hard stone. Of individual figures those most frequently met with are drawings of African animals, such as ostriches, elephants, giraffes, rhinoceroses, quaggas, baboons, and different kinds of antelopes, including also tame cattle and in later times horses and dogs. Men are also depicted, the different figures of Bushmen, Kaffirs, and whites being clearly characterised. Thousands of animal pictures are found side by side. The same animal is often reproduced in rows by the same hand countless times over, as though for practice; men and animals are often conjoined in representations of hunting and fighting, expeditions for war and plunder.

The picture which Andree's publication has made famous (Fig. 1, reduced one-half natural size) was copied by H. Dieterlen of the Paris "Société des Missions Évangéliques" in a cave a mile and a half distant from the mission station of Hermon: the Bushmen have stolen a herd of cattle from the Kaffirs; the dappled cattle of various colours are being driven off by three Bushmen to the left; the Kaffirs, armed with shields and assegais, are rushing after the robbers, some of whom turn to overwhelm their enemies with a hail of poisoned arrows. How clearly is the contrast marked between the tall, dark Kaffirs and the short, light-coloured Bushmen! How well the running gait of the cattle is characterised! With what life-like vigour is the whole incident conceived! Light, shade, and perspective is, however, wholly to seek here, as also in the drawings of the Australians. All other pictures of this kind that have been copied or have reached Europe confirm us in the belief that the remarks of Thomas Joseph Hutchinson and Karl Gotthilf Büttner upon the perspective of Bushmen drawings have been founded upon a misconception. The pictures of individual animals, painted silhouette fashion, are depicted in sharp profile. Those which Holub has placed in the Vienna Museum (Figs. 2–4) and those which have been added to the Carlsruhe collection are enough to confirm this opinion.

Unfortunately the number of travellers who have taken an interest in the subject has been but small; and it can be easily understood that the Boers do not display much intelligence in the matter. When Gustav Fritch was anxious to see similar Bushman drawings at Key-Poort (cf. Fig. 5) he could obtain no information about their locality from a Boer settler in the neighbourhood, and was obliged to apply to an intelligent Kaffir. As regards the age of these drawings, nothing can be said with certainty. It would be rash to suppose that such pictures as contain no representation of Europeans or of European domestic animals are antecedent to European entry into the country; that is, earlier than the seventeenth century, the others being later than that period. We need not suppose that the Bushmen were compelled to immortalise the figures of Europeans and of European animals the moment that they caught sight of them! Moreover, it was a considerable time before the Europeans advanced far enough from their early settlements in Table Bay to come into close contact with the Bushmen living in the interior.

(After Karl Woerman, "Die Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker," Vol. I; Richard Andree, "Das Zeichnen bei den Naturvölkern," in Vol. XVII of the "Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien;" Friedrich Ratzel, "Völkerkunde," First Edition, Vol. I. Cf. also Heinrich Schurtz, "Urgeschichte der Kultur.")

Robert Needham Cust is inclined to consider other East African tribes as remnants of a former Bushman population, such, for instance, as the Wanena, at the northern extremity of Lake Nyassa, a tribe described by Joseph Thomson, and also the Wandorobbo (cf. p. 454), a hunting people living near and in subjection to the Masai, and the helot tribe, subject to the Galla, the Wasania, a name which again recalls the word San. In any case, many East African tribes, though not of pure San blood, have intermingled with Bushman peoples.

At the same time, it has been shown that there are in equatorial Africa tribes of the Bushman type who hunt in the plains and are not entirely confined to the forests; the dwarf peoples have also been found beyond the forest zone in the lake district by Franz Stuhlmann. But the larger portion of the dwarf race appears to cling to the forest, and has entirely conformed to this environment. In some cases they are in subjection to their agricultural neighbours, or to a certain extent upon common terms with them. Here and there a complete fusion has taken place, the traces of which are still visible. But in no case do the dwarfs form tribal communities of themselves, for their character does not incline them to this course, and still less does their mode of life. They draw their sustenance from the resources of wide poverty-stricken districts, and thus tend invariably towards isolation.

Of these dwarf peoples the first group is that on the northeast, the Akka, known to us by the explorations of George Schweinfurth (see Fig. 2 of the plate, "The Most Successful Explorers of Africa," facing p. 494). They live about the sources of the Welle or Ubangi, and spreading southward form a junction with the dwarf inhabitants of primeval forest on the Aruwimi, where Henry Morton Stanley (see the same plate, Fig. 4) first discovered them; in fact, dwarf population of unusual density appears to inhabit the country from the Upper Aruwimi to the western lakes at the source of the Nile, while scattered colonies only are found further south as far as Tanganyika.

A second great group is that of the Watwa or Batwa, in the southern part of the Congo basin, especially in the district of the Baluba; they were first described by Hermann von Wissmann and Paul Pogge (1839–1884). Lastly, the third group inhabits the rainy forests which cover the rising ground from the coast to the West African table-lands, that is to say, the Kamerun and Gabun interior. Olfert Dapper has observed that dwarfs were kept at the court of Loango; they belonged to a forest tribe known as the Bakke-Bakke, or Mimos. Later observers, and chiefly Paul Belloni du Chaillu, discovered this diminutive people in their dwelling places, such as the Obongo or Akkoa, in the Gabun district, a tribe more carefully examined by Oscar Lenz. According to Richard Kurd, people of extraordinarily small stature inhabit the primeval forest district behind the Batanga coast, not living in settlements as village communities, but existing in the woods by hunting. If, as is said, they really were the makers of the paths in the forests, the fact goes to show that they inhabited the country before the negro tribes. In their own language they are called Bojaeli, but are known by the other peoples as Baüec, and are despised as being an inferior race. They avoid all communication with other races, and only go among them to exchange the spoils of their hunting for powder and guns. It is noteworthy that the name "Akka" often recurs under different forms as a cognomen for the dwarf peoples. To the names Akkoa and Bakke-Bakke above mentioned, we may add the name Tu-Jake, which is applied to the Batwa among the Baluba upon the south.

Apparently there is another dwarf people, the Doko, living in the forest district south of Kaffa, that is, north of Lake Rudolf, in East Africa. Although their existence, or at any rate their relationship with the Akka and Batwa has not as yet been definitely proved, there is no reason to doubt the veracity of the native accounts of them which Johann Ludwig Kraff (1810–1881) has collected. At the present time the Doko seem to be the most northerly outpost of the African pygmies.

B. Conclusions regarding the Prehistoric Period

Our knowledge of the racial movements up to the period of present-day discovery clearly shows us that the fair-skinned races of South Africa as a whole, together with the dwarfs, are on the downward grade, or at best are merely holding their own. In the seventeenth century the Hottentots retreated to the Fish River before the Kaffir invasion, and the remnants of Hottentot races left in Natal showed how large a district had even previously been taken from them by the energetic Kaffir race. The dwarf peoples found their territory greatly diminished by the advance of agricultural tribes who penetrated into the primeval forests. Many of them were absorbed by intermarriage with their numerous negro neighbours. Thus, in a general sense at least, the problem of the disruption of this racial group is solved; their early unity was broken by the advance of other peoples; they are the remnants of a population, at one time of wide distribution, which inhabited Central and Southern Africa.

We must, however, be careful not to push too far the conclusions drawn from these facts. The negroes have their rights to the soil of Africa, and are not to be looked upon as intruders. If we consider the diminutive races without prejudice, we recognise that they are a nomadic, hunting people whose mode of life is enough to prevent their ever becoming a fixed race, although they certainly display an inclination to lead a more or less independent existence on such territory as may be conceded to them near other more advanced peoples. Thus it is incorrect to characterise them straightway as the "original inhabitants" of any district in which they may be found. When they grow to larger numbers than the produce of their hunting can feed, they are forced to move, and exactly like the gypsies, they are undisturbed by the presence of other peoples in their new settlements. Hence, at the present day, it is totally impossible to say with certainty whether negroes or pygmies were the first to settle in a district where both are found. But if we follow our old rule of looking for the early home of a race in the spot where it is to be found in largest numbers and of the purest type, then we may reasonably suppose that the South Africa steppes developed a special race in the dwarfs, and that the characteristics of this race may be easily explained as resulting from the conditions of their first place of settlement. Upon this theory the northern members of this race are merely the remnants left by previous migrations from the South. Like the Bushmen, they have remained hunters with no material wealth, and have simply accommodated themselves to the conditions of their new home, the tropical forests. Into these forests they were driven back almost without exception, when the negroes became an agricultural people and occupied all the ground available for cultivation; with such resources their numbers naturally increased far more rapidly than those of the dwarfs, who had to rely upon nature's bounty. The process of expulsion was not carried out without a struggle.

It is very probable that we have a reference to this conflict in the legends of antiquity which tell of the wars between the pygmies and the cranes, mentioned by Homer (Iliad, III, 6); in fact, the ancients placed the land of the pygmies at the sources of the Nile, where the dwarfs are the most numerous at the present day, surrounded by mixed peoples whose existence is sufficient evidence for the further extension of the pygmies in earlier times. By the cranes were probably meant the tall inhabitants of the Nilotic swamps, of whom the Dinka are the most important surviving branch. Here we have one of the rare cases in African history where we can retrace the changing fortunes of a people for thousands of years.

By the adoption of this simple theory, we avoid a large number of the difficulties which confront those writers who are rash enough, upon the evidence we have given, to infer a close connection between the fair races of South Africa, and the Hamites of North Africa. Charles Richard Lepsius has attempted to support this theory with linguistic arguments, a praiseworthy effort, though by no means convincing in all its details; the theory has been tenaciously held, and a migration or invasion of Hamites from the north to the south of the continent has been conjectured, upon no other evidence than the peculiar position of the Hottentots among the fair races and the dwarfs of South Africa. Whereas the dwarfs are obviously an unsettled race of hunters, the Hottentot is no less obviously a cattle-breeder and the products of his civilization are comparatively rich. Thus it is perfectly clear that he must have brought these products with him from the North.

This conclusion is absolutely contradicted by the results of comparative ethnology, which must ultimately decide the matter. The truth is that as far as the products of civilization are concerned, all South African shepherd peoples, Hottentots as well as negroes, form one whole, or are at any rate very nearly related. A few examples will make this plain.

The clothing of the Hottentots and the Bantu peoples of South Africa, especially their chief garment, the kaross, is entirely similar in the two groups of peoples. The wooden vessels of the Hottentots, in the manufacture of which they show great dexterity, resemble those of the Kaffirs so closely in shape and ornamentation as to be easily confused with them. The same remark applies to their musical instruments. Both races breed the same animals and upon very similar principles. Both understand the art of forging iron. The civil constitution of the Hottentot races corresponds to that of the neighbouring negroes in its main details.

Now, as all these implements and institutions are nowhere to be found among the Bushmen, we may reasonably conclude that the higher civilization of the Hottentots has been derived from the neighbouring negro races, especially the Kaffirs. If this transference of civilization followed upon an infusion of negro blood, we have a complete explanation of the anthropological difference between Hottentot and Bushman, and in particular, of the greater stature of the Hottentot. Moreover, in East Africa a small admixture of Semitic blood may not be wholly inconceivable. At the same time, the Hottentots have not merely taken what the Kaffirs had to give; they also exerted an influence in their turn. Certain figures of Kaffir mythology are undoubtedly derived from Hottentot legends, as is proved by the phonetic changes of words; the custom of mutilating the fingers for superstitious reasons arose in this way, for, as generally, when two races come into

contact, the weaker is often considered as possessing greater magical powers, and thus influences the intellectual life of the stronger.

On the other hand, the point which differentiates the Hottentots from the cattle-breeding negro races is not any one characteristic, a repetition of which may be sought in far North Africa and West Asia; it is a point of primal and original difference, the features common to Hottentot and Bushman. Above all, the Hottentot is not a cultivator, like the Kaffir; he procures his scanty vegetable diet as the Bushman does, by grubbing up edible roots with a stone-weighted stick; again, he has lost none of his passion for the chase, by which he often procured his chief food-supply, as, like most nomads, he could rarely bring himself to slaughter one of his cattle. His weapons combine the arsenal of the Bushman and the Kaffir. The great intellectual characteristic of the race, a fatal and yet invincible carelessness, makes the final link of the chain uniting Hottentot and Bushman, and has been handed down to him from his unsettled and uncultured ancestors, who abandoned their destinies to the sport of chance and accident.

C. The Fate of the Hottentots as apparent in History

The transformation of the Hottentots to a shepherd people probably took place in East Africa; perhaps the relatively better physical development of the race may be explained by their stay in this more fruitful district. The Bantu peoples who first instructed them, soon drove them out. Even within historical times, remnants of the Hottentots were to be found in Natal (cf. above, p. 422), though the larger part of the race were then living beyond the Kai River and were soon forced back as far as the Great Fish River. The Hottentots retreated in some cases northward across the Orange River, while others invaded the western part of the Cape: this district, previous to these migrations, had been in the possession of the Bushmen, who even at the time of European colonisation were wandering about the country in numerous bands, and were constantly involved in bloody wars with the Hottentots.

Such were the respective conditions of the Hottentots and Bushmen when the first Dutch colonists set foot upon South African soil (1602). These formidable European adversaries now appeared upon their western flanks, while in the East the Kaffirs continued their advance, inflexibly, though for the most part in peaceful fashion.

Before the year 1652, when Jan van Riebeck founded a Dutch settlement in Table Bay, the Hottentots had only come into temporary and generally hostile contact with Europeans. The first Portuguese viceroy of India, Don Francesco d'Almeida, had paid with his life for a landing on the Cape at Saldanha on March 1, 1510. Misunderstandings also took place with the new settlers (Boers), which speedily resulted in open war (1659). Gradually the Dutch succeeded in driving back their opponents, employing upon occasion discreditable methods. The fickleness of the Hottentots and the hostility of the separate tribes proved the best allies of the Dutch; thus in the year 1680 a war broke out between the Namaqua (cf. p. 425) and the Griqua, in which the latter were defeated and sought the protection of the colonists.

The history of the war between the Hottentots and the Dutch settlers is not rich in striking events; the Hottentots were not destroyed at one blow; we see

them gradually retreating and dwindling in a manner more suggestive of fusion and absorption than of extermination. But as the Hottentots retired, and the settlers with their flocks advanced, a new enemy appeared, who considered the Dutch cattle quite as well worth plundering as those of the native shepherd tribes; the Bushmen (*bosjesmans*) did not vanish as rapidly as the Hottentots, in whose territories they had lived as predatory, hated enemies, but maintained their ground. They soon brought upon themselves the hatred of the colonists. The Dutch had their dealings with the Hottentots, and lived on peaceful terms with them from time to time; but a ruthless war of extermination was waged against the Bushmen. Thus in a comparatively short time the fate of these related peoples was decided in the Cape itself: the Hottentots were reduced to poverty, their unity was broken, and they intermingled more and more with the settlers; whereas the Bushmen were exterminated or driven northward across the Orange River.

The attention of the colonists was soon directed to new and formidable opponents, the Kaffirs, with whom they had already come in contact in the interior for the first time in the year 1688. Relations between the Hottentots and Kaffirs at that period seem to have been tolerably friendly, although the latter had in no way checked their onward movement, and some bodies had already appeared beyond the Sunday River. The consequence of this peaceful immigration was the formation of a mixed race of Kaffirs and Hottentots upon the frontier line. In the year 1737 began the first hostile collisions of Kaffirs and Dutch which are of importance in relation to the history of the Hottentots, in so far as the uncertainty of their position upon the frontier led to the junction of Hottentot bands or tribes, who maintained their independence for some time by force of arms; moreover, the Hottentot-Kaffir race, the Gonaqua, which was settled in this district, was comparatively powerful and independent. Thus about 1780, the chieftain Ruyter succeeded in collecting a following upon the Fish River and resisting all attacks for some time; similarly the brothers Stuurman maintained their independence for a considerable period about 1793. The names of these leaders plainly indicate that these were not movements of pure blooded Hottentots.

Meanwhile the Dutch supremacy collapsed, and in 1795 England first seized the Cape on the absorption of Holland by France, an occupation to become permanent by 1806. During the English period, the Cape Hottentots have no further historical importance, though they performed useful service in the employment of the government during the different Kaffir wars; the Bushmen had been almost exterminated. The Hottentots who still survived in the Cape were mainly concentrated in the different reservations; the largest of these in Fort Beaufort district was originally founded as an outwork against the Kaffir invasions. But in the North, a portion of the race remained independent for nearly a century, an age of long and not inglorious struggle.

Here, to the north of Cape Colony, lived the Namaqua (Naman, Nama); the greater part of the race was settled south of the Orange River, although, even at the time of the discovery, they extended as far north as the heights of Angra Pequena. Whether they were then attempting to extend their area, or were remaining quietly within their territory, is not known. The southern part of the race had come into contact with the Dutch as early as 1661, had quickly lost their language and distinctive character, and received a considerable infusion of European blood; the

northern group, on the contrary, were hardly affected by these influences. This nation was constantly molested by the Dutch upon the south, and became vigorously aggressive, finding an energetic leader in the chieftain Christian Jager. Christian made attacks and marauding expeditions both north and south; when the Korana-Hottentots moved down the Orange River in the last decade of the eighteenth century, and entered the territory of his race, he drove them back with great slaughter. The weakest resistance which he experienced was that offered on the north, where the shepherd tribe of the Herero (Ova-Hérero) were situated; they were now plundered and reduced to slavery by the Hottentots. The marauding expeditions of the Namaqua extended to Ovamboland and beyond the Cunene; the tribe had been gradually transformed into a mobile nation of riders.

The rule of Jonker Afrikaner, a son of Christian (1836–1862), is marked by continuous warfare and plundering; he completely subjugated the Herero, and at Windhoek and Okahándja he ruled over Nama, Damara, and (from 1861) Ondónga-Ovambo. Under his successor Christian, this dominion almost entirely collapsed. The Herero were incited to take up arms by the Swedish traveller Karl Johan Andersson, whose leg was broken in 1864 in one of these "battles;" Christian was killed in the course of this struggle. But the Hottentot supremacy received its severest blow under Christian's brother Jan Jonker Afrikaner, when the most powerful of the Herero chiefs, Ka-Mahárero (Kamaherero), the son of Ka-Tjamuaha, procured supplies of arms and ammunition and fought against the Namaqua with general success. Then it was that the German missionaries (especially Hugo Hahn) made their influence felt; in 1870 they succeeded in bringing about a peace at Okahándja, providing that for the future Jan Jonker should retain Windhoek as his capital, and should cease all hostilities against the Herero. However, Jan Jonker did not long keep peace, for the peculiar nature of the communistic property-tenure which prevailed upon the frontier-land made friction almost inevitable; a new war broke out, and on this occasion Jan Jonker was so utterly beaten that his power was completely broken.

It was now plain that only the interference of a stronger power could put a stop to these continual wars. Hardly had Jan Jonker disappeared from the scene, when a new enemy to the Herero appeared in the person of Moses Witbooi, who again troubled the land for another series of years. He was no more successful than his predecessor in thoroughly subduing the Herero; on the contrary, he suffered several serious defeats, and lost the position of leader to the forces of the race, his place being taken by his son. This man, Hendrik Witbooi, was an even more restless personality, a fanatic who succeeded in raising his followers to the heights of enthusiasm by inspiring them with his mystical semi-religious ideas. Here we have one of those many cases which are to be noticed in other parts of the world, in which the propaganda of Christianity produce unlooked-for effects upon the natives. However, his marauding expeditions were checked in course of time, first by the vigorous resistance of the Herero, and later by the interference of the German government. In the year 1884 Hendrik Witbooi undertook an expedition into the district of the Herero, just at the time when the Germans were making their first attempts at colonisation upon the coast; when he returned in 1885 he suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of the Herero, and at the same time Kamaherero placed himself under German protection. A troublesome period of confusion and weakness then ensued, and after the death of Kamaherero (1890),

Witbooi's invasions were pressed with greater ferocity; he made his fortress of Hornkranz the base for these operations, until, in the usual manner of European intervention, Germany advanced in force, stormed Hornkranz on April 12, 1893, and at length forced Hendrik Witbooi to surrender unconditionally on the 9th of September, 1894, — occurrences which properly belong to the history of German colonisation.

The Bergdamara were also involved in all these struggles. They inhabit Damaraland together with the Herero, and may have been settled there with the Bushmen before the arrival of their present neighbours. They are best considered as a mixed Hottentot-negro people, which has preserved but few traces of its origin, displaying similarity to the negro in appearance, and to the Hottentot in language, while their mode of life reminds us of the Bushmen. They never appeared in the Hottentot wars as an independent power, but were always employed as auxiliary troops.

Beside the Namaqua, two other Hottentot races are worthy of mention, the Korana and the Griqua, who settled in the north of the Cape and north of the Orange River. The Korana, who originally dwelt in the interior, did not come into contact with Europeans until a late period, although they had long shown a tendency to extend the area of their nomadic existence in a southerly direction. The advance of the colonists threw them back upon their old settlements on either side of the Middle and Upper Orange River, where they were more closely confined as time went on; they made an attempt to extend their territory down stream, but were defeated with great slaughter by the Namaqua. Since that time, the people has been broken up into numerous small tribes and is in a state of hopeless disruption.

As the Namaqua had migrated northward, so the Griqua, a race with a strong infusion of European blood (cf. p. 424), retreated northward to avoid the pressure of the advancing colonists. They were composed of the remnants of various tribes, one of which had finally (1813) given its name to the whole. One portion of them, now simply known as Bastaards, remained behind in the Karroo Mountains. The main body, under the leadership of their chieftain Adam Kok, a liberated negro slave from the coast of Mozambique, crossed the Orange River in 1810 a little below its junction with the Vaal, and founded a "Free State." In the year 1820 the Griqua were living in three races under the two Koks and Berend, in a district extending from Daniel's Kuyl to the Riet River. When Nicholas Waterboer was elected in Griquatown in 1822, many Griqua withdrew and joined other races; a second exodus under Buys moved toward the mountains on the frontier of Cape Colony, and produced the "Bergenaers." In 1826, Adam Kok's Griqua, supported by numerous reinforcements from Namaqualand and elsewhere, went to the Bushman colony of Philippolis, which had been devastated by the Kaffirs. From 1834 the Griqua chiefs were in receipt of British subsidies, and in 1848–1853 the people were under British suzerainty.

After the recognition of the Orange Free State in 1854, the government of this republic pressed yet harder upon the eastern Griqua, who emigrated in 1862 beyond the Drakensberg to "No Man's Land" in Kaffraria, after several individuals, even before Livingstone's time, and notably in 1859, had attempted to advance further northward in the hope of reaching the Ngami Lake or the Zambesi, undertakings which generally resulted in failure. About this time (1861) the Amapondo chief-

tain Faku, who was threatened by the Kaffirs, resigned his rights in favour of England, who divided such of the territory as was not occupied by the Pondomisi, Baka, and Xesibi inhabitants among the Griquas, Basutos, and Fingos of Adam Kok. This district, of which the capital, Kokstad, still recalls the name of the former leader, was united, in 1876, with Cape Colony, as "East Griqualand."

Meanwhile, the western Griquas, who were divided from their brethren by the lower Vaal River, had also suffered under the continual advance of the Cape Boers, and struggles between Boers and Griquas were of frequent occurrence (for example, in 1843). Finally, on October 27, 1871, England succeeded in persuading Waterboer, the chief, to cede his territory to her, disregarding the protest of the Orange Boers, who appealed to the German emperor; this land had risen enormously in value since the discovery of the diamond fields on the lower Vaal and in Kimberley in 1867–1868. In 1876 the claims of the Transvaal republic were satisfied by a payment of £90,000 (1,800,000 marks), and "Griqualand West" also became a province of Cape Colony.

Everywhere, by slow degrees and diplomatic skill, a peaceful *modus vivendi* was attained for Hottentots and European settlers alike. But the yellow races of South Africa must eventually disappear from history, though their fate may be long delayed. For instance, in 1867 Nicholas Waterboer's Griqua subjects only amounted to a few hundred. Their national existence is being brought to an end, not by bloody extermination, but by constant infusions of European blood.

3. EAST AFRICA

THE huge southern half of the African continent, the home of the negro peoples, is washed by two oceans, the Atlantic on the west and the Indian on the east. As is the character of these seas, so is the development of the peoples upon their shores. For thousands of years the Southern Atlantic was merely a mighty barrier dividing the land of the black races from the isolated American continent. Its coasts were the boundary of the negro-inhabited world, undisturbed by external influences, and equally cut off by natural barriers from the interior of the continent. Far different was the aspect of the sea which beats upon the shores of India and Arabia, which from remote antiquity was illumined by the light of different civilizations; and even though no centre of higher culture arose upon the east coast of Africa itself, yet it lay open to the ever-recurring waves of foreign influence, and sold its products, its ivory, its gold, and its men.

Thus the east is the active side of the African continent, and for that reason alone is worthy of consideration as a whole. It is certain that from the east coast those seeds of civilization were brought to Africa which have passed through their special stages of development in the interior. At this point, contact with the external world was more intimate and permanent than anywhere else in negro Africa. For many of these influences we have historical evidence; others belong to prehistoric times, and it is the task of the ethnologist to decipher the traces which they have left.

But at the outset one extraordinary feature of this district strikes our notice; although East Africa seems to have been saturated with foreign influence, yet it displays no marked superiority over other parts of the continent. In fact the

civilization of the coast-races is remarkably poor. As we look for traces of foreign artistic skill, and listen for echoes from the old Indian and Semitic worlds, we see tribes of miserable negroes living out their little lives as though they had never been touched by any influence of higher civilization. Negro culture does not become flourishing until we penetrate deep into the interior, beyond the great lakes; such foreign influences as can be observed in the immediate neighbourhood of the coast are of modern origin, and of but little service for the explanation of bygone ages. The negro character is little capable of carrying on the work of foreign civilization.

Moreover we have to remember the fact that when foreign civilization is brought into contact with peoples in a low stage of development, its influence may as easily be destructive as stimulating. Civilization must be slowly digested and assimilated, if it is to produce any permanent improvement; it cannot be imposed upon a people by main force. It is for this reason that European culture has worked such irreparable damage and destroyed so many promising growths. It had nothing in common with the indigenous native civilizations with which it came in contact, which could not understand its greatness and to which it therefore remained useless. Every civilized people is, in some sort, a great organism which multiplies its power a thousandfold by means of the division of labour, and tries to give its component members their due share of all production, whether material or intellectual. Every savage people which comes into connection with this mighty engine is incorporated with it, just as a new wheel or piston may be fitted to a machine; it is forced to co-operate as far as it can do so, and it receives its share in the products of the civilization in question. But it speedily becomes apparent that the new addition is not of the same material as the general body politic to which it has been added, that it is quickly worn out and is not steeled and hardened like the rest by assiduous toil. And when a savage race which has been half-civilized by this process breaks off its connection with the rest of the machine, the last state of it is far worse than the first. It has lost the primal virtues and acquired civilized vices.

A similar course of events is now coming to pass in Africa. On every side European cloths, arms, and utensils are being brought into the country and offered to the negro in exchange for the fruits of his oil palms, for the india-rubber of his primeval forests, and for his ivory. This trade implies the extension of native industry and art. Imported textile fabrics are driving out the native leather and woven stuffs; firearms are superseding the weapons which the natives were able to forge for themselves; and the once highly prized native ornaments cannot hold their ground before the traders' glass beads. European wares offer, it is true, some apparent compensation for all this. But suppose all importation to be suddenly stopped; then the African races which we have influenced would be utterly poverty stricken, and reduced to a far lower grade of civilization than that which they had themselves previously reached. They would have the greatest difficulty in recovering their old artistic skill, and would perhaps be forced to seek instruction from neighbours who were once far inferior to themselves. In a few generations, European civilization would certainly have totally disappeared.

These facts enable us to form conclusions as to past epochs, and the problem as to the lack of civilization in East Africa is easily solved. The races in the neighbourhood of the coast were always open to the immediate influence of foreign nations,

and were, so to speak, gorged with civilization. With the inhabitants of the actual seaboard, and the natives of the far interior, the case is somewhat different. The former certainly had their full share of this superabundant civilization; but the exponents of this foreign culture brought them more than material products; they intermarried with them, and formed a new race, differing in many respects from the pure negro. On the other hand, the races of the interior were but slightly affected by the new civilization, and perhaps for this reason were better able to grasp and to assimilate what they received than the inhabitants in the immediate neighbourhood of the coast. Therefore, if we are seeking traces of foreign influence, it will be advisable to pass over East Africa itself, and to examine more closely the interior of the continent.

There is also another reason for the lack of civilization in East Africa. The main portion of the district consists of plains, obstacles to communication are few and far between, and special circumstances upon the north and south favoured the growth of warlike shepherd peoples, bringing destruction upon the lives and property of the agricultural races by their marauding raids; on several occasions they devastated the whole of the broad table-land, and may easily have destroyed any remnants of earlier civilizations. In modern times a similar process may be seen in operation.

Foreign influences, however, are those which we can trace most nearly to their source, and indeed, without some knowledge of the earlier history, we shall be wholly unable to understand the internal development of East Africa.

A. Foreign Influences in Early Times

The most difficult of the problems which confront us, when we examine the working of early influences in East Africa, may be stated thus: Has Malay influence been operative here? It is well known that part of the population of the neighbouring island of Madagascar is of Malay origin, and even in historical times Madagascar pirates often carried off slaves from the East African coast. Great courage and highly skilled seamanship must have been necessary to enable the Malays to cross the Indian Ocean and to repeat this journey with the deliberate intention of colonising Madagascar, for apparently the settlement was not due to some one chance arrival; this being so, it seems obvious that the Malay seamen must have known and visited the coast of the mainland. The only question is, whether they founded settlements there and whether any traces of their influence have remained. The difficulty of finding an answer is increased by our ignorance of the period about which the Malay migrations may have taken place, and moreover, in view of the poverty of East African civilization (cf. p. 428), we are forced to look for these traces in the interior and not upon the coast. As a matter of fact, several striking points are to be found, notably the characteristic distribution of the palm-fibre cloth, which is in use in the Congo basin, sporadically in East Africa and among the Malays of Madagascar; in fact, the art of making this fabric seems to have originated on the other side of the ocean, in Indonesia, and to have been brought from thence to Madagascar. It is by no means inconceivable that the art was learnt from Malay settlers by the inhabitants of East Africa, who passed it on toward the Congo basin, while it largely disappeared in East Africa itself, owing to the pressure of unfavourable circumstances. In that case, we should have at

least one trace which might lead to further results. It may also be mentioned that among the Wasagara the spirits of the dead are called Pepo and the spirit world Peponi, which recalls the widespread Malay-Polynesian expression "Po" for the realm of the dead.

Whether the Malay seafarers circumnavigated the south of Africa and advanced to the west coast, is hard to say. Theodor Waitz has adduced some evidence in favour of the theory, and L. Frobenius has recently attempted to provide a more satisfying foundation for similar hypotheses, but with doubtful success.

We find ourselves on firmer ground when we turn to examine the influence of Indian civilization upon East Africa.

Of all the great civilized peoples of the world, those of nearer India possess the scantiest historical records; absorbed in the elaboration of systems of philosophy and mysticism, they never set any value upon the matter-of-fact point of view or the true relation of events. Thus the attempts at geographical definition made in early Indian times are to our ideas strangely confused with legend, heterogeneous and vague. The world is figured as the sacred lotus flower, floating upon the water. The centre of the flower with the rising pistil is the highland of Asia with the sacred mountain Meru, the Himalaya. The petals are the several countries of the earth, and the first of the largest petals looking southward is India itself, the eastern petal is China, the northern, Central Asia and Siberia, and the western, Iran and the countries to the west. Between these large petals are smaller ones, among them Sanksa, which from its position must be East Africa, and, in particular, Zanzibar.

It appears, in fact, that in ancient times India like China maintained a vigorous intercourse by sea with foreign countries; but when other peoples visited the coasts of India and were themselves encouraged to make the venture of a sea voyage, this commerce declined. We know that Indians settled in Southern Arabia and also upon the island Socotra, which was excellently situated as an intermediate trading station: the name *Dioskorides*, adopted by the Greeks, plainly recalls the Sanskrit name of "the blessed islands." In a word, the Indians were the commercial nation of the Indian Ocean, until the development of Greek and Arabian sea power, which monopolised the trade with its dangers and its profits. The East African coast was certainly visited by Indian ships, and settlements were certainly made there; even later, at the period of Arab influence, we find individual Indians in business upon the coast, attracted thither from their homes by the profits to be made in trade. One fact is certainly well established; in view of the strong caste prejudices of the Indians no infusion of Indian blood worth mentioning could have been made upon the coast of East Africa; even at the present day those Indians who have enriched themselves by trading upon the coast return home almost without exception.

There are other numerous evidences of an early civilization in East Africa. From Somaliland as far southward as Mozambique ruined stone buildings are to be found upon the coast, many of which certainly belong to the period of Portuguese and Arabic supremacy, while the origin of others is yet unexplained. According to Henry O'Neill, this chain of ruins is terminated at Mozambique. But further south, beyond the Zambesi, in the interior of Sofala is a large district containing a large number of extensive ruins, namely, Mashonaland. Vague accounts of these ruins had long been current upon the coast, but Karl Mauch

(1837–1875) was the first European with a scientific training to visit and describe them accurately. Since his day, numerous investigators have devoted themselves to the further examination of these old remains of civilization, the unusual size and solidity of which vividly impress the imagination.

The numbers of the ruins in North Mashonaland cannot even yet be accurately stated. These stone buildings are all of very similar character; in their simplest form they consist of a circular wall, built of hewn stones without mortar, and often displaying some simple ornamentation of straight lines running round their circumference. Usually a second wall surrounds this first circle, and the intervening space is divided into small rooms by partitions. The entrance is guarded by special fortifications, in keeping with the whole character of these buildings, which indicates that the inhabitants lived in a hostile district in a state of continual war. Strong massive towers, the object of which it is difficult to explain, rose here and there (see Fig. 6 in the plate facing this page, "Antiquities of Simbabwe in South Africa"). The ruins are exceptionally poor in objects of civilization: we may mention a few figures of birds and pots of soapstone, iron implements which perhaps belonged to later inhabitants of the ruins, some porcelain, which may have been brought into the interior by Arab merchants, and this is practically all. In old accounts, especially in those of the Arabs, we hear of strange inscriptions on the gates, which were unintelligible to the visitors; such inscriptions have been discovered in modern times, and appear to be of Semitic origin.

There is, however, no doubt about the nature of the attraction which brought the builders of these stone castles so far into the interior. Everywhere in the neighbourhood of the buildings we find smelting furnaces, dross, pieces of ore, and remnants of crucibles, and in many of these fragments are still to be found traces of the yellow shining metal which has been recently discovered in Mashonaland in such surprising abundance, and is bringing a stream of foreign emigrants into the country; there can be no doubt that these old fortresses were built to protect the gold-diggers. So even now forts are rising in Mashonaland to protect the diggers, whose hunger for gold drives them into this district which has hardly as yet been opened up.

Numbers of people have discussed the question, who could have built these ruins. Every nation which could possibly have come into connection with the country has been mentioned,—Phœnicians, Persians, Indians, Jews, Greeks, Egyptians, Arabs, and Malays. We shall not gain certainty upon the question until more inscriptions have been found and deciphered. The greatest importance is to be attached to the poverty of the artistic work. Several of the above-mentioned peoples could not have failed to adorn these settlements which they regarded as permanent at the time with their own characteristic decorations. This consideration at once excludes the Indians, the Egyptians, and the Greeks. The Malays are not to be thought of, and thus the Semitic peoples alone remain, the Phœnicians and the Arabs; a neglect of artistic practice has been characteristic of these races from early times, and reappears in the later decrees of Islam (cf. above, p. 251). Consideration of the geographical position of these two races will show proof in favour of the neighbouring Arabs, especially the Sabæans, and above all the Southern Arabians, who have a long and eventful history behind them. Only the Phœnicians of the earliest period, who were still settled on the shores of the North Indian Ocean, can be considered in comparison.

ANTIQUITIES OF SIMBABWE IN SOUTH AFRICA

(1) Vulture's head; (2) Model of ruins; (3) Oxen; (4) Head of man; (5) Hunt (the hunter is shown as suffering from steatopygia); (6) Round massive tower. (From the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," London, 1892.)

The name Sabæan is perhaps recalled by the river Sabi, near which are situated the most important ruins, especially the famous Simbabwe or Simbabye (see the plate facing page 432). The name of this castle is of Kaffir origin and means simply the chief's house or the residency. As the name continues in use to denote the residence of the greater Kaffir chiefs, the mistaken idea has arisen that the old Simbabwe was inhabited in historical times. The supposition that the biblical Ophir was situated in South Africa was supported with much success by Karl Peters in 1895. According to his view the name of the most important ruined places, Fura, retains an echo from the old land of gold. The neighbouring race of the Makalanga, who are also gold-washers, is said to show unmistakable traces of Semitic influence both in customs and in physique.

Some of the drawings found upon the rocks in the neighbourhood, which strongly remind us of the Bushmen sketches (see the plate facing page 420) and also the figure of a hunter engraved upon a potsherd in which obesity is indicated (see Fig. 3 of the plate facing page 432), give some ground for the presumption that a population of Bushman character was living about the foreign settlers at the time when the ruins were inhabited. It might almost be believed that the old traditions of the gold-collecting arts which are indeed attached to India, refer to the diminutive population of Mashonaland who made a business of collecting gold. The error in the geographical position of the gold mines is by no means unexampled; thus, for instance, Strabo places the pygmies who were attacked by the cranes in India.

The similar condition in which all the ruins have been found invites the supposition that they were besieged and finally stormed by an advancing foe. Thus it would appear that their earlier grandeur was overthrown at one blow.

As regards the question of the Arab settlements of antiquity, we have information from writers who belong to European civilization, namely, the so-called "Periplus of the Erythræan Sea," and the Geography of Ptolemæus. From these sources it appears that in the second century A. D. there were a large number of trading stations upon the east coast of Africa, with which the Arabs maintained a vigorous and profitable trade. It was just at that period that the Arabs began to monopolise the trade by forcing the Egyptian ships to transfer their cargoes to Arab vessels at the exit of the strait of Bab el-Mandeb. It can hardly be doubted that the settlements had been in existence long before that period. The most southerly point known to Ptolemæus was the promontory of Prasum, which he places 16° 25′ latitude south. This would nearly correspond to the latitude of the modern Mozambique. He also mentions Rhapta, which is to be found upon the coast of Zanzibar, corresponding possibly with the modern Pangani, which lies upon the river Rufu as the old town did upon the Rhaptus; or it is to be identified with Kilwa. Further north lay Tonike, Essina, and other trading stations. Our informants have nothing to say of any unusually great export of gold and know nothing of the gold mines and towns of Mashonaland. They lay more stress upon the export of sweet-smelling resin from Northern East Africa. Possibly the Arabs were careful to hide the source of their gold supply; it is equally possible that their domination in Mashonaland had already come to ruin. The latter alternative is supported by an observation in the Arabic chronicle of Kilwa, stating that it was not before the year 1000 A. D. that the people of Makdishu (Magadoxo, Mogadisciu, or Mogdishu; in Italian, Somaliland) rediscovered the gold mines of Sofala and worked them.

As regards later centuries, Arab accounts give somewhat uncertain information. Trade appears to have continued in a flourishing condition, and to have been shared by Indian and at times by Chinese ships. About 908 A. D. Makdishu and Borawa (or Brava) on the Somali coast were founded by Arabs from El Chasa on the Persian Gulf, as also was Kilwa about 975. The islands of Zanzibar and Pemba had been in the hands of the Arabs long before, and even mixed races of Arabs and negroes were to be found on the coast. In the twelfth century we have mention of Malindi (Melinde) and also of Momba; but Kilwa seems to have been predominant for a long period, — probably because it had the monopoly of the gold export, — while Makdishu was of chief importance on the north. Islam was transplanted to Africa at an early date and helped to consolidate the Arab settlements. So when the Portuguese finally raised the veil which shrouded these districts (1500; cf. below, p. 484) we find a number of flourishing Sultanates and rich towns upon the coast, which were in the hands of the Arabs from Sofala as far north as Malindi, while a vigorous communication was kept up by sea between the coasts of East Africa and India.

B. The Kaffirs

(*a*) *Monomotapa.* — Great changes must have taken place in the interior at an early period, concerning which we have only vague accounts; but we may consider as the mediate or immediate result of these the destruction of the castles of Mashonaland and the formation of a powerful State in that district, the famous kingdom of Monomotapa. The founders of the new State were undoubtedly negroes who spoke a Bantu language and still continue to inhabit the district, in short, the Kaffirs. The name of the people is of Arabic origin and means simply "unbelievers;" but as it has been naturalised by use, we are obliged to retain it.

From Masudi's account it appears that the Kaffirs migrated from the North southward and starting from Abyssinian territory finally arrived at Southeast Africa. The extent of these migrations is probably exaggerated. In the tenth century a kingdom of the Zingi (Sendsh) existed in the interior of Sofala; the king could place three thousand warriors in the field, who were mounted upon oxen. The kingdom exported a large amount of slaves, gold, iron, and ivory. Races related to the Sendsh seem to have lived some distance away upon the coast; others who were less civilized lived in the interior and appear from descriptions to have been the ancestors of the Dshagga and Masimba (*vide infra*). The later kingdom of Monomotapa, or more correctly of *the* Monomotapa (the word means "sons of the mines" and is undoubtedly applied to the ruling family) is probably identical with the older state of the Sendsh. The gold of the country, which was also worked by the Kaffirs, gave a splendour to the kingdom of the Monomotapa, which was widely exaggerated by the ancient chroniclers; hence the kingdom was finally represented upon European maps as of fabulous extent.

In modern times two races of the Kaffir people of South Africa can be distinguished, — an older race, which dates back to the original conquest of the district in antiquity, and a younger, warlike race, which, migrating back again from the south, presses upon its peaceful northern relations as well as upon other peoples. The people of Monomotapa belong to the older group, and their descendants now inhabit Mashonaland; for J. Theodore Bent (1827–1897) has shown that the

modern Mashona call themselves Makalanga (cf. above) and therefore bear the same name as the inhabitants of Monomotapa, who were called Mocaranga, as is stated by the great historian of the Portuguese colonies, de Barros (1496–1570). These Mocaranga seem to have imitated the predecessors whom they expelled, and, as numerous ruins show, built strong stone walls round their settlements (Zimbaoë = Simbabwe, Luanza, Massapa, Empongo, and Chicova). The history of the disruption of Monomotapa has been depicted for us by Portuguese chroniclers; about 1600, it was divided into three States, separate provinces which had made themselves independent (Sakumbe, Manu, and Chicova); these States grew weaker and weaker, until in the nineteenth century the Zulus attacked and completely overthrew them. With this event and the advent of the Zulus a new epoch begins in the history of the Kaffir peoples.

(*b*) *Southeast Africa anterior to the Zulu Migrations.* — At the time of the first European arrivals, the southwest of the continent was inhabited exclusively by Hottentots and Bushmen, as we have already seen (cf. pp. 419 and 422); in the southeast the Kaffir peoples were similarly distributed, though after their immigration they had probably absorbed many previous populations and showed many divergencies in respect of language and customs. Moreover, at the period of the early migrations from north to south, individual tribes had diverged upon either hand, as perhaps the Herero in Damaraland, the Mashukulumbe on the Central Zambesi, who had formerly lived around the great lakes and others. To the north of the Lower Zambesi there seems to have been a settlement of Kaffirs mixed with other Bantu tribes.

Among the southern peoples we have first to mention the Bechuanas, who are thought by Gustav Theodor Fritz to have entered the district they now occupy at a later period than the Zulus. Bechuanaland extends from the central part of the Orange River as far north as the Zambesi, although upon the north numerous other tribes have advanced into Bechuana territory, so that the frontier line is indeterminate. Legends of an emigration from the North exist among some of the southern tribes of this people; in civilization they were superior to the Zulus, but far behind them in military powers.

The culture of the Kaffir races, whose settlements extended to the Zambesi, was even higher than that of the Bechuanans. The old civilization of Monomotapa had not entirely disappeared; they were able to manufacture vessels of gold and iron, to weave woollen fabrics and make garments of this material, and they maintained commercial relations with the Portuguese towns upon the coast.

(*c*) *The Xosas and the Zulus.* — After the disruption of the wealthy Monomotapa no other great political organisation came into being, and a conquering race would have found itself confronted by a very feeble opposition. In process of time such a race arose in the person of the southeastern Kaffirs. Our information concerning their internal history is extremely scanty previous to their first collisions with the European settlers; but this is not a serious loss, inasmuch as their great campaigns of conquest, which convulsed Africa as far as the great lakes, were begun at a much later period. Most of the Kaffir races agree in the tradition that they migrated to their territory from the northeast, and the legend is confirmed by the Arab chronicles; these migrations were not simultaneously undertaken, but

were slowly and gradually completed. In the seventeenth century the race of the Xosa Kaffirs (Kosa, Anakosa; 1687: Magose) were living furthest to the south, and had slowly penetrated southward into the Hottentot district. The northern group of the southeast Kaffirs were collectively known as "Zulu" and originally inhabited Natal and its northern coastline; the Swazi, who lived in the district which bears their name, were closely related to them in language.

Before the appearance of Europeans, movements seem to have been going on within the Zulu group, resulting in the absorption of smaller tribes and the formation of stronger racial confederacies. Meanwhile the Xosa had to reckon with the advance of white colonists.

The first victims of the merciless war which afterward began, fell in the year 1736, when a hunting party which had entered the Kaffir territory was murdered. Small skirmishes continued, especially after 1754, without stopping the advance of the colonists, until in the year 1778 the governor of Cape Colony, Von Plettenburg, laid down the boundary line of the Great Fish River. The Kaffirs, however, paid not the smallest attention to this delimitation, which converted a series of marauding expeditions into a formal war; in the year 1780 the first Kaffir war broke out, when a small band of ninety-two colonists and forty Hottentots successfully drove the Kaffirs across the Great Fish River. Internal dissension had broken out among the Kaffirs themselves, and the races which fled across the boundary river had already been defeated and weakened, and were now forced to give way once more. In the following year the disturbances continued; in the years 1795–1796 the chief Dhlambe[1] had a desperate struggle with his nephew Ngqika for the supremacy in the Xosa territory.

In 1797, Ngqika was proclaimed king of all the tribes to the west of the Kei by John Barrow, private secretary to the Earl of Macartney; he remained peaceful during the struggles of the English with the chief Kungwa (died 1811) on Algoa Bay and with Dhlambe on the Great Fish River. In the year 1818 he was driven westward after his defeat on the Amalinde plain on the Chumie River by Dhlambe's party under a man of low rank, the prophet and magician Makanna (Makarna, Makana); but shortly afterwards (1819), before Grahamstown on the Kowie River, Makanna fell into the hands of the colonists he had attacked. The further details of the struggle are closely connected with the development of the Cape, and are reserved until we reach that subject.

Meanwhile, undisturbed by European attacks, a warrior State had arisen among

[1] Palo, chief of the Xosa Kaffirs († about 1770)

- Galeta
- Hahabe (Nababe)
  - Mlan
    - Ngqika (Gaika; 1829 general king)
      - Maquana († 1875 on Robben Island)
      - Sandili
        - Sarili
        - Ganga (Edmund Sandili)
      - Anta
  - Dhlambe (Ndlambe; † about 1828)
    - Mhala

the Zulus, for which few parallels are to be found in the whole course of the world's history. The Zulus, whose name is now generally extended to include the whole race, were originally nothing more than a small wandering tribe of little importance; but the immense energy and ruthless tyranny of Tchaka[1] gave them undisputed pre-eminence about the beginning of the nineteenth century. Tchaka's mother had sent him for safety to Dingiswayo, chief of the neighbouring and more powerful tribe of the Tetwa, where he was brought up: then about the year 1818 he returned at the age of thirty, took up the reins of government, and quickly succeeded by a mixture of kindness and force in incorporating the Tetwas with the Zulus.

The whole State was now remodelled with a view to war and conquest, and the subject members were organised and systematically trained for this purpose. The smaller racial confederacies disappeared one after the other, and family life within the tribe itself was almost entirely broken up. The nation was henceforward divided into army corps each under its own warrior chief (Induna); the women, who were also subjected to this military system, were nothing more than concubines, and were often not permitted to rear their own children. The army was constantly rejuvenated by enlisting the youthful members of conquered races; the obvious result of this system was that constant wars were a vital necessity for the Zulu kingdom, and that its influence upon its neighbours was invariably destructive. When these neighbours were not destroyed, they fell upon other races in their hasty retreat before the advancing Zulus, until at length a considerable part of South Africa was in a state of ferment and commotion.

Thus the Mantati, who had been thrust aside by the Zulus, threatened the Cape itself, after crushing some of the weaker races to the north of the Orange River; however, in 1823, they were defeated by the Griqua Hottentots, and gradually relapsed into quiescence. Remnants of other races, partly Amamfingu and Ngwana ("Fekani") from the Tugela, partly Zulus who had shared in revolts against Tchaka's cruelty, streamed toward the southwest and finally joined the Fingu tribe: from 1835, after the war, some sixteen thousand of them were settled by the English to the east of the Great Fish River.

In the year 1828, Tchaka fell a victim to a conspiracy of his two brothers, one of whom, Dingaan, seized the power after a hard struggle with his fellow conspirator. He surpassed even Tchaka in cruelty and ferocious energy, and completed the organisation of the army. But the enemies were already approaching, who were finally to break the Zulu power. English colonists had settled on the

[1] Upunga (or Umakeba), chief of the Zulu Kaffirs

- Jama
  - Senzangakona
    - Tchaka (*1790 †1828)
    - Dingaan († 1840)
    - Umgande (Mpande, Panda; †1872)
      - Ketchwayo († Feb. 8th, 1884 at Eshowe)
        - Dinizulu ("King," 1882–86)
      - Umbelasi († 1857)

coasts of Natal; in 1837, Boers crossed the mountains and asked permission of Dingaan to settle. The Kaffir chief enticed the leader of the Boers, Pieter Retief, with sixty-six of his men, into his encampment, and for their confidence murdered them on February 5, 1838; then begins a new page in South African history, one of the many which have been written in blood. For himself, the cowardly deed brought fatal consequences. The Boers gathered a strong force, marched into Natal under the command of Andries Pretorius, and inflicted a bloody defeat on Dingaan, when he attacked their laager with twelve thousand men on December 16, 1838. Dingaan fled to the Swazi Kaffirs and met his death among them shortly afterward (about 1840). His successor, Umgande, "Prince of the Zulus," who came to power on February 4, 1840, was obliged to abandon Natal to the Boers, who were shortly afterward (summer of 1842) forcibly incorporated with the English colonial empire. Thus an impassable barrier was set up on the south against the warlike tendencies of the Zulus; their attacks upon the north became all the more frequent (cf. below).

Umgande's reign was a period of peace with the English. This state of affairs continued until Umgande's son Ketchwayo (Cetewayo), in 1857, succeeded in defeating his brother Umbelasi in a bloody battle upon the Tugela River, and ousting his father, who had not interfered in the quarrel. In Ketchwayo, the typical warrior Zulu prince again came to light, and upon the death of Umgande in 1872 it became plain that the peace between the Zulus and the English government would be of no long duration. Marauding expeditions upon the frontier increased in frequency, and were further incited by refugees from either party. Ketchwayo, who saw what was coming, had raised his army to the number of forty thousand men. England insisted that this dangerous force should be disbanded, and declared war upon the refusal of the Zulu ruler. There could be no doubt about the final issue. An English force was certainly destroyed by the spears and clubs of the Zulu regiments at Isandhlwana (Isandula, January 22, 1879), and other small disasters were inflicted (June 1, death of Prince Napoleon at the Hyotoyosi River). But as Dingaan was ultimately beaten by the Boers, so was Ketchwayo by the English (July 4, at Ulundi); the Kaffir king was forced to surrender unconditionally in the forest of Ngome on the Black Umvolosi, on August 28, 1879. The further advance of the English and their gradual occupation of the country are events which belong to European-African history.

(*d*) *The Matabele.* — The crater of this racial war had thus been violently stopped; but bands of warriors were spreading devastation over a wide area. At the time when Tchaka rose to be head of the Zulu races, a part of his people fled away from his iron rule. Under the leadership of the chief Moselikatse (Umselekazi) the band started northwest in 1818, and first came into collision with the race of the Makololo, who were settled in the eastern part of the modern Orange Free State. The Makololo retired before their attack, marched northward in 1824 under their chief Sebituane,[1] crossed the Central Zambesi, and occasioned disturbances in that district which will occupy our attention elsewhere.

[1] (Sebituane, chief of the Makololo (* 1805 † 1851).

Sekeletu (Sekoletu * 1833, † about 1856). Mamotchisane (To). Mpepe (†1853).

Meanwhile, the Matabele (Matebele; later, Amandabele), as the people of Moselikatse called themselves after a Zulu tribe that had long been settled in the Transvaal, met with other opponents between the Orange and Vaal Rivers, namely, a part of the Korana Hottentots, and also the Basuto people who were of the Bechuana race; these latter are said to have migrated to their territory at the outset of the seventeenth century, and to have grown considerably in power by amalgamating the remnants of other races: the most important of the Basuto chiefs, Moshesh (from about 1820 to 1868) repelled the Matabele attack in 1831, acquiring thereby both reputation and influence (fortress of Taba Bossigo). The Matabele were unable to advance further south, and gradually got possession of the modern Transvaal. However, on one side the Boers, supported by the Korana and other nondescripts under the leadership of Hans Bloem, advanced northward across the Vaal River and defeated Moselikatse in 1837 at the Bahurutse town Mosiga; on the other side a Zulu army was sent against the deserters, which defeated and drove them away. They therefore pressed on beyond the Limpopo to Mashonaland, the old Monomotapa. The weak and disunited tribes could offer no effective resistance; plundering and slaughter was carried on in true Zulu fashion, the wives of the conquered race followed their new masters as prisoners, while the young men were enlisted in the army. As all the attempts of the Matabele to cross the Zambesi were fruitless, the main body of the race remained in Mashonaland, a standing cause of annoyance to their neighbours. After the death of Moselikatse, Lobengula[1] became chief in 1870: about the beginning of the eighties there was a constant influx of whites into his kingdom, attracted by its wealth of gold; at the beginning of 1889 and 1894 his territory was taken over by the English South African company under colour of concessions alleged to have been made by him. The power of the Matabele was utterly broken by the defeat of Lobengula on November 1, 1893 (on the Bembesi River to the northeast of his capital of Gu-Buluwayo).

(*e*) *The Dshagga and Masimba.* — Less known to us than the history of the Matabele is that of the other Zulu peoples, whose devastating raids extended eastward and far beyond the Zambesi. In their case we have to proceed more cautiously. In the first place it appears that Kaffirs of an older stock, closely resembling the Zulus in their customs, had been settled in the Zambesi district and the East African highland for centuries, that is, probably since the time of the great migration from the North: the Wayao, who vigorously attacked the Makua on the Rovuma during the last decade, were probably one of these tribes. But, in the next place, whole races have adopted the manners and military customs of the Zulus (the so-called Zulu apes), and have consequently helped to confuse the boundaries of the true area of Zulu distribution, overspread by the "later invasion." Now this same northern group of Kaffirs seems to have been vigorously active several centuries ago, and perhaps played the same part as the Zulus did in our own times: such at least seems to be the true significance of the Dshagga and Masimba expeditions which are worthy of a closer examination.

[1] Lobengula
|
Peter Lo Ben, artist in England, married Florence Kate Jewell,
28 Feb. 1900 — end of 1901: separation order issued: no children.

When the second Portuguese embassy was staying in the year 1490–1491 with Mani-Congo, the king of the Lower Congo land, whose court was at Ambasse, news arrived from the interior that the people of the Mundequete, on the lakes at the sources of the Congo, were preparing for war. The Congo king immediately had himself baptised, like Chlodwig of old, and successfully beat the enemy. This first movement seems to have been the prelude to further struggles, to the invasion of the Dshagga. Under their king Simbo, these "Giacas" (Lopez) advanced toward the west coast, defeated the Congo troops, whose king had great difficulty in maintaining his position even with Portuguese help, and subdued part of Angola. They renewed their attack from 1542–1546, and after bringing Congo to the verge of destruction, were finally defeated; the remainder of them then settled in the district of Kassandje. Their original habitation is said to have been about the sources of the Zambesi and of the Congo; so they may very well have been a Kaffir race. Moreover, the military organisation of the Dshagga apparently corresponds in its main features with that of the Zulus. The Dshagga also increased their strength by incorporating with their troops the youth of the peoples whom they defeated and generally slaughtered. Of their attainments in civilization, or of their customs, we know but little: the name Dshagga is certainly a Kaffir word and means "troops," "soldiers," or "bodies of young men."

Another race of conquerors, the Masimba (Wasimba, Zimba), have been considered as identical with the Dshagga; in the year 1540, they appeared on the Lower Zambesi, but are said to have been defeated by the Portuguese at that time. A long period of peace now ensued, until in 1572 the Masimba attacked Monomotapa and drove the ruler to seek help from the very Portuguese against whom he had fought successfully in 1571. But they also suffered defeats in the course of the long struggle which now followed; in 1592 the Captain Andre da Santiago, the Commandant of Senna (Sena), was captured and eaten with three hundred of his followers by the barbarians at Tete. At the same time the Masimba continued to push their raids northward, their cupidity being more particularly inflamed by the rich towns upon the coast. Kilwa (= Kisiwani, Quiloa) fell into their hands by treachery in 1586. In the middle of March, 1589, they stormed Mombas, but a short time previously received a severe defeat before Malindi (p. 433). At the end of the sixteenth century, the race apparently disappears from history.

Many extraordinary theories have been propounded to account for the rise and disappearance of this race. If we look calmly at the facts as they are and compare them with the Zulu migrations of modern times, the great problem does not appear so utterly insoluble. We may venture to assume that in the Zambesi valley or its neighbourhood, a central point of military convulsion was formed, as was the case very recently with Zululand. A people of Kaffir race appears to have given the first impulse to war, by sending out conquering bands both east and west, which, as a result of the system of recruiting above mentioned, grew in their turn into independent organisms and acted as such. War was a necessary condition of existence for these new bodies; when obliged to keep the peace, they necessarily fell to pieces and dissolved. It is not therefore necessary to search the whole African continent for the remnants of the Dshagga or of the Masimba, and to consider this or that great nation as their descendants; for their disappearance is anything but an extraordinary phenomenon. Remnants of them may possibly yet exist, for instance, in the interior of Angola near Kassandje; but they are of no

special importance. Of far greater importance must have been their influence — its traces can be recognised even to-day — upon the lives of peoples in the large districts of Africa; but it is just such effects as these that are difficult to trace. Fortunately more accurate observations have been made of similar phenomena, which have occurred in later times and enable us to deduce conclusions *a posteriori*.

(*f*) *The Last Offshoots of the Zulu Migrations.* — The Matabele campaigns which convulsed Central South Africa up to the Zambesi, and indirectly even beyond it, were in point of influence even surpassed by the warfare and devastation spread by other Zulu bands upon the east coast and upon either side of the Lower Zambesi. The chief Mani-kus is said to have led the first army northward after Tchaka's death. Gasaland, the district between the mouth of the Zambesi and Zululand, was first overrun and devastated; the inhabitants, who had previously been a happy and industrious people, were scattered or reduced to slavery, and they now bred dogs for their supply of meat in place of their beloved cattle, which fell into the hands of the Zulus.

A similar fate befell the races on the Lower Zambesi. The regular export of gold had maintained a certain connection between this district and more advanced races, and the inhabitants had made considerable progress in civilization. Artistic iron and gold smiths exchanged the products of their industry not only with their fellows, but even with Arabs and Portuguese, and the manufacture of woollen fabrics had spread from the Zambesi far into the interior. The population was composed of very different elements, for slavery had here been a flourishing institution from an early period, and its usual results, the dissolution and fusion of races, were plainly manifest.

The warlike Zulus (under Songondawe, Mpesén, Suru and Mbonán, Mputa and Kidiaonga) attacked this mixture of races with shattering energy. But in this case they no longer appear under their own name: perhaps they had in part emigrated northward to escape Tchaka's tyranny at a time when this people was being consolidated under his iron rule, and had not entirely imposed the name of its own little tribe upon the general whole. We find such Zulu offshoots as "Landin" on the Zambesi, as "Wangoni" (Magwangara, Mahuhu; cf. the Genealogical Table I, A, B, at the end of the Appendix) to the west of the Nyassa, as "Masiti" (Maviti, Wambunga, or Mahenge) or "Masitu" between the Nyassa and the east coast of the continent, as "Watuta" (cf. p. 443) to the south of Unyamwesi. All these exercised a terribly destructive influence; their example induced peaceful agricultural tribes to assume the dress and armament of conquerors (the stabbing spear and the oxhide shield), and in like manner to invade and devastate their neighbours' territory.

Among these "Zulu-apes" may also be included, in a certain sense, the Wahehe, who as a whole are closely related to the Wasagara (Wassagara): about 1860 and especially from about 1870 they founded several kingdoms upon true Zulu principles under their chiefs Nyugumba, Mudjinga (Matshinga), and Mambambe (Mamle; cf. Genealogical Table II, at the end); these were not subdued by the Germans until 1896.

In the whole stretch of country from the Zambesi to the great caravan routes there has been no more important change than the gradual spread of Zulu manners and customs (Zuluisation); this has been the main factor in determining the course of German colonial policy in East Africa.

C. The Wanyamwesi

At the present time in Central East Africa, it is possible to distinguish with tolerable clearness several zones of civilization which display the results of long-continued foreign influence. The coast towns and the larger portion of the sea-board are inhabited by the Suaheli, a mixed people with a certain infusion of Arab and also of Portuguese blood, united by a common language, Kisuaheli, and a uniform civilization. In the fruitful mountainous country behind the coast-line dwell small races often in a very low stage of civilization: the same remark applies to the plain districts further in the interior; we have here apparently a frontier line, where a superabundance of civilization has produced destructive rather than stimulating results. Finally, when we penetrate the highlands between the Victoria Nyanza, Tanganyika, and Nyassa, we reach a district too far from the coast to be degraded by the influence of the foreigners settled there, and yet sufficiently near to receive all kinds of stimulus. Thus in this district has arisen a civilized people, using the word in its African sense at least, admirably distinguished by manufacturing industry and by an inclination for trade, and likely to be highly important in the future of the continent, the people of the Wanyamwesi.

This people has apparently maintained a peaceful intercourse with the coast from a very early period. Andrew Battal (about 1565–1616: a narrative of his travels in Purchas' Pilgrimage, London, 1625) appears to know them as "Mohenemugi;" Dapper calls them "Niemiemayer." The word Unyamwesi itself means "Moonland," and originated among the coast population, who may have heard, like the Arabs, their teachers, of the legendary Mountains of the Moon of the ancients: the name was naturally attached to the most important district of the interior, the goal of all trading expeditions. The natural advantages of the locality, and especially the protection afforded by the plains and lakes against attacks from without contributed to advance the prosperity of Unyamwesi, so too did the caravan trade and the higher civilization thereby introduced, which helped to consolidate the different races of the district to a closer political unity. The highest prosperity of this State certainly came to pass at a time concerning which we have no direct information; but its importance can easily be inferred even in its present condition of decay.

The Wanyamwesi are a Bantu people, like almost all their neighbours. Their land is bounded on the west by Lake Tanganyika, on the east by the steppes of Ugogo; to the north, the true Wanyamwesi stop somewhat short of Lake Victoria. But several races resembling them in language, and apparently members of the kingdom during its period of prosperity, are contiguous to them at that point; in point of fact, the Wassukuma, etc., on the evidence of their mode of life, belong to the tribes settled to the east of Unyamwesi, the Wagogo and Wasagara. Here, once again, races which were formerly powerful have influenced weaker tribes by their example, as is proved by the circumstances of a little people belonging to the Wanyamwesi. "The Wakimbu in Mdaburu," says Paul Reichard, "have adopted the customs, the weapons, and the language of the Wagogo; and it is only since 1880 that the gradual reoccupation of the Mgunda-Mkali by the Wanyamwesi has reminded them of their early origin; they are again conforming to the Wanyamwesi type, as the Wagogo are now hard pressed on all sides and have entirely lost

their prestige." The Wagogo, on their part, being attacked by the Masai on the north and the Wahehe on the south, have begun to imitate these two races in dress and language.

The central point of Unyamwesi is Unyanyembe; even after the disruption of the kingdom, the date of which is unknown, communication with the coast was maintained here, and certain traditions of no great antiquity were preserved. Oscar Baumann is probably correct in placing the founder of the present dynasty, Swetu I, at the end of the eighteenth century. Under this ruler the caravan trade, which had probably ceased, must have been reopened, a movement apparently begun by two elephant hunters, Mparangombe and Ngogome, who made their way nearly to the coast and then acted as guides to the caravans of their countrymen (about 1825–1830). The Arabs soon availed themselves of the newly opened trade route, and founded Tabora in 1846 as their centre of operations. At this point begins the great modern Arab incursion into Central Africa, with the great revolutions and struggles to which it led.

Other foreign elements were also to be found in Unyamwesi. An offshoot of the Wahuma migrations (cf. below) appears at an early period in Unyamwesi in the person of the Hamitic Watussi (Watusi), who did not, however, attain to any political influence in the country. On the other hand, the Zulu raids brought detachments of this warlike race into the district; their influence upon the destinies of Unyamwesi was to become important in later times, when these additions were known as Watuta or Wangoni. About 1850 the Watuta separated from the Masitu (the Zulus upon Lakes Schirwa and Nyassa) and advancing from the northwest end of Lake Nyassa, attacked the Warori, being attracted by their wealth of cattle; finding them too strong, they passed by Urori and advanced to Udjidji in 1858, the Arab inhabitants taking refuge on the island of Bangwe. The Watuta then attacked Uhha (on Lake Tanganyika); and Urundi (capital, Muwukeye) without success, marched through Uvinsa, entered Unyamwesi, and arrived by way of Usindja at the Ukerewe Lake. Here they remained some years, and then returned to Südussukuma, the chief of which prudently became the son-in-law of the Watuta leader and received his land back as dowry. However, part of the Watuta went farther south, and became the most reliable contingent in the service of the powerful Mirambo, the "Napoleon of East Africa" (cf. above). Under him they were gradually transformed from a fierce tribe of wanderers to a state which became highly prosperous in the well-watered pasture lands of Ugomba and Ngalla.

Mirambo himself was of the race of the Wanyamwesi, probably the son of a petty village chieftain (born about 1830); he was a caravan porter and being ill treated by an Arab, he escaped into the wilderness and collected a band of robbers (Ruga-Ruga) about him, which was soon as great a terror to the natives as were the Arabs themselves. Upon the death of the chief of Uyoweh, a small district belonging to Unyamwesi, he seized this territory and terrorised the whole of Southwest Unyamwesi by his devastating raids. Conflict with the Arabs was inevitable. Stanley, who was travelling through the country just at that period (1871), took part in the expedition which the Arabs made against Mirambo; their victorious advance was speedily terminated by a crushing defeat. In the same year Mirambo stormed and burned the town of Tabora. He was then at the height of his power (1870–1880). But the system of conquest which he had adopted from the Zulus was not the method by which permanent empires are formed. Unyamwesi, which

had been formerly so powerful, did not rise to new prosperity under Mirambo. His power was wasted, as it had grown, by continual war. After his death (1886) Unyamwesi was more than ever torn by faction, and before a path out of this state of disruption to further development could be found, Tabora was garrisoned by the Germans in 1890, and this event, together with the defeat of Sike (Sikki), chief of Unyanyembe, announced the commencement of a new era for these districts. The clutch of Europe has closed upon the savage region.

D. The Bantu between Unamwesi and the Coast

Very little is known of the history of the Bantu-speaking peoples settled to the eastward between Unyamwesi and the coast. It is clear that their numbers were once greater and their situation more favourable than now. On the other hand, the state of the Bushman races in the unwatered territory is an argument against assigning the whole of Central East Africa to the Bantu. Here also there was undoubtedly constant migration and fusion of races at an early epoch.

According to Franz Stuhlmann, the inhabitants of Usagara, Useguha, Usambara, Ukami, and Chutu (K'hutu) form a connected group, which, like the Wanyamwesi, has been settled in its territory from an early period. Contrasted with these are the Bantu who have come under Hamitic influence, of whom the chief representatives are the Wagogo, beside numerous smaller tribes further northward, such as the independent Wadchagga at the Kilimanjaro, the tributary Wapokomo on the Tana, etc. The northern races of the Wanyamwesi are originally related to the Wagogo, and the latter have linguistic affinities to the Bantu of the Wahuma States, so that a general connection can be made among them, enabling us to draw conclusions as to their early history.

In more recent times Usambara and the district on the Kilimanjaro have been of special historical importance. About halfway through the nineteenth century Usambara was in a comparatively well-ordered condition. "I recognised at once," says Joh. Ludw. Krapf, who visited the country at that time, "that I was in a country where better order was kept than in the lawless republics of the Wanika and Wakamba. I had seen nothing like it except in the kingdom of Shoa." The king ruling at that time was Kmeri (Kimueri); he resided in Wuga and was the fourth of his dynasty, possessing for the moment only a part of Usambara, until Bondeï and also a piece of Wadigoland (inland from Mombas) were added by conquest. Useguha, the coast dwellers of which were provided with guns, broke away after a long period of subjugation. The ruling family, the Wakilindi, appear to have been of Arab origin or at least to have received a large infusion of Arab blood; legend speaks of their immigration from N'guru or Dshagga. After Kmeri's death (1867) the power of the little State declined very rapidly. Simbodja, Kmeri's successor, who resided in Wasinda and ultimately became involved in a quarrel with the Germans, even lost Bondeï, where another chief of the Wakilindi family, Kibanga, made himself independent.

The historical importance of Usambara may be easily explained by the natural characteristics of the country. A fruitful mountainous district gives protection and security to a strong government until its influence is automatically extended over the surrounding plains, and a State arises with tolerably strong powers of resistance. In this way the power of the races about Kilimanjaro and especially that

of the Wadchagga in the surrounding districts became noticeable. But the scanty numbers and the disunion of these mountain tribes (according to Hans Meyer, twenty tribes amounted together to forty-six thousand heads) have invariably hindered the formation of a greater kingdom.

Every district in East Africa inhabited by Bantu tribes, with the possible exception of the little States about Kilimanjaro, has been subjected to the disintegrating and destructive influence of Hamitic races (cf. below), who advanced from the north as did the Zulus from the south.

E. The Lake District at the Sources of the Nile: the Wahuma

Unyamwesi was one of those East African districts which are so far distant from the coast that the influences of trade exercised a beneficent rather than a disturbing influence. The same is true to a far greater extent of the lake district, which is surpassed by few parts of the continent in the advantages of its situation. Protected by the lakes, rivers, and steep mountain ranges, without being utterly cut off from communication with the outer world, the several States were here in possession of a fruitful and well-watered soil, and could develop a true negro civilization. Africa can show but few parallels to the firmness of their structure and external power. Bantu peoples founded these kingdoms in antiquity, and still form the main stock of the population, though they have certainly been greatly changed by intermarriage with other negro races. They have been the real founders of the local civilization; not only do they till the soil, but they also manufacture those tasteful objects which have been unanimously praised by all European visitors to the country. The civilization of the coast has touched more lightly upon the lake district than upon Unyamwesi, where cotton is planted and woven. In the Wahuma States, as they are generally known collectively, the older art of making cloth from the bark of trees (Mbugu) has been brought to unusual perfection.

We know nothing of the political condition of the lake district in that earlier period when the Bantu were at the same time the rulers and the owners of the land; but it is highly probable that there was a settled constitution even then. This constitution did not take its present form until immigrants of Hamitic blood came into the land from the northeast as shepherds, and seized the power either by a sudden blow or by gradual encroachment. These immigrants are the Wahuma (Baïme). If the theory of F. Stuhlmann is correct, the rulers of Uganda were not of Wahuma race, but were the descendants of an earlier Hamitic immigration. At any rate, the Uganda chiefs, whether they be true Wahumas or only related to them, are of Hamitic origin, and must therefore have entered the country from the northeast, as the eastern side is protected by the Victoria Nyanza.

The Wahuma not only spread over the lake district, they also penetrated into Unyamwesi on the north, where they led a nomadic life in separate groups under the name of Watussi (cf. above). Their fair complexion and the tradition of their origin mark their connection with the Galla and the other Hamitic peoples of Northeast Africa (cf. p. 451). In Unyoro Emin Pasha heard the following story: Unyoro, together with Uganda, Ussoga, Uddu, and Karagwe once formed a large territory, inhabited by the Witshwesi, a black agricultural race. Then many fair people came out of the North who were cannibals (Waliabantu). When they crossed the [Somerset] Nile, the Witshwesi fled westward. At Matjum (south-

east of Mruli) the invaders, the Wawitu (people of Witu, the "land of the princes" lying in the East) divided into two groups, one of which advanced to Uganda, the other to Unyoro. The remnant of the Witshwesi, who named their oppressors Wahuma (Northmen, Normans!) — in Uganda they were also known as Walindi, in Karagwe as Wahinda — went about the country as minstrels or magicians, or were reduced to slavery. From that time the name Witshwesi has been synonymous for serf in Unyoro. The Wahuma now intermarried closely with the Bantu peoples, as is related in their own extraordinary tradition communicated to Speke by King Kamrasi: "Formerly our race was half white and half black, with straight hair on one side and curly on the other." Whether the word Wawitu is to be referred to the country of Witu or to the old name for Mombas, Omwita, is extremely doubtful. Philological arguments will not help us here, as the Wahuma have adopted the language of the subject Bantu in nearly every case.

The date of the Wahuma immigration cannot be definitely stated. The only source of information is the genealogical table of the kings of Uganda; the separate versions of this by C. T. Wilson, Stanley, and Stuhlmann agree tolerably closely, and show thirty-two (thirty-four) reigning kings (cf. note to p. 447); but apart from the unreliable character of this list, it is further questionable whether the first name in the table is also the first founder of the Wahuma supremacy. There is also every chance of making mistakes in estimating the average duration of the several reigns. If we allow the greatest possible amount of time, and assume the Wahuma migrations to have taken place at the earliest during the fourteenth century and at latest during the sixteenth century of our chronology, yet many arguments might be advanced against this estimate and against Stuhlmann's theory of an earlier Hamitic immigration.

(*a*) *Kitara and its Southern Daughter States.* — The Wahuma seem to have founded a kingdom which was at first more or less self-contained, the kingdom of Kitara (Kittára, Kitwara); it extended southward to the Kagera, its centre of gravity lying in the later Unyoro. Internal dissensions led to the despatch southward of further expeditions, and to the foundation of new States. Of these Ihangiro seems to have been the first; afterward (twenty generations ago) a Wahuma chief Ruhinda[1] is said to have fled to the country of Wanyambo, situated to the south of Kagera; there he won over the favour of the king Nono, treacherously murdered him and seized the power. Such was the origin of the kingdom of Karágwe, which was more or less dependent upon Uganda in later times. Later, however, we find princes of the Ruhinda family in Ihangiro and Ussuwi (Ussui); for a time the whole group of States formed one kingdom under the name of Ukanga, Ushirombo being also included. Uhha (Uha) was also a powerful and extensive State for some time, and formed the southernmost outpost of the Wahuma power on the northeast coast of Lake Tanganyika (p. 443). Upon the disruption of this kingdom the power of the Wahuma collapsed utterly in the South, though it was maintained in Karagwe and Ihangiro. When the first Europeans, Speke (above mentioned) and James Augustus Grant, arrived at Karagwe at the beginning of the sixties, the benevolent Rumanika was in power. After his death

[1] Ruhinda (Rohinda; Muhinda), "Mgabe" of the Wahuma
|
Dagara
|
Rumanika (about 1860

there were disputes about the succession. The country is now within the sphere of German interests.

The history of the southwestern Wahuma State Ruanda[1] is uncertain. It cannot be determined whether it originally belonged to Kitara or whether it was connected with Ukanga; the only certain fact is that the supremacy of the Wahuma, who were here known as Wasamboni, was established over the Wávira, and that the power of the kingdom in course of time has rather increased than diminished. The population of Kissakka (Jung-Ruanda) is dependent upon Ruanda.

(*b*) *The Northern Daughter States of Kitara:* (*a*) *Uganda.* — The seat of the highest Wahuma civilization is in the north; here are situated the districts of Uganda and Unyoro, which developed into independent, closely organised States from the earlier kingdom of Kitara.

The early history of Uganda is wholly legendary. Kintu, the first king, marched from the North into the uninhabited lake district, peopled it with his descendants and the produce of the cattle which he had brought with him, and ruled as patriarch over the land. When his people plunged into all kinds of depravity, he mysteriously disappeared, and was succeeded by his son Tchwa. Of the following kings the fourth, Kimera, stands out more clearly in the mist of legend. He is certainly depicted as a man of superhuman size and strength, and passionately devoted to hunting; but we are also told that it was he who emigrated from Unyoro and founded an independent kingdom in Uganda, after subjugating the native Wiru or Waddu. Kitara appears to have collapsed about that period.

Several kings followed Kimera, of whom legend has but little to relate. Nakivingi, the tenth king, is the first personality of any importance; he is said to have conquered and subjugated Unyoro, so that the northern province of the old Kitara kingdom was again unified for a short period. The legendary winged warrior Kibagà is said to have been very useful to him during this struggle. Of a long succession of rulers who followed we know practically nothing. Then followed the conquest of Usoga, under the twenty-seventh king Tchabagu, whose reign does not probably date back more than a century. After two more unimportant rulers, Djundju (Yunya) and Wasedje (Ssemakokiro), Kamanya[2] ascended the throne, the

[1] Luabugiri, "Kigeri" of Ruanda

Mibambwe — Yuhi (from 1897)

[2] Kintu, first legendary king of the Wanyoro.

Tchwa

4. Kimera, first king of Uganda

10. Nakivingi

27. Tchabagu (about 1800)

Djundju (Yunya)

Wasedje (Ssemakokiro)

30. Kamanya

Ssunna II —— (* 1820, King 1836–1860)

Kadjumba — Mtesa (1860–1884)

Mwanga (1884–1886; 1889–1899 expelled — Kiwewa — Karema.

grandfather of Mtesa, the first king visited by Europeans. We have the most divergent accounts of his struggles with the Wakidi (Lango) in Usoga. These Wakidi are related to the Galla, and are therefore a Hamitic people; the manner of their attacks shows that they had the same wandering tendencies as the Wahuma formerly displayed. The king seems to have repelled the incursions of this race and to have finally reduced them to subjection.

Under Ssunna II, the successor to Kamanya, new influences were brought to bear upon the country by the Arab traders who made their way from the coast to Uganda. Ssunna was born about 1820, came to the throne in 1836, and died in 1860. He was a typical example of the despotic Uganda prince, careless of human life, ever ready to make war and inclined to cruelty, but benevolent and hospitable to strangers. Under his rule the power of the kingdom greatly increased. Ihangiro was conquered, the ruler of Unyoro was humbled, and the ruler of Ruanda beaten. A powerful fleet terrorised Victoria Lake, and even the warlike population of the island of Uvuma was forced to submit. The most formidable sea-fight took place when Usoga revolted and Ssunna advanced to reconquer the country with five hundred large ships, after the Wasoga had retired before his land forces to one of the islands of the lake and had mustered a fleet of equal strength. The rebels were blockaded in their island, were ultimately forced to surrender, and were partly massacred in the most ruthless manner. Many marauding expeditions were also made by the chiefs of the frontier provinces, who were constantly seeking to aggrandise themselves at the expense of their neighbours.

Ssunna had named the prince Kadjumba as his successor; however, after his death, the chiefs elected Mtesa, who appeared to be of milder character than his domineering brother. They soon discovered that they had made a terrible mistake. There are certain elements of greatness in Mtesa's character, but many more repulsive features which became very apparent in the first years of the government to which he had been elected with too little consideration. After a great victory over the Wasoga, he named himself M(u)kavya (he who causes weeping). He was capricious and cruel; at times he seemed inspired with the lust for slaughter, though at the same time he was by no means incapable of appreciating the higher civilization of Arabs and Europeans. Shortly after his accession the first Europeans, Speke and Grant (cf. above, p. 440), entered his capital of Banda (afterward Rubaga and Nebula-galla were Mtesa's residences), which had already been visited by Arab merchants; they obtained an excellent reception. But the different ideas of these foreign visitors soon came into conflict and wrought endless confusion in Uganda. At first Arab influence was predominant: as early as 1862 Mtesa adopted the Arab costume instead of the native Mbugu (cf. above, p. 445), began to read the Koran, and allowed some part of his people to embrace the Mohammedan faith. Then Christian missionaries came into the country, at first Protestant (1877), followed at a short interval by the Catholics (1879). Both persuasions found ready acceptance, in spite of the capricious cruelty of Mtesa, who at one time executed a number of Mohammedans, at another instituted a regular persecution of the Christians (1881 and 1883), without himself deciding in favour of either of the new beliefs.

Mtesa died in October, 1884. His son Mwanga (Muanga) succeeded him, and at first showed no special favour to either of the new religions, and followed the

example of his father's capricious and bloodthirsty behaviour. Under his persecutions Christians and Mohammedans suffered alike, and he even ordered the execution of a European, Bishop Hannington (October, 1885); at length Mwanga formed the wild project of massacring his body-guard, which was composed of Christians and Mohammedans; a general insurrection then broke out, and he was forced to flee to the south. This movement was, however, only the prelude to further disturbance. The adherents of the Bible and in the Koran divided the land peacefully between themselves, and elected Mwanga's brother Kiwewa as king. A war then broke out between the brothers, which ended in the victory of Islam; some of the Christian chiefs were slain, others fled with the missionaries to the frontier lands in the south. As the king Kiwewa did not show sufficient consideration toward the Arabs, he was replaced by Karema, another of Mwanga's brothers; he now made public profession of Islam.

Meanwhile Mwanga, who had been in exile at Bukumbi, had been won over to Christianity by the French missionaries who had given him a hospitable reception. Naturally the Christian party now gathered round him, as he was in reality the sole constitutional ruler. With their help he succeeded in establishing himself on the island of Shassa, and after several failures at length defeated Karema in a decisive battle. On the 11th of October, 1889, he re-entered his capital of Mengo, most of the Arabs taking refuge in Unyoro.

But even now the land was not at peace. The points of dispute existing in the Christian party between the Protestants and Catholics resulted in an open breach, and the exasperation was increased by the attempts of England to gain a footing in Uganda. Eventually the country was divided among the adherents of the several religions, the Protestants receiving four-sixths, and the Catholics and Mohammedans one-sixth each. Since 1890 the much devastated and depopulated Uganda has been entirely under English influence (cf. p. 503).

(β) *Unyoro.* — There is but little to be said of the history of Unyoro, except in so far as it comes into connection with the other Wahuma States. Unyoro was undoubtedly the earliest home of the Wahuma and the centre from which they afterward spread; but it was not the centre of the civilization of the States in the lake district, for the original civilization of that district belonged to the earlier Bantu inhabitants and not to the Wahuma. The marauding armies of the country are the curse of the surrounding districts. The unusual force of these nomadic instincts may be partially explained by the fact that Unyoro received a later immigration from the northeast at a comparatively late period; at any rate, according to Emin Pasha, the Wawitu, who are now in possession, did not enter the country before 1800; they have readily coalesced with the cognate Wahuma or Wahinda (probably the original name of the people; cf. above, p. 445). The scanty roll of kings given by Speke would thus include only rulers belonging to this Wawitu race which became dominant at a late period. He gives the names Chiawambi, Nyamongo, and Kamrasi. The last-named king was still ruling as an independent monarch in 1860. He was succeeded by his son Kabrega (Kaba regga), whose herds of long-horned cattle were estimated at fifteen thousand in number by Emin Pasha.

(γ) *N'kole and Mpóroro.* — South of Unyoro and east and southeast of Lake Albert Edward lie two other smaller Wahuma States, N'kole (Ankore; capital,

Katwe) and Mpóroro, which have only recently been discovered. Here also we meet with the tradition that Wahuma (Wassamwo) invaded the country from the north and subjugated the original inhabitants. In N'kole the predecessor of Ntali, the present ruler, was called Mutambuka. Under the king Ṛokay Mpóroro had risen to considerable power, but has decayed greatly under his daughter and successor Nyawingi, and is now hard pressed by the inhabitants of N'kole.

F. The East Cape

East Africa displays in miniature the same characteristics as the great Sahara desert, with its civilized States upon its southern boundary oppressed and dominated by the inhabitants of the desert. The Wahuma district covers the kingdoms of Sokoto, Bornu, and Baghirmi; the Sahara is replaced by the extensive and arid district of the East Cape, which pushes its eastern point far into the waves of the Indian Ocean, the dreaded Cape Guardafui. At this point in the north the fleets of the seafarers crossed over from early antiquity; here, in the land of incense, settlements were founded upon the barren shores, and trade routes led from the seaboard far into the interior of the continent. The deepest and most lasting influence proceeded from Arabia, which is but a few miles distant from the African coast. But upon this barren district no civilization could strike its roots deep into the soil. The population was invariably restless and unsettled, "their hand against every man, and every man's hand against them." Nature herself pointed the direction for their migrations and their incursions; eastward, the ocean thundered upon a harbourless coast; westward, the swamps of the Nile valley checked their advance. The Abyssinian highland tempted the eyes of the greedy nomads with its wealth; but the most promising land lay southward, in the district of the black races. Southward stretched away the boundless plains, with no obstacle to stay the passage of the nomads and their herds. The first bands to pass this way were followed by others, and often the conquerors of one age fell victims to their relatives who followed them in the next; only one of these wandering tribes, the Wahuma, was able to found permanent kingdoms, and this because they alone found an old civilization ready to hand in the lake district, and were protected from later invasions by the configuration of the country.

At the present day we can distinguish in Northern East Africa four great groups of Hamitic nomad peoples more or less mixed with Semites and negroes, the Danákil (plural of Dankali), Galla, Somâl (plural of Somali), and Massai: none of these groups is a uniform whole, with the possible exception of the Danákil; each of them includes remnants of peoples whose origin is in part doubtful.

(*a*) *The Danakil.* — The history of the Danakil (Adal), or Afar, is very simple. Hemmed in within their old territory in the corner between the Abyssinian highland and the east coast of Massaua up to the straits of Bab el-Mandeb, the south was the only direction in which they had room to expand. But in this direction the northern Somal races checked them. Possibly the Somal are a mixed people, including a portion of the Danakil within themselves: at the moment little more can be said as to the relationship of the two races. At any rate the Danakil have exercised less influence upon their neighbours than any of the other East African Hamites, as far as their history can be traced.

(*b*) *The Gallas.*—The Gallas (also Gala), or Oromó (Oroma, Orma, or Ilmorma), appear in a very different character. They appear on the East African battle-ground with surprising rapidity and overpowering strength. Their settlements extend over a wide area, and though they have in some cases become persecuted instead of persecutors, they remain a great and powerful people even to-day, though they have no political unity.

Concerning their origin, many fables are extant. Many writers (Karl Ritter and others) have erroneously connected them with the Masimba people, which begins to disappear from history just at the time when the Gallas are first mentioned. Robert Hartmann places the early home of the Gallas near the snow-topped mountains, Kenia and Kilimanjaro, so that their first migrations would have been from south to north. J. L. Krapf, like James Bruce before him (1730–1794), heard a tradition from the Oromó chief, Tsharra, that their ancestor Wolab came from Bargama (beyond the great water); by "great water" he understands either the Bahr-el-Abiad (White Nile) or a great inland lake in Africa, that is, one of the lakes at the sources of the Nile. If this be correct, the Galla migration was probably the prelude to those other Hamitic migrations from the west to the east and south, with which we shall have to deal when we come to consider the history of Central Africa. Hiob Ludolf (1624–1704), the founder of Ethiopian philology, gives 1537 as the date when the Gallas left Bariland and invaded Abyssinia. More recently (1888) Philipp Paulitschke has supported the contrary theory, that the East Cape of Africa was the cradle of the Galla race, and that in pre-Mohammedan times they were situated to the south of the Gulf of Aden. Their own wandering tendencies and the development of the Somal races then drove the Gallas west and south from their early home. But in view of the fact that the Gallas certainly have a strong infusion of negro blood in their veins, this theory does not seem wholly satisfactory, although it is undoubtedly true that negroes were once settled much further north than they are found to-day. Finally Ratzel (1895) speaks of the Gallas as "a group of peoples, the central point of which once lay a great deal further north than it does now, probably to the north and perhaps to the west even of Abyssinia; their history, from a general point of view, is the process of their irresistible advance southward."

Part of the Gallas under Mohammed Granj acquired a new home in the north at the expense of the Abyssinians in the years 1526–1543 (cf. the closing sections of "Abyssinia"); a second wave of migration went south; the vanguard crossed the Tana and reached the Sabaki at its mouth, near Melinde. According to Henry Salt (1771–1827), they were established in this district at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the mountainous country to the south of Lake Rudolf were settled races of Hamitic origin, perhaps Galla offshoots, which had been forced into these barren lands under pressure from without, while others retreated southward and attacked the negro peoples of East Africa. The Gallas themselves have apparently expelled many negro tribes or taken their territory, as is shown by the existence of pariah tribes among them, which are certainly in part of Hamitic origin, and also by the strong infusion of negro blood which many Galla divisions display. Small tribes of the Bushman type may, perhaps, be referred to this mixture of races.

(*c*) *The Somal.* — Historically, the Somal are even later than the Galla. However, it is certain that this people grew up in the East Cape of Africa; they were apparently of Hamitic origin and were strongly modified by an influx of Arab blood and civilization. The Hamitic stock seems to have been of Tir, which is often mentioned in Somal records. The new people, at first weak, gradually gained strength, and, as was almost invariably the case with the inhabitants of the barren districts of Northeast Africa, were forthwith driven to advance southward. As the Somal upon the coast gradually spread toward the south, they seem to have come in contact with negro tribes; many proofs of this connection remain, such as the Adone people on the Webbi Shebejli, who clearly show their relationship to the southern Bantu negroes in physical characteristics, language, and mode of life.

In North Somal-land Arab influence led to the growth of stronger political formations. At the outset of the sixteenth century the Portuguese under Cristoforo da Gama found the kingdom of Adal upon the north coast; it extended from Cape Guardafui to Tadjurra Bay, and was governed by Mohammedan princes, one of whom, Imam Ahmed, conquered Harar about 1500.

The Somal advance soon led to war with the Gallas. In Harar, at any rate, the Galla population appears to have repelled the Somal, which fact seems to point to a Galla migration from west to east; but in all other directions and especially in the south, where the attractive pasture-land diminishes between the mountains and the sea, the Somal were victorious, and before them even the proud conquerors of the negro races fled like hunted animals.

(*d*) *The Massai.* — Those Hamites who had advanced furthest to the south, and whose most important offshoot was the shepherd tribe of the Massai, were a far greater terror to the agricultural negroes than the Gallas and the Somal. Apparently the Massai were but one of those racial waves which storm across the plains of East Africa, finally disappearing in mutual collision. Before their period we find a mixed Hamitic people on the east and southeast of Victoria Lake, especially the Wakwafi and Wataturu, who were overpowered by the invading Massai, shattered and forced to fly in different directions (cf. further below). All these races, the Massai included, were largely mixed with the negroes, and apparently to a special degree with those of the Nile valley, so that F. Stuhlmann denotes them by the name Hamito-Nilotic; the existence of such a mixed race gives us a hint as to the direction of earlier Massai migrations. The undrained highlands of East Africa have been the real training-ground of these Hamito-Nilotic peoples; but as the district is broken by many obstacles to communication, there is naturally no lack of remnants of all kinds of peoples, with the consequent result of mixed races. "An indescribable chaos of peoples," says Stuhlmann, "exists in this district, in a constant state of disturbance as a result of the continual wars and the nomadic habits of the population."

The movements of the last race of conquerors, the Massai (Oigob or Orloigob, to give them their own name and that employed by the Wakwafi), are alone known to us with any accuracy. As these movements throw light upon the events of earlier ages, and have moreover brought about in the north the same terrible upheavals which the Zulus caused in the south, they are worth our careful consideration.

The central point of the Massai diffusion may be placed northeast of Lake Victoria in that district which is now inhabited by other mixtures of Hamites and Nile negroes (Wakikuyu, Burgenedji, Elmolo, Suk, Naudi, Kamassia, Turkaná, Karamoyó, and Dónyoro); from thence the lust of battle and migration drove them southward. A general picture of East Africa in modern times will show us three nearly parallel lines of movement from north to south followed by the Hamitic peoples,—the Somal upon the coast, the Massai in the western undrained highlands,—and the Galla between these two. The victims of this rushing invasion were both pure Bantu negroes and older mixed races of Hamitic stock. The Massai wrought the greatest destruction, for their special military organisation and the wild ferocity of their onset overthrew all resistance; moreover, they were able to turn to advantage the disputes subsisting between the different Bantu races, and by supporting now one party and now another, finally to destroy both.

Before the Massai advanced, a nearly related people, the Wakwafi (Wakuafi), or, as they called themselves, the Mbarawui, had already established themselves in the Pare Mountains to the southeast of the Kilimanjaro, and were oppressing the surrounding peoples; even the broad Tana River had proved no obstacle to their incursions into Wakamba-land. Meanwhile the Massai seem to have pressed on to the west of Pare; they now attacked their kinsfolk, who had already been weakened and discouraged by the failure of several military expeditions. The Wakwafi were defeated and scattered. Some of them found refuge among the negro races, and devoted themselves to the pursuit of the agriculture which they had formerly detested; but the main body streamed back in a northwesterly direction to the Naivasha Lake, until they were again defeated and driven away from that district by the Massai. Once again, many joined the agricultural tribes of the highlands: the remainder escaped to Leikipia, east of the Baringo Lake and northwest of Mount Kenia, and there they at length found peace and security. These migrations are invariably instructive: the Massai pour into the south from the north and drive away their forerunners from the rich plunder; the latter then return to the old barren cradle of the race, perhaps to recover their strength and again to start for the countries of the south.

The Hamitic shepherd race of the Wataturu, who were originally settled to the north of Lake Eiassi, were in like manner defeated and ejected; remnants of them now lead a miserable existence in the different districts bordering the riverless highland, and have also in part become tillers of the soil.

The devastating effects of the Massai wars arose from the fact that their object was not the conquest of new lands, but cattle raiding and plunder. Generally helped by treacherous natives, they would penetrate far into the agricultural districts, murdering and plundering, and they would then rapidly disappear, leaving a wilderness behind them. They even planned, though they did not carry out, attacks upon the coast settlements of Usambara. Districts of Usagara were wasted both by Zulus and Massai; the German station of Mpapua (Mpwapwa), founded by Wissmann in 1889 to protect the caravan route, marks the meeting-point of these two marauding races, so utterly different in origin and yet so very similar in their habits.

The power and mobility of the dwellers upon the steppes are contingent upon the possession of cattle. Before cattle were known in East Africa, such irresistible

waves of migration as those of the Hamitic peoples were impossible; the nomad of the steppes without cattle and sheep is a miserable creature, a wandering hunter, like the South African Bushman, presenting no terrors for his agricultural neighbours. Remnants of these earlier steppe dwellers are still to be found in East Africa; a people living with the Massai as a kind of pariah caste, the Wandorobbo (Wandorobo; cf. p. 421), are a case in point. So long as this was the condition of all the desert races, no obstacle opposed the northward expansion of the black agricultural races. Hence we have in East Africa the same phenomenon as in the Sahara; traces of a negro distribution spreading far northward, then the growth of the steppe peoples and their predominance, and the consequent formation of a broad zone of mixed races, in which the negroes form the passive element.

At the present time the old conditions tend to recur. The outbreak of rinderpest (especially since 1891) has weakened the offensive powers of the nomads, has terribly diminished their numbers, and has even reduced many of them to join the negro tillers of the land. Unless the herds of the Massai recover from this plague, the consequence will be a fresh advance of the negroes into the forsaken districts; these new settlers will not be pure negroes, but will have a strong infusion of Hamitic blood in their veins. At the same time the despised hunting races are growing stronger and taking possession of the steppes unsuitable for cultivation; at the present moment the Wandorobbo are stronger than the Massai.

But in future East Africa will be a land little neglected by the outside world. A new period was marked by the retirement of the Portuguese from the coast and the rise of Arab settlements, whence Arab traders penetrated into the interior, destroying and remodelling. Then began the partition of Africa among the European nations; Germany obtained the coast of Central East Africa and the interior as far as the lakes; while England took possession of the coast of Mombas and stretched out her hand over the Wahuma States. At this point changes begin which may end in great transformations; to these the negro can only oppose his passivity and his strong vitality. It may be that he will continue to till his land as he did thousands of years ago, in happy unconsciousness of the changes that are taking place about him.

4. WEST AFRICA

WHILE waves of civilization broke continually upon the shores of East Africa and made their influence felt far into the interior of the country, West Africa lay shrouded in mysterious darkness, as little known to the outside world as was the heart of the continent. No sail appeared upon the waves of the Atlantic Ocean, which broke in wild uproar upon a harbourless coast; no ship left the African coast to visit other lands and people; West Africa was the passive side of the continent. It is only during the last century that these conditions have been utterly transformed.

It appears natural and in proportion to treat comprehensively of East Africa, with its early relations with the outer world, and its nomadic shepherd peoples. At first sight this mode of treatment does not seem wholly suitable to the West

Coast. Here the sea is merely a boundary to population, not a means of intercourse; hence the coast lands must be dependent upon the interior districts; they cannot contain any special zones of civilization, sharply distinguishable from the other parts of Africa. Nevertheless many arguments can be advanced in favour of a general and comprehensive treatment of West Africa.

We have already observed that the coast of Upper Guinea, that is, the district from Senegambia to the Kamerun, is a pure negro district, which special characteristic distinguishes it sharply from the Sudân. In this case a true ethnological distinction divides the coast from the interior; and this state of affairs was in being before the first Europeans trod the shores of West Africa. Again, further south we find that the coast had a certain independence as compared to the interior, though in a less degree than in the north, and this fact undoubtedly shows that the sea must be something more than a mere obstacle to expansion. When we remember, besides, how often even in early times the coast has been the goal of migrations from the interior, we are obliged to admit that the Atlantic Ocean has been highly important in African history.

In fact, the sea has treasures to offer which are of high value in the eyes of the negro. The fisheries, it is true, have never been systematically worked, but salt is a highly desirable commodity, and this the coast peoples can provide in great abundance at little trouble to themselves. In any case, for the negro, whose staple diet is drawn from the vegetable world, salt is a greater necessity than for the shepherd or the hunter. Hence we constantly find races migrating from the interior to the coast, and there expanding; but the configuration of the coast prevents such movements from resulting in the complete expulsion or destruction of the inhabitants of the shore.

As no retreat from the coast is possible, the inhabitants were forced to resist with the energy of despair, when attacked by more powerful races from the interior; but wherever the coast was broken by gulfs, river mouths, or islands they would take refuge in the impenetrable swamps on the river banks, on the half-submerged islands, or in other retreats, and continue their existence side by side with the new invaders and even exercise a modifying influence upon them in course of time. The original populations often maintained their footing in the mountainous districts, as for instance in the mountains of the Togo hinterland, which were repeatedly used as a refuge by ejected races. Thus we have a more or less complete explanation of the indisputable fact that a certain ethnographical unity was maintained upon the coast in spite of all invasions from the interior.

But we have yet to learn the origin of this unity which is evidenced by numerous characteristics common to the whole district. It is not perhaps too bold a conjecture to assume great maritime activity among the coast peoples at a remote period. Such activity is largely continued at different points upon the coast even in our own times. In the Kamerun and Gaboon district shipbuilding is highly developed, and great piratical expeditions have been made at a recent date; the inhabitants of the Bissagos Islands on the coast of Sierra Leone even waged a maritime war with the Portuguese and devastated a considerable part of the continent. Much more difficult and for the moment insoluble is the question whether we have in these facts the results of some early influence of foreign origin.

A. Senegambia

Geographically speaking, Senegambia is a transition point between nigritic West Africa and the Sudân; with the latter it is brought into connection by the proximity of the desert and of the desert tribes, and the rivers communicating with the interior; while its affinity with the Sudân is shown by the pure negro substratum of its population. No doubt in antiquity the influence of Carthaginian trading companies and settlements extended as far as Senegambia. The remnants of several peoples in a low stage of civilization are now settled upon the coast to the southwest as far as Sierra Leone. The Jolof (Wolof) are the most important race in the country; when they first become known to us historically, we find them thoroughly well organised politically, though already entering upon a period of retrogression. At an earlier period the Jolof probably extended much farther into the interior than they did at the time of their discovery (1446). About 1500 the larger part of Senegambia seems to have formed a fairly uniform State under a Burba-Jolof or Great-Wolof, whose district included even the mountain country of Futa; but shortly afterward the kingdom falls into a number of petty States constantly at war with one another (Cayor, Baol, Ualo, Sine, and others), although the tradition of their earlier unity has not even yet entirely faded. It is highly probable that the fall of the Jolof kingdom is to be connected with the rise of the Fulbe military power at that period,—in other words with the events then occurring in the Sudân proper (cf. below, p. 525).

With the Jolof we have to mention the Serer (the Barbacin of the Portuguese); the inhabitants of the coast about Cape Verde, who maintained themselves in partial independence of the Jolof and preserved the tradition that they had migrated to the coast from the interior (Futa) at an early period (in the fifteenth century).

B. The Coast Races from the Gambia to the Tanoë

There is but little to say of the early history of the little tribes between Gambia and Sherboro. The district is well adapted as a refuge for the remnants of ejected races, and may in course of time have received large numbers of fugitives. The result has been an extraordinary condition of disruption and the entire absence of any comprehensive political formation. On the contrary, a constant state of war prevails between the several tribes in proximity. The weakness of these little tribes is probably due to the fact that the States of the interior occasionally extended their power as far as the coast. At any rate, in the sixteenth century the district of Kasamanze (Cazamanca) was subject to another inland State, which was again tributary to the kingdom of Mandingo. States in the Western Sudân had previously extended their influence to the coast. Single tribes are constantly advancing from the Sudân to the coast, being expelled from their homes by the pressure of new conquering races; these then eject or subjugate the original inhabitants. In this way the Susu took possession of the district on the Rio Grande, which formerly belonged to the Bagoes, when they had themselves been driven from their settlements by the Mandingo; about 1515 the cannibal tribe of the Kumba (Manez) invaded the coast land of Sierra Leone and partly conquered it; the Mandingo also advanced to the sea.

The territory of the modern republic of Liberia has suffered a similar fate. The races generally known collectively as the Kru, appear to have migrated to the coast some three hundred years ago, retreating before the pressure of the conquering Mandingo and Fulbe. Other accounts show them as having assisted the Fulbe in the subjugation of the Verz inhabiting the coast. We have no information of the kind respecting the early history of the inhabitants of the Tooth coast, though it is probable that similar racial movements took place here also at an early date.

C. Ashanti and Dahomeh

No predominant State has developed upon the Gold and Slave coasts, where European influence made itself felt at an early date. In the interior two powerful kingdoms arose, and the general ferocity of their character, their bloody customs in war and peace, have long been the object of the fearful curiosity of Europeans. These were Ashanti and Dahomeh. Although these States appear to be primordial in their origin, yet it was European influence which brought about their rise. Both are very parallel in their manner of development and their customs. One special characteristic they possess in common is, that they are not coast States, but lie behind the belt of forest which protects the interior by impeding any advance from the coast. The power of both Ashanti and Dahomeh is founded upon the same basis, and the final destruction of their independence came to pass very nearly at the same time.

(*a*) *Ashanti.*— Ashanti does not appear as a historical State before the end of the seventeenth century. The name of the new kingdom was first known on the Gold coast about 1700. As many European settlements had existed long previously upon this coast, it is very probable that the kingdom of Ashanti was first formed about this period. In physique, language, and customs the Ashanti population is closely related to many of the dwellers upon the Gold coast, among whom the Fanti are the most powerful tribe. The Ashantis, however, have a tradition that their original home was near the town Inta (Assienta), northwest of the territory they now occupy. We may therefore assume that the Ashantis, together with the later inhabitants of the Gold coast, undertook one of those migrations to the sea of which we hear in the case of other peoples, and that during their progress part of the original race failed to penetrate to the coast and remained behind the forest belt on the first terraces of the highlands. This supposition completely explains the Fanti tradition, and is also supported by the evidence of language, for a large number of independent languages exist upon the Gold coast side by side with the Fanti and its related dialects. The old totemistic division of the race prevails to-day both among the Ashanti and among the peoples on the coast.

Before the rise of Ashanti a State appears to have existed in the interior, the capital of which lay to the south of the modern royal residence of Kumassi; according to Ashanti tradition the State was known as Denkjera. The Ashanti are said to have been exasperated by excessive demands for tribute, to have revolted at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and to have utterly defeated the ruler of Denkjera under their king, Osai Tutu (Sai Totu), in the year 1719,

although the former brought cannon into the field, which he had bought from the Dutch in exchange for slaves. There is the less doubt about the fact of this victory, as the cannon were preserved in Kumassi until modern times and have been seen there by Europeans. But the real cause of this revolution, which threw the power into the hands of an energetic tribe, is to be sought elsewhere, and is connected with the appearance of Europeans on the coast, — the fact that the ruler of Denkjera was able to exchange slaves for Dutch cannon is particularly important; Ashanti owes its existence and its power to the slave trade.

The moment that a great demand for slaves arose upon the coast the existing domestic supply was found to be inadequate; the coast peoples were forced to draw their supplies of this precious commodity from more inland districts or to procure them for themselves by attacking their neighbours. But the coast peoples already possessed a valuable trade in barter among themselves, and were by no means inclined to make slaves of one another at the expense of battles and loss of life; on the other hand, warfare was the only means of self-aggrandisement known to the peoples of the interior. In many districts these wars ended with the total disruption and enfeeblement of all concerned; in other cases they resulted in the foundation of powerful States, which now took up the business of capturing and selling slaves on a large scale, and spread devastation and disturbance far and wide by their incessant raids. By such methods Ashanti grew to power; apparently Denkjera was only a predecessor of this powerful State, and brought about its own downfall by attempting to procure slaves from Ashanti.

The slave trade was largely to blame indirectly for those bloody hecatombs in honour of dead kings which were a regular part of a funeral ceremonial in Ashanti and Dahomeh. The custom of sacrificing human beings to the dead is found among many savage peoples of Africa, but in few cases did it grow to such cruel proportions as in Ashanti and Dahomeh; there it is to be referred to the low value set upon human life which is the inevitable consequence of continual warfare, and also to the fluctuations in the slave trade which often made it impossible to export all the slaves on hand at a profitable rate. Sometimes a sudden rise in prices saved the victims already doomed to death; for instance, in the year 1791 the king of Dahomeh determined, in consequence of a sudden demand for slaves, to slaughter comparatively few of the captives taken in war and to send the remainder down to the coast.

Osai Tutu, the founder of the Ashanti kingdom, fell in an expedition against the coast tribe of Axim (Essim). As his nephew, Boitinne, had founded the neighbouring kingdom of Dwabin, he was probably succeeded by his brother, Osai Opoku, who seems to have turned his arms chiefly against the north; he reigned until 1741. His successor extended his incursions to Dahomeh, but suffered so crushing a defeat that he and the rulers who followed him turned their attention mainly to the northern frontier or occupied themselves with the reconquest of revolted tributary States. At the close of the eighteenth century they defeated the Sudânese cavalry in several engagements. However, the north could not offer a sufficient supply of slaves to meet the existing demand, and the coast tribes related to the Ashanti, who had enriched themselves by acting as middlemen to the slave trade, naturally attracted the attention of their warlike kinsfolk. Their

intervention had, moreover, entirely nullified the attempts of the Ashanti to deal directly with the Europeans on the coast (at first in 1748 and again later). The energetic Osai Kwamena, who ruled in Kumassi from 1800 to 1824, first reduced the Mohammedan countries upon his northern frontier, and in 1807 led his armies against the Fanti and disturbed the peace of the European forts upon the coast. In 1811 and 1816 he repeated his invasions with such success that the English agreed to the payment of a subsidy. When the governor of Sierra Leone, Charles McCarthy, refused payment, he was defeated and killed by Kwamena, January 21, 1824.

This was the beginning of the hostilities which were inevitably to bring about the fall of Ashanti in course of time. Kwamena's successor again advanced upon the Gold coast, but the new governor, Niel Campbell (d. 1827), inflicted a terrible defeat upon him, and under the next king Kwaku Dua (Quako Duah, (1830–1867), Ashanti remained at peace for a long time. A new war, very much against the will of the peaceful monarch, broke out in 1863, ostensibly against certain of the coast tribes, but also against the English, under whose protection these tribes were living. At first no event of importance took place. In 1868 Kofi Karikari (Kalkalli) ascended the throne of Ashanti, and in 1871–1872 the English took over certain places from the Dutch (Axim, Sekundi, Tshama, Elmina, Anomabo, Apang), and disturbances began upon the coast in consequence. An Ashanti army then appeared in the English protectorate, for the Ashantis looked upon the Gold coast as a tributary district, where no changes could be made without their sanction. The first campaign ended in long negotiations, until in 1873 the Ashanti army again advanced. This time the English determined to make an end of so undignified a situation. European troops were sent into the country under the command of Colonel Garnet Wolseley, as he then was. After a toilsome passage through the region of primæval forest the king's army was totally defeated on January 31, 1874. On February 4 Kumassi was reached and burned on the following day. The Ashanti terror was at an end.

The corner of the coast between Ashanti and Dahomeh, the modern Togoland, is inhabited, especially in its mountainous districts, by a very mixed population, which must have suffered greatly in the wars of the neighbour States. But here also greater uniformity is gradually rising by more peaceful methods, as the language and civilization of the Ewe races, which are related to the Dahomeh people, are steadily spreading. The old languages of the inhabitants are partly retained as "fetish dialects."

(*b*) *Dahomeh.* — The history of Dahomeh is very similar to that of Ashanti, although it begins at an earlier period. It contains, however, noticeable points of difference, arising in great measure from the configuration of the country. In the first place, the influence of Dahomeh upon the coast has been greater than that of Ashanti, as the European settlements on the Slave coast were unimportant until a very recent date, no European power making any claim whatever upon certain districts. Moreover, Abomeh, the capital of Dahomeh, is situated far more closely to the sea than Kumassi. On the other side the zone of Sudânese influence in the Niger valley approaches the coast in proportion as we advance eastward, so that the eastern neighbour of Dahomeh, Yoruba, may be considered in a sense as belonging to the Sudân. The civilization of Dahomeh escaped this powerful

influence to some degree, but not so its policy. We see Ashanti at the height of its power making the Mohammedan lands upon the north tributary to itself, while Dahomeh was for a long period in some way dependent upon a State with Sudânese civilization, Eyeo (Oyo), which again seems to have been tributary to the kingdom of Nupe, on the Niger. In the country itself the faith of Islam took so strong a hold in course of time that in the year 1855 the Mohammedans actually planned an insurrection.

Among the people of Dahomeh, the Fon, the tradition runs that they had migrated from the interior of the continent (Nodsie) to their present territory. Like the Ashanti, they are the most important members of a group of races related by language, the Ewe peoples (or Asigheh), who extend from the Volta as far as Yoruba and the Niger. The pure dialect of Dahomeh is also spoken in certain places on the coast, — in Weidah (Whydah, Fidah, conquered by Dahomeh in 1727), in Badagry, an old centre of the slave trade, and in the Mohammedan island of Lagos.

The rise of the kingdom of Dahomeh was certainly brought about by a course of events similar to those which occurred in Ashanti; the movement commenced at the outset of the seventeenth century in the village of Darhiff in the neighbourhood of Abomeh, without at first exercising any great amount of influence upon the condition of the coast. The ruling dynasty to which the foundation of the new State must be ascribed, has remained upon the throne until modern times; the first ruler Tacoodonu (Takudua) is said to have come forward in 1625. As the line of dead monarchs increased in number, the hecatombs appear to have become larger and more frequent. The king also had viceroys of a kind (according to Richard Francis Burton, 1863) known as "princes of the forest," he himself bearing the title of "prince of the town."

In spite of the rather low population the military power of Dahomeh was always important, and became a terror to all neighbouring races in consequence of their constant drill, their incessant campaigns, and their ferocious bravery. Most extraordinary is the fact that even the female part of the population contributed a strong and especially formidable contingent to the army, the "Amazon guard" of the king. The most generous reckoning estimated these troops at ten thousand in the middle of the nineteenth century, at about five thousand in 1880, and according to the lowest estimate (which was certainly made after the battle of Abbeokuta, 1851) at little more than two thousand female warriors. The theory is probably not far wrong, which would consider the whole institution as a remnant of the matriarchal stage of society, and the Amazon legends of European and Asiatic peoples actually refer to a similar state of affairs; but it may have come into use at a period when the male strength of the community had been brought very low by endless wars. This is the more probable in view of the fact that the kings of Dahomeh were accustomed to put every one into the field who could stand upright, in order to terrify their enemies with the appearance of overpowering numbers. The enormous losses of men finally brought the kingdom to such a pass that very few pure-blooded Dahomeans remained, and their place was taken by the children of slaves belonging to neighbouring races.

For a long time the affairs of Dahomeh attracted very little attention from the Europeans, until in 1723–1724 and again in 1727–1728 the king Guadja Trudo

appeared on the coast, conquered the rulers of Popo and Weidah and reduced them to vassalage. Several European factories were destroyed on this expedition, and many Europeans were carried off to the new capital of Allada (which was later exchanged for Abomeh); they were, however, released later on, with the single exception of the English governor of Weidah, who had to pay for his hostility to Dahomeh with his life. After the subjugation of the coast, the slave trade revived considerably; Weidah and the neighbouring harbours were the most important export stations for these black cargoes, and the name "Slave Coast" recalls that disgraceful epoch even to-day. An attempt of the coast races to reconquer Weidah was a total failure (1763).

The ruler who succeeded Guadja Trudo (1708–1730) was greatly his inferior in warlike zeal, and as the coast was now tributary to Dahomeh, he directed his armies against the less known races of the interior. He overran the district of Togo, which lies between Ashanti and Dahomeh; in the first half of the nineteenth century Ashanti itself is said to have been tributary to him. On the other side his expeditions seem to have penetrated as far as Benin, though our information is unreliable in this case, as there were no European interests in that district; it was only when Abbeokuta entered into friendly relations with England, that interest was aroused by the appearance of King Gezo (Gheso) of Dahomeh before this town, and by the disgraceful defeat which he there received (1851).

The gradual cessation of the slave trade by sea naturally had a great effect upon Dahomeh, as the State's existence depended upon this traffic. The continuance of their raids may be partially explained by the fact that some demand for slaves existed in the Mohammedan States on the north, but chiefly by the bloody funeral sacrifices which took place at certain periods of the year, and were almost invariably preceded by a raid into neighbouring territory. Conquest upon a large scale was a thing of the past. Such was the condition of Dahomeh in the last years of Gezo († 1858), and under his successors Bahadung, Gelele, and Behanzin, until Colonel Alfred Amédée Dodds took possession of the country in the name of France in 1892, and put an end to the bloody rule of the old royal house on the 17th of November.

D. Yoruba and Benin

(*a*) *Yoruba.* — If Ashanti and Dahomeh are to be considered as the head and front of the negro resistance to Sudânese influence, Yoruba is remarkable as being the district where the civilization, the religion, and the trade of the Sudân are most deeply rooted even as far as the coast. But it is only the civilization of the fair Sudânese races, and not their political power, that is a modifying factor in this district. The most northerly part of the country has certainly fallen into the hands of the Fulbe; but the remainder, which is composed of a number of flourishing city States, has successfully defied all attacks from the north and from Dahomeh on the west. In the north the town of Ibadan is the main bulwark against the Fulbe. In the south the constitutional principality of Abbeokuta is in a flourishing condition; it was founded as a refuge State about 1820–1825, and the population increased rapidly. So early as 1851 it was, as we have already seen, sufficiently strong to repel the attacks of Dahomeh; in 1857 and 1863 the same course of events was repeated. Mohammedanism has already made numerous converts in

Yoruba, while Christianity has been very gradually recovering from the consequences of the persecution of 1867.

(*b*) *Benin.* — On the other hand, the kingdom of Benin, which has been practically inaccessible to Europeans for a long period, forms a parallel to Ashanti and Dahomeh in certain respects. It was not until the English stormed the capital in the spring of 1897 that information was forthcoming upon the bloody sacrificial customs there prevailing; at the same time material evidence of the highest importance both for the history of the country and for negro art was brought to light in the shape of old bronzes and ivory carvings (see the plate facing this page, "Antiquities from Benin"). These productions mark the culminating point of a native West African art, hardly touched by any external influence. The clothing of the different Europeans represented shows that these works were completed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries — at any rate, hardly earlier than 1550; therefore the kingdom of Benin must have been at the height of its prosperity and in communication with the Portuguese about that period. It remains uncertain whether it was European influence which brought the art of brass founding to the high technical perfection which it attained; but in any case the Benin bronzes are evidence for the artistic gifts of the West Africans, and help to point the contrast with the utter lack of artistic talent among the South and East Africans. This is a feature which is naturally of great importance from a historical point of view.

E. From the Delta of the Niger to Sanaga

The Niger Delta, with its numerous river courses, and the swampy islands surrounded by these, is another of those special districts which have been and are so many refuges for beaten and scattered races. Remnants of many peoples are to be found there, and a searching examination of their manners and customs would doubtless provide much surprising information upon early African history. The mere fact of their existence is proof of the great racial movements which must have taken place, and also shows that the neighbouring peoples of Benin and the Ibo races to east and west of the Delta are comparatively recent arrivals at the coast. The Efik in old Calabar have not even yet lost all recollection of their immigration from a district between the Cross River and Ibo on the Niger.

The country round the Bay of Biafra is of little historical importance. The kingdom of Biafra, which occupies a large space in old maps, was situated in the interior and most probably belonged to the Sudân States. It may have been a predecessor of the modern Adamaua. The tribes on the coast were disunited, and in later times lost their distinctive manners and customs under the influence of trade. The advance of inland tribes to the seaboard is noticeable in this case also and appears to have taken place at an early period. Thus the Dualla (Duala) in the Kamerun might easily be considered as inhabiting the coast from the earliest times on account of their remarkable skill in shipbuilding. Yet they possess vague traditions to the effect that they formerly dwelt on the Upper Lungasi, in the district of Zangahe. Seven generations previously the tribe was divided into two halves. At the time when Germany acquired the territory (1884) the two

EXPLANATION OF THE ANTIQUITIES OVERLEAF

1. Winged head of a negro in bronze, in the possession of Professor Dr. Hans Meyer in Leipsic; one-eighth real size.

2. Bronze panther, in the possession of an Englishman; one-seventh real size.

(Two similar panthers are in the possession of the Emperor William II. The reproduction of the spots has been simply done with a punch.)

3 and 4. Two artistically carved elephant tusks, in the Anthropological Museum at Leipsic.

5. Bronze plate, in the possession of Professor Dr. Hans Meyer in Leipsic; one-fourth real size.

When in the year 1897 the English conquered Benin, the capital of the West African district of similar name, which is bounded on the east by the Niger, they took among the plunder certain marvellously carved antique elephant tusks, and bronzes, the admirable casting of which speedily attracted more general attention. The most interesting portion of these spoils was the bronze plates with their numerous ornamental figures, of thirty to seventy centimetres in length, cast in a deeply indented mould, the wax model of which is now lost (cf. Goethe's Benvenuto Cellini); only on the clothes of the figures or on the flat background patterns have been made by the use after casting of chisel, file, hammer, and punch. The technical skill displayed in the making of these objects is well-nigh perfect; the upper surface is pure and the metal has been carefully economised; some of the parts of the figures which are in greater relief are hollow inside. The plate reproduced overleaf (Fig. 5) represents a chieftain with two of his warriors; the faces are of the pure negro type, with broad noses, prominent lips, and large eyes; particularly noticeable is the helmet-shaped head-dress with its indented edges (cf. especially Fig. 1) and the string of pearls covering the chin. We have here an undoubted example of the native work of the West African negroes in the interior of the Guinea coast; the best examples can be accurately dated by the dress and the weapons of the West Europeans represented on them; the period of these bronzes is from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century. Copies of other examples confirm this opinion. The subjects of the carved elephant tusks are similar to those of the bronzes, though mythological objects and animals occur more frequently. The clumsiness of the style is no doubt due to the difficulty of working in the material employed.

(Partly drawn from F. v. Luschan's address of March 19, 1898, published in the "Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft.")

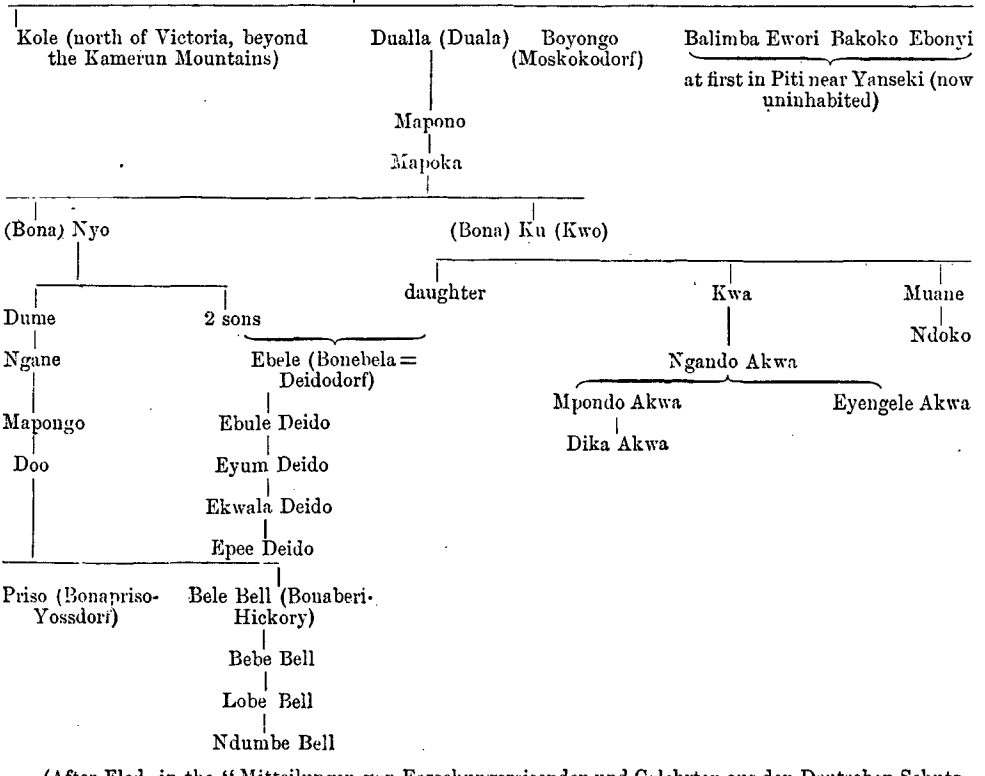
ANTIQUITIES FROM BENIN

chiefs were the trade "kings" Bell (properly Ndumbe)[1] and Akwa (Acqua; properly Ngando). Finally, the Dualla speak a Bantu dialect, and in fact the Bantu languages are universally spoken from the Kamerun as far south as the Hottentot district.

F. From Batanga to Loango

The coast races from Batanga and Gabun to Loango were in a state of disruption and of no great importance both at the time when they first became known to Europeans and also during later periods. The great divergencies of languages, which are especially remarkable in the district of the Ogowe, point to an early stage of struggle and migration. Remarkable also is the maritime capacity of individual coast tribes, which has, however, been displayed in piracy rather than in commercial pursuits. A new element of disruption has recently appeared among the already disunited Gabun peoples in the person of that remarkable cannibal race the Fan (Fang, Pahuin, or Mpongwe). Apparently this race has also been seized with the desire to reach the coast in the same way as the Bateke on the Upper Ogowe and the Apfuru (Afuru) on the Alima, a tributary on the right-hand bank of the Congo.

[1] Mberi, chief of the Dualla in Masongo (south of the modern Dualla district).



(After Flad, in the "Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten," IV, 1891.)

G. From the Congo to the Cunene

The ethnographical conditions in the districts at the mouth of the Congo are not so complicated as they are further northward. Immediately upon the north of the estuary dwell the Musserongo (Mussorongo) ; on the south the Mussicongo (Mushicongo). The negroes of Loango and Angola appear to have coalesced eventually into a fairly uniform people under European and native political influences. From a purely philological point of view, all these coast tribes, together with the Mpongwe on the Gabun, form a special group of Bantus. Physically, they give the impression of a very mixed race, united only by the tie of language.

(*a*) *Loango.* — A large number of petty States originally existed upon the coast of Loango, until a prince belonging to Zerri in Kacongo subjugated the larger portion of these States and made Loango his capital. The town is said to have had a population of fifteen thousand (see the plate facing this page, "Banza Lovangiri, the capital of the former Kingdom of Lovango.") In the south, Kacongo (Malimba) and N'goyo (Kabinda) maintained their independence in certain respects ; but the other parts of the country (Eningo, Yumba) were in no very close connection with their suzerain. The power of the rulers varied with the prestige which they were able to maintain, and a strongly centralised organisation was rather the exception than the rule. At some period (in the last part of the sixteenth century, at any rate before 1648, that is, before the arrival of the Portuguese) Loango is said to have been a province of Congo, though we have no certain information as to the nature of the relationship. The influence of the Portuguese and of Christianity did not make itself felt until a comparatively late period. The king of Loango was certainly converted about the middle of the seventeenth century by a zealous missionary ; but as both missionary and convert died shortly afterward, no permanent result was effected. It was not until the year 1766 that missionaries again entered the country. On this occasion they were a French party, and settled in Kacongo.

(*b*) *Congo.* — Meanwhile, the kingdom of Loango was entirely overshadowed by its powerful and prosperous neighbour Congo. For a time, indeed, it appeared as if Congo was to be a Christian State, and to become the starting-point whence Christianity and European civilization were not so much to conquer as to overspread the Dark Continent. But it became apparent only too quickly that the seed which had so rapidly sprung up could bring forth no fruit ; it was in turn choked and destroyed by the growth of native weeds.

When Diego Câo, with Martin Behaim, anchored in the mouth of the Congo in 1484, he found the country south of the river to a point nearly reaching Angola under the supremacy of one prince, the Mani-Congo, whose capital was at Ambasse, in the interior of the coastland. The Portuguese at once perceived that if they could gain over this ruler to their side, and succeed in converting him to Christianity, they would be able rapidly to extend their influence over a considerable part of the country. They took some of the Congo inhabitants back to Lisbon, and in 1490 sent a formal embassy to Ambasse, obtaining permission to build a Christian church. Certain special causes made the success of the embassy even more brilliant, and led to the complete conversion of the king and of his people.

BANZA LOVANGIRI, THE CAPITAL OF THE FORMER KINGDOM OF LOVANGO, ABOUT 1670

(After O. Dapper)

In the upper part of the town is situated the royal palace with the women's residence, an audience hall, and the tower of the public crier; close at hand is the great market-place. In the foreground on the left a fetish ceremony is in progress; on the right a criminal is being taken away

One of these causes was to be found in the state of political affairs within the Congo kingdom. It was a kingdom characterised by a lack of solidarity. Beside the central portion whence it took its name, there were other provinces governed according to the invariable negro custom by their own semi-independent princes. Any temporary weakness on the part of the overlord enabled the provinces to acquire a further measure of independence. Complete defection occasionally resulted, when the solidarity of the kingdom had to be maintained by force of arms. Of the provinces in this relation to the kingdom, the most important was Songo (Sonho), a district immediately south of the mouth of the Congo; after its chieftain had come in contact with the Portuguese, he was accustomed to call himself count, and later "great prince." The count of Songo was always an untrustworthy vassal, especially during the period when the Congo power began to decline. In 1631 the "count" succeeded in conquering Kacongo and N'goyo, whereupon he felt himself strong enough to throw off his allegiance to Congo. At the same time the Congo king had attempted to hand over Songo to the Portuguese as a reward for services rendered by them. On two occasions (1636 and 1641) the king of Congo was utterly defeated (cf. below). Even at the time when the Portuguese were beginning their missionary labours, a certain jealousy existed between Songo and Congo, in consequence of which the Songo prince, who was the weaker of the two, entered into close relations with the dreaded foreign arrivals, and embraced Christianity in 1491.

At the very time when the Portuguese were laying the foundations of their church in Ambasse, those great migration movements began, of which the attack of the Mundequete upon Congo may be considered as the prelude. Portuguese narratives would make it appear that the Mundequete were settled on the great lakes in the far interior and had "revolted" against Congo, thus giving an incredible area of extension to the Congo kingdom. The truth is that we meet in this case with one more instance of those constant migrations to the coast, which may certainly have been occasioned by the commencement of upheavals elsewhere, which were to devastate districts in Africa far remote from any that were visited by the warrior Mundequete. However this may be, the unexpected incursion of their outnumbering foes placed the king of Congo in a most embarrassing situation. His glance fell involuntarily upon the Portuguese; they, with their crosses, their rose wreaths and bells, their admonitions and preachings, seemed to be proclaiming a new magic which would assure victory; and they may very well have promised the king more practical assistance in the last extremity; the defection of the rulei of Songo was not without its influence; the king had himself baptised with his whole court under the name of Dom João da Silva, and countless numbers of his subjects hastened to follow his example. The army, sprinkled with holy water and protected by the banners of the cross, utterly routed the Mundequete in a fierce battle, and the victory of Christianity was thereby assured. Numerous churches arose, priests and monks found a wide field open for their efforts, and in 1534 a bishop was consecrated for the newly acquired province. Congo itself was more powerful than ever; its influence must have extended far into the interior, and under the protection of the Portuguese king is said at that time to have reached even the Great Lakes.

This state of affairs was rudely interrupted by the invasion of an even more formidable enemy, the Dchagga. In the year 1542 this cannibal tribe of warriors

first appeared on the borders of the Congo kingdom, spreading terror and panic before them as they came. The Congo army was utterly defeated, the capital, which had been called São Salvador since the conversion of the people, was stormed and burnt to the ground with its cathedral and chapels: the ancient civilization of Congoland was almost destroyed, together with the carefully ingrafted European culture which it supported. The king, Dom Alvaro I, whose palace had come to ape the style and manners of the court at Lisbon, deserted his capital, and fled to an island of the Congo, where he passed several miserable years. After four years of war, the utmost efforts of his people and the valuable assistance of Portuguese troops drove the Dchagga out of the land (1546). The country recovered its prosperity, and its connection with Portugal was naturally even closer than before.

Loango suffered from the incursions of the Anzig (Anzico, Anziquos) with their little bows bound with lizard-skin, even as Congo had been troubled by the Dchagga; but these two peoples seem to have been of different origin. For a long time the Dchagga were the terror of all the lands about the Congo estuary. Angola was devastated; the town of Loanda is said to have been in the possession of the Dchagga for seven years. Between 1590 and 1600 Benguela was the object of their marauding raids; Battel, who visited their encampment at that period, estimates their fighting strength at sixteen thousand. Eventually they abandoned the pursuit of war and settled in the district of Kassanje near the Upper Kwango, where remnants of them are said to have remained up to the present day.

The weakness of the civilization founded in the Congo kingdom and the superficial character of its conversion to Christianity were soon to become apparent. In the year 1636 began the unfortunate struggle with Songo already mentioned, which weakened the kingdom to a considerable extent. Relations with the Portuguese became more and more strained, though this was hardly the fault of Portugal; the missionary movements furthered by Urban VIII in 1644 and Innocent X in 1647 came to nothing. These internal weaknesses finally led to an open breach; the king, Antonio I, threw off his allegiance, and drove the clergy out of the country, obliging the transference of the bishop's see to São Paolo de Loanda, which had been founded in 1574. A Portuguese army made a successful invasion of the Congo kingdom, but it was henceforward left entirely to itself. Further struggles with Songo (1667) and with Bamba (Pamba) which also declared its independence in 1687, brought about the final collapse of the Congo kingdom.

(*c*) *Angola.* — Angola now became the centre of the Portuguese power; it had originally been a province of Congo with its "capital" Mapungo, under the name of Dongo (or Ambonde), had been raised by Portuguese interest to a considerable height of power, and after a revolt in 1578 had become partly dependent upon Portugal. The power of Congo, on the other hand, rapidly declined. An attempt was made in 1781 to resume the missionary work, but circumstances compelled its abandonment: it was not until 1882 that the missionaries again entered the country and made some two thousand converts, among them the king, Dom Pedro V. But the once powerful ruler of Congo remains and has remained throughout the nineteenth century the helpless chieftain of the fallen town of San Salvador. Christianity, which was apparently deeply rooted in Congo, also disappeared entirely in course of time.

It was only by slow degrees that the Portuguese gained possession of the whole of Angola. The rising of 1578 (or 1580) cost the lives of many Portuguese and was only checked by the resistance offered by the recently fortified town of Loanda; this movement was followed by many lesser struggles in which the advantage generally remained with the whites. Most tedious of all were the wars with the queen Ginga Bandi; after poisoning the brother who preceded her upon the throne she received baptism, but then continued for thirty years in hostility to Portugal. She derived some advantage from the struggles between the Portuguese and the Dutch; but eventually (1648) the Portuguese firmly established their supremacy.

Beyond the Cunene, the river which forms the southern frontier to the Portuguese possessions, we enter the district of the Ovambo and Herero, two races akin to the Kaffirs, who migrated from the northeast into their present steppe district, according to their own traditions. For the struggles of the cattle-breeding Herero with the Hottentots who advanced northward, see above, p. 425.

5. CENTRAL AFRICA

It is only within a recent period that Central Africa, the mysterious cradle of the black races, has been explored both on the east and the west, and its main features have been definitely established. New peoples, new and peculiar conditions of life, have been disclosed to view; and though a large portion of "the great white space" still remains upon the map awaiting obliteration, yet the affairs and conditions of the present time are, upon the whole, tolerably well known to us. But when we proceed to inquire into the history of the Central African races, we meet with a different state of things. No civilized observer can give us any testimony which will enable us to find a reliable starting-point in the past, as we have constantly been enabled to do when examining the history of East and West Africa; what the peoples themselves have to say concerning their past is of very little value. And so we have to extract a few scanty facts from the evidence of customs and civilization, as the geologist seeks to solve the enigma of the world's history by examining the strata of the rocks. When we have more material before us for ethnological examination, and when more especially that examination shall have been scientifically carried out, then and not till then will it be possible to trace the outlines of Central African history in greater completeness than is yet possible.

Central Africa is a general term for a district which is anything but a uniform whole. The bond of connection throughout this district is a purely negative characteristic — isolation from the influences of surrounding civilizations; but any one who should assume that Central Africa has never experienced the results of any foreign influence would be grievously mistaken. Many an article which has only been introduced in modern times has gone the whole breadth of the continent, as, for instance, the American vegetables, maize, manioc, and tobacco, or hemp which came in from the East; such advances in civilization as the art of working in iron followed the same course at an early period, and many other artistic occupations, which flourish in the interior and are apparently of native growth, were perhaps cast as seed upon the heart of the continent from far distant lands.

A historical examination of Central Africa from any one point of view is an

impossibility. The subject divides itself naturally into three parts: the circle of the more important States formed on the Upper Zambesi and on the southern tributaries of the Congo; next, the actual Congo basin, and finally, the district of the Upper Nile and its western tributaries. Of these three main divisions, the central has been investigated latest in time and has little to offer in the way of definite historical fact; the southern district is richer in certain traditions, while the northern division makes a temporary appearance in the daylight of the geographical knowledge of Europe at a very remote epoch, comparatively speaking, and in vague and uncertain outline.

A. The States on the Upper Zambesi and on the Southern Tributaries of the Congo

The districts on the Zambesi offer many resemblances to what we have already learnt in our examination of the history of East Africa. In East Africa the highest and most specialised civilization is by no means to be found upon the coast, which was subject to foreign influence in an excessive degree; its home is situated further in the interior where the natives are strong enough to stamp their own individuality upon the improvements of civilization which penetrate to their district, and to join to these their own knowledge and capacity with the most fruitful results. On the other hand, the land between the coast and the more important States of the interior, is swarming with warlike nomads; the Wahuma are an instance of the way in which a mixed people of increased political capacity can be produced from the fusion of settled races and conquering shepherd tribes.

There is a striking similarity between the conditions of East Africa and those of the Zambesi valley; only in the latter case the influence of foreign civilizations penetrated more deeply into the interior of the country than elsewhere. This fact is partly due to the geographical configuration of the country, which possesses no such great obstacles to communication as does Central Africa with its steppes and lakes. But of even greater importance is the position of the district with reference to the old gold country of Monomotapa, which received the stimuli of civilization and passed the impulse on to the interior throughout a long period of time. The tendency to the formation of States of unusual size is undoubtedly to be referred to this neighbouring example; even kingdoms further northward, such as Lunda or Congo itself, may be indirectly at least connected with this early type. At the present time the States of the interior, like those of East Africa, are divided from the coast by a belt of conquering nomads. Finally in the kingdom of Marutse-Mambunda we have the very counterpart of the history of the Wahuma States; for here also an invading race temporarily dominated the kingdom.

(*a*) *The Marutse-Mambunda Kingdom.* — The most important people in this district, the Marutse (Barotse, Luino), display many characteristics denoting their close relationship to those peoples who founded States in the south of the Congo basin and on the west coast which borders that district. The Barutse extending along both banks of the Zambesi inhabit the central part of the kingdom; they suffered some temporary humiliation at the hands of the Makololo (cf. further below), but soon regained their position as the dominant race among the other

inhabitants of the kingdom (according to Emil Holub, these number eighteen main tribes divided into eighty-three branches and offshoots). The smaller tribes were considered by the Marutse as their slaves. But in 1870–1890, when Holub and Selous visited them, the Marutse were themselves living under an absolutely despotic government. This state of affairs cannot have been of long duration; the existence of a small and of a great council shows that the institutions characteristic of Africa have been handed down from antiquity in this case also, — institutions which are powerless against a strong ruler, but speedily grow beyond the control of a weak monarch.

The very different manner in which the civilization of the several tribes has developed induces the conjecture that the kingdom did not always cover the area which it now occupies. Much more strongly marked in the States of Central South Africa than in the other kingdoms of the Dark Continent is the peculiar fact that they are surrounded by boundary zones and not by sharply defined frontier lines. The power of the State is at its strongest in the centre and declines in proportion as the frontiers are approached. The tribes living nearest to the dominant race may be nothing more than slaves, while those at a greater distance merely pay tribute and are generally inclined to shake off the yoke upon any signs of weakness in the supreme power. Hence it is impossible to say how far the influence of the old Marutse kingdom extended, previous to its conquest by the Makololo.

The Makololo belong to the western group of Kaffirs, the (East) Bechuanas, the remnants of which now bear the general name "Basuto." Until the year 1820, they lived in the eastern part of what is now the Orange Free State. It was about this time that Moselikatse (Umselekazi) came upon the scene with his Matabele. This event and a defeat which they suffered in 1823 together with the Mantati (a branch of the Batlokua who belonged to the North Eastern Bechuanas) near Lithaku (Lattakoo) at the hands of the Griqua under Andries Waterboer, forced the Makololo to abandon their old settlements in 1824 and to migrate northward. The Bangwaketse (chief village, Makabe) first of all made a fruitless attempt at opposition; then the Makololo found an opportunity of interfering in the internal dissensions of the Bakwena (chief town, Litubaruba; now Molepolole), one of the most powerful of the Bechuana races; they raised Setshele (Seshele) to the head of this people, the son of a chief who had been overthrown by his subjects.

The Makololo chief at this period was Sebituane (Sebitoane) a born leader of men, and one of the strongest and most attractive personalities of whom we hear in the whole history of Africa. According to Livingstone he was accustomed to lead his troops into battle in person, unlike Moselikatse, Dingaan, and other generals. Setshele's support enabled the Makololo to settle in the neighbourhood of the Bakwena. However, a wholly unjustifiable incursion by the Boers inflicted heavy losses upon them, and they were once more obliged to retreat northward. The history of Sebituane's advance into Northern Bechuanaland is an Odyssey of battles, privations, and sudden changes of fortune. Harassed by the advancing Matabele, he turned westward to the district of the Herero, and then again eastward to the Zambesi. Menaced by the treachery of the island Batoka, he nevertheless succeeded in crossing the river and defeated his enemies in the neighbourhood of the Victoria Falls; the capture of countless herds of cattle enabled his people to resume their shepherd life in the rich pastures of the district. However, the Matabele crossed the Zambesi on several occasions though without gaining

any permanent advantage, and Sebituane succeeded in subjugating the land of the Marutse on the west. When his deadly enemy Moselikatse made his second attempt at crossing the river, the Marutse in concert with the Makololo held the banks in force; Moselikatse's attempt failed; his army was shut up in one of the islands of the Zambesi and reduced by starvation. Sebituane was then able to turn his attention to the organisation and extension of the kingdom which he ruled in his "capitals" of Sesheke on the Zambesi and Linyanti on the Chobe (the northeast point of the modern German Southwest Africa). But his people began to decrease rapidly. The Makololo had become a mixed race at a much earlier period, for continual warfare had greatly diminished their numbers, and their strength had been maintained solely by the expedient peculiar to Africa, of incorporating among themselves the children of the races they conquered. Malaria carried off large numbers of the men and diminished the productive powers of the women. One remarkable and instructive memorial they have left behind them, in their language (the Sesuto), which has become the general medium of communication throughout the Marutse kingdom.

Sebituane died in 1851. He was succeeded by his daughter, Mamotshisane, and his son, Seketetu (until about 1856). Upon the extinction of the Makololo the Marutse people again became predominant in the kingdom, while at the same time the Mambunda people became an influential power. At this period a new native family gained possession of the throne which prided itself upon the pure Makololo blood in its veins, although it was founded by Letshulatebe, the conqueror of the last of the Makololo. He had originally resided at Lesotsilebe, to the east of Lake Ngami. Of these pure-blooded Marutse princes Sepopo, who removed his capital from the Barotse southward toward the Masupia district, has become notorious for his cruelty. He succeeded in placing himself upon the throne of the Mambunda kingdom, which was governed by a dynasty related to his own and reverted to one of his daughters upon the death of the last queen. He thus completely unified the Marutse-Mambunda kingdom. He was murdered in 1876, and his kingdom fell into confusion.

His successor, N'Wana-Wena, destroyed such slight independence as had been left to the kingdom of Mambunda by forcing the queen to resign the throne in her own name and that of her descendants. However, he speedily fell from his position, owing to the discovery of a plan which he had conceived for the murder of the most important chiefs. In his stead Leboshe (Lobossi) was elected king, much against his own desire. However, the struggle with N'Wana-Wana ended in the defeat and death of the latter. The peace policy which Leboshe inaugurated was not to the liking of his people, who had been demoralised by revolts and battles, and after the murder of Leboshe about 1880, Lewanika (Luanika) waged war in the northeast (1882) against the Mashukulumbe (Mashikulumbwe), from whom he took forty thousand cattle, though his subjugation of this people was not really complete. In the year 1884 disturbances again broke out; the king was driven into exile with his more vigorous sister and co-regent, and Waga-Funa temporarily ascended the throne. In 1886 Lewanika made a successful return, but stained his victory by ingratitude and cruelty. He has since maintained his position upon the throne in spite of neighbouring English, Portuguese, and Belgian influences.

At the present time the civilization of the Upper Zambesi valley is confined to the

kingdom of the Marutse, but its influence has extended considerably farther. In particular, the art of cotton-weaving is known to the Ganguella and Luchaze (Lushase) in the hinterland of Benguela. No States of importance were formed among these peoples, but race confederations of considerable power most probably existed.

(b) The Lunda Kingdom. — To the northwest of the Marutse kingdom, from which it is divided by a stretch of independent territory, lies the second great political state of Central Africa, the kingdom of Lunda, more generally known as the kingdom of the Muata Yamwo. Here again there are no permanent or sharply defined boundaries. The central part of the kingdom lies on the Upper Kassai and the rivers flowing parallel to it in a northerly direction. On the west the influence of the king extends nearly to the Kwango, on the south to the watershed between the Congo and the Zambesi; on the north and east the boundary lines vary even during the short period over which our accurate knowledge of the Lunda kingdom extends. The Kalunda are the dominant race, a pure negro people speaking a Bantu language. Their civilization is certainly poorer than that of the Marutse-Mambunda kingdom. It is very remarkable that neither the palm-fibre cloth of the true Congo valley nor the cotton fabrics of the Zambesi district are produced here; nor has the art of iron-working attained any high development. Agriculture is assiduously practised, while cattle-breeding is somewhat neglected.

The political institutions of the country are of the highest importance for its history. In Lunda we also find the king, here known as Muata Yamwo, at the head of the State, with absolutely unlimited powers, surrounded by a body of councillors whose influence varies according to the character of the ruler. Moreover, we find the country separated into a number of small districts, which are divided among individual chieftains, who govern them quite after the manner of the feudal system. These chieftains enjoy complete independence as regards the internal administration of their district so long as the monarch chooses to refrain from interference, but are obliged to pay tribute and provide contingents of troops for the army. Naturally most of these small districts have not been made by a process of arbitrary division, but are of historical origin, and thus have an additional stimulus to cling to their independence, the result being that, as in the Marutse kingdom, the outlying portions are kept to their allegiance solely by the exertions of the ruler for the time being, and that the extent and power of the kingdom is continually changing.

A very remarkable feature in the constitution of the State, and one that doubtless goes back to some older type, is the queen consort, the Lukokesha. This female ruler is not the king's wife, but is a member of the royal house, possessing her own court, her own income, and having the power of deciding the election of a new Muata Yamwo. She is allowed to marry, but her husbands are officially known as "wives," and, generally speaking, have no influence. Thus in the Lunda kingdom the government has two heads in existence, which are neither mutually exclusive nor in mutual hostility.

Such a state of affairs cannot but be the outcome of previous historical development. In this case we probably have before us the remnant of a matriarchal system of government, the origin and organisation of which can be traced in other parts of the world. When that association of blood relations known as the

family is in process of formation from the original tribe, the mother in some cases becomes the centre of gravity, while the father is at first merely a hanger-on, an appendage, to the new group, and only by degrees obtains that dominant position in the family which he held when a member of the tribe. Nor is he invariably successful. In some cases the woman maintains her position, and when the tribe breaks up into a number of classes or families she remains at the head of the family as its ruler. Probably the royal dignity of the Lukokesha was the outcome of some such course of development.

But at this point a system of government by men rises to supreme power side by side with this feminine royalty. The Kalunda themselves possess a fabulous tradition referring to this change, which probably was brought to pass without recourse to force of arms. A princess is said to have been the ruler of the Lunda kingdom and to have shared her power with an immigrant prince, who became her husband. We are told that about that period a chieftain named Kinguri, according to some accounts the queen's brother, fled from Lunda with his people and received permission from the Portuguese to settle in Kassanje (about 1622, according to Carvalho). Now we know from Zuchelli that the remnants of the formidable Dchagga race settled in Kassanje and paid tribute to the Congo kingdom. Hence it appears as if the change in the institutions of Lunda was connected with the racial upheavals which took place in Africa during the fifteenth century. Lunda, which was under a matriarchal government, was probably unable to withstand the attack of the Dchagga. It may have been unable to recover its strength until it obtained the help of some bold chieftain who had immigrated from the East. The pious retention of the dignity of the Lukokesha and her influence upon the election of a king might thus be satisfactorily explained as survivals of the old matriarchal government.

The existence of the Lunda kingdom was known upon the coast as early as the end of the sixteenth century, from the slaves who brought descriptions of it from the interior. Whether the kingdom of the Mundequete, against which the Congo king had to struggle so desperately, is the same as that earlier political formation which the theory we have just developed would show to have succumbed to the Dchagga, is a question as yet impossible of solution. Similarly very little is known of the internal history of the country, although Portuguese traders must have penetrated to Lunda at an early epoch. The extent of the kingdom varied under different rulers, as also did the position of the capital, Mussumba (great encampment). Its site was altered with every change in the succession, though it was never removed beyond the fruitful plain lying between the Kalangi and Luisa, tributaries of the Lulua. A short time ago (1896–1897) it was situated on the left bank of the Luële. The burial-place of the royal dynasty is Nsai (Ensai), on the Kallanji.

Although, generally speaking, the Lunda kingdom is but little troubled by foreign enemies, this advantage is somewhat discounted by the slow growth of an element of danger within the State, which will produce a complete revolution of affairs, provided that the natural course of events is not disturbed by European interference. To the southwest of the Lunda kingdom is the race of the Kioko, which has lived in a forest district from an early period, and conformed to this environment; thus it forms a contrast to the plain-dwelling people of the Kalunda. The Kioko show a preference for settlements in the forest, are excellent hunters,

collect india-rubber and keep bees, but also understand the art of agriculture and have strongly marked inclinations for trade; this latter tendency has been the reason of their slow but continuous migration northward. The true home of the Kioko is tributary to the Muata Yamwo and is divided into numerous departments; but for a long period this restless people has been advancing upon its original habitat in two main streams, one on the Kuillu and Loange, the other northward on the Luatshim; everywhere they are outstripping the idle Kalunda by their industry. About 1860 they had not passed beyond the tenth degree of latitude south; in 1880 Max Buchner found them upon the seventh degree. The Kalunda eyed them suspiciously, and hinted boastfully of a war to wipe out the unwelcome intruders; but the Kioko had even then become necessary to them for their trading habits and their industrious pursuit of agriculture and metal work. Moreover, manners and customs were so rapidly exchanged at every point of contact between the two races, that any sharp lines of demarcation disappeared rapidly. In the event of war between the Kioko and the Kalunda the former would probably become the dominant race; at any rate a new independent State would be formed in the west of the Lunda kingdom, which is even now upon the point of severance.

(*c*) *The Kingdoms of Kasembe, Msiri, and Kasongo.*—In addition to the land of the Kioko, the Muata Yamwo possesses a number of districts, some of which are loosely connected with Lunda and at times break away from it entirely. By far the most important of these is the kingdom of the Kasembe, the capital of which lies between the Lakes Mweru and Bangweolo and changes its situation almost as frequently as the capital of the Lunda kingdom. In other respects also the country is a counterpart of Lunda, except that it is not governed by a Lukokesha. There is no permanent connection between the kingdom of the Muata Yamwo and that of Kasembe; the power of the latter has diminished greatly within recent times and the connection between the two States appears to have been maintained not so much by fear of the military power of Lunda as by other influences perhaps of a superstitious nature. At any rate, when Kasembe resumed the payment of tribute (copper, slaves, and salt) to Lunda in the year 1875, this action is said to have been taken upon the advice of the court magician, who referred several unfortunate occurrences to the interruption of this traditional homage. The Muata Yamwo were considered by many of their neighbours as endowed with special magical powers which made them invincible.

The Kasembe power dwindled more rapidly after the immigration of Msiri; his tribe came from Unyamwesi, and rose to supreme power in Katanga (properly Garenganja; capital, Mukurru, Bunkea, or Kimpatu) a district further to the west between the Luapula on the east and the Lualaba in the west on the Lusira. About the middle of the year 1880, when Paul Reichard visited the tribe, Msiri possessed from two to three thousand warriors armed with flint-lock guns and perhaps three times as many archers; but they paid tribute to Muata Yamwo. Msiri's trading caravans went as far as Benguela, and at the same time he maintained relations with the east coast. In December, 1891, he was shot in an affair with the Belgian captain Bodson.

The kingdom of Kasongo in Urua is tributary to the Muata Yamwo. Here again the ruler demands and receives a superstitious veneration. The founder of the kingdom, Kungwe a Banza, is considered as the most powerful deity and invari-

ably receives a sister of the ruling chieftain to wife. Further, the Kasongo, in their own opinion, are related to the Muata Yamwo. But in the last decade of the nineteenth century this district has shown clear evidence of the wide disruption caused by the collapse of the once flourishing negro States of Central Africa, a disaster due to the far-reaching operation of the Belgian Congo State.

B. The Congo Valley

When we leave the kingdom of the Muata Yamwo and turn northward to the mighty valley of the Congo, we reach the most mysterious and unexplored district of Central Africa, concerning the peoples of which we were totally uninformed until a very few decades ago. In the Congo valley are none of those stronger political formations, the ruling families of which maintain a certain tradition. The history of the Congo races is as immeasurable as the waving sea of the Congo forests. Here lies the true "heart of Africa" and of its black races. Divided from the sea by the thundering cataracts of its lower reaches, the river Congo with its wide tributaries is a self-contained world, the home and for thousands of years the invincible stronghold of the black races, the only district in the world where they were allowed to develop freely after their own manner.

As a matter of fact, the Congo valley is something more than a mere geographical abstraction. Even from an ethnographical point of view it has a uniformity and a character of its own, though nowhere does any sharp line of demarcation separate it from the outer world. It belongs wholly to the district of the Bantu languages, and possesses a population purely negro, with the exception of the dwarf peoples in the depths of the forest districts. Certain arts and products of civilization are distributed mainly, though not exclusively, over this district.

In the Congo valley the right-angled type of hut with ridged roof takes the place of the round beehive shape and its varieties. Stanley found the district of Manyema, the first pure Congo tribe on the east, to be the limit of this characteristic style of house construction, a style which also determines the special arrangement of the village. The huts are not placed in a circle or in disorderly confusion, but in long straight streets. But this style of building is not confined to the Congo valley; it is also found on the negro west coast. This district forms a general whole in many respects, although the Bantu languages are spoken only in the south and its influence extends up the Congo to a point far within the interior. This remarkable phenomenon certainly points to some historical occurrence in antiquity as its explanation. Either the right-angled type of hut has advanced to the Upper Congo from the coast, or it has come down the stream; the latter alternative harmonises better with the extraordinary pressure of the inland races toward the sea.

A remarkable similarity exists between many of the examples of ironwork produced in the two districts. The work of the Congo valley has a fairly uniform style of its own. Knives, spearheads, etc., are broad, stumpy, and severely symmetrical. Many knives from the west coast show the same style of workmanship.

The exclusiveness of Congo civilization is most clearly shown in the distribution of the palm fibre and grass fabrics which are entirely unknown in many other districts of Africa. The knowledge of these manufactures is not shared by the remaining part of the west coast. It is, however, to be found in scattered districts

of East Africa and is generally practised in Malay Madagascar. Possibly we have here the traces of an advance from east to west of a civilization of which the most deeply rooted remnants must be sought in Indonesia.

A less attractive feature is the cannibalism which we find prevailing under the most varied forms in the Central Congo valley. Endocannibalism and exocannibalism are alike practised. Many races eat their own dead, others their defeated enemies. Some unite both of these horrible practices. The wide prevalence of this disgusting habit is a further proof of the secluded nature of the country; it appears not to have received the faintest echo of those intellectual movements which have led other races to pursue pure ideals and unselfish aims.

The Congo valley is connected with West Africa not only by the practice of cannibalism, but also by the custom of skull worship. The whole group of ideas attaching to this subject is not nearly so developed in Africa as in Indonesia, where head-hunting is an "authorised peculiarity" among many island races, and is pursued with true fanatical enthusiasm. None the less, many survivals of the custom are to be found in Congoland. On the west coast it has greatly developed in certain places, and recalls the typical Malay usage.

Many isolated features thus show the Congo valley as the most untrodden and secluded part of Africa, as being in a sense a world apart. Yet this seclusion is of a very relative kind. East Africa indeed, considered by European standards, might be called a land of peace and rest, whereas an African point of view, comparing it with the Congo valley, would regard it as an area of the wildest turmoil, traversed and repeatedly revolutionised by foreign influences. But the forests of the Congo did not bring the African migrations to a standstill or quench the influence of their varied civilizations.

Clear evidence of the fact that the whole of Africa has been traversed by foreign civilization is to be found in the distribution of the American garden plants (maize, manioc, and tobacco) which were introduced by Europeans, and also of the Indian hemp, a narcotic well known in the most central part of the Congo valley. The knowledge of iron smelting and forging may have been carried over the continent in a similar manner at some earlier period, and certain domestic animals may have found a new home among the races of the interior. The extent to which the land had been opened up by trade in earlier centuries is indicated by the ancient European glass beads in the possession of many Congo tribes, who are now unable to give any account of the source from whence these treasures came.

In some cases scattered seeds of civilization fall upon fruitful soil and pursue their own course of development, while yet retaining traces of their origin. There is a peculiar attraction in the discovery of small details of this nature which are often of inestimable value to the ethnologist. With their help the information previously acquired sometimes illuminates in a flash a line of development which was previously wrapped in darkness. By way of illustration we may mention the curious swords of Congoland; their cutting edge lies upon the inner curve, and in their broad, flat points they conform to the laws of style observed in the ironwork of the Congo. But on a closer examination of the type, it appears already strangely familiar; it is in fact the same crooked weapon which we find in Arabia, India, and Abyssinia, but has been altered and modified upon its inclusion within the armoury of the Congo races. But its shape even to-day is evidence of that stream of civilization which brought it from the northeast coast into the interior.

Another piece of early African history is revealed to us by an examination of the distribution of the throwing knife. This remarkable weapon is found among the heathen races of the Central Sudân in a characteristic and fairly simple form, and was most probably at one time in use throughout this district. In Bornu at the present time those troops which are armed with the throwing knife form a contingent enjoying special privileges; in Dar Fur the Sultan possesses a number of these weapons which his people no longer use. The Teda in the Sahara show a preference for them to the present day. The weapon is a product of pure Sudânese civilization anterior to the Mohammedan period; it has passed southward, changing its shape in the most marvellously varied manner. During earlier and later times we can trace its movements, which are partly confirmed by other evidence, and which show us that the southern portion of Central Sudân has been a point of departure for many important racial movements. The Fan carried the throwing knife westward to the Gabun coast. On the east the Niam-Niam brought it to the neighbourhood of the Upper Nile valley. An isolated example on the Upper Blue Nile shows the probability of earlier and even more extensive migrations. Finally, in the Sudân it was brought to the Ubangi downward as far as the Congo and was further distributed along the banks of this great river. Here, then, we have traces of a migration into the Congo valley from the north. On the other hand, there is a tradition among the Bateke on Stanley Pool that the ancient home of their race was in the northwest, in the highlands of the Ogowe. This, together with many other indications, points to the fact that the pressure exerted by the negro advance from the Sudân brought about migration into the Congo valley from Adamaua also.

(*a*) *The Bashilange.*—Beside the immigration from the north there is a very remarkable movement from the southeast, and of this the Bashilange at least have preserved a trustworthy tradition. This people dwells on the Lower Lulua between the Central Kassai and Sankuru; that is to say, on the northern frontier of the Lunda kingdom. In reality, they are a mixed people composed of an earlier peaceful settled race and the warlike Baluba who came in from the southeast. Whether this migration was connected with the great racial movements in Africa during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries must remain an undecided question in default of any reliable evidence. It is probable that there was some connection between Kalunda and Baluba; one of the leaders of the Baluba migration, Kapuku-Muluba (the other two were called Katana and Kanyoka), was, according to the legend, a son of that chief Kasongo who lived in the east, and from whom the tribe of the Muata Yamwo is descended (p. 469). Their possession of the characteristic Kaffir shield and many other special features invited the conjecture that the Baluba and also the Babunda were a mixed Kaffir race, or at any rate under Kaffir influence. According to Wissmann the earlier inhabitants of the land were related to the dwarf peoples; it would be more correct to say that they had been fused with them to a certain extent. East of the Bashilange district as far as Lake Tanganyika are situated pure, unmixed Baluba, differing in many respects from the Bashilange.

Intellectually the Bashilange are better developed than the average negro type; they are readier to learn and are less inclined to blind superstition, though greatly prone to imitate anything that commands respect. Thus it was possible for a new religion to be developed among this tribe of the most central part of

Africa, a religion founded upon an extraordinary basis, which has transformed the whole people to a marvellous extent. Possibly ethnological influences have played their part in these events. The intellectual habits of the original peaceful inhabitants may have been adopted by the invading Baluba. Further, this new religion remains totally unintelligible, unless we assume that some seeds of Christian, or at any rate of Mohammedan, lore were brought into the interior from the coast and fell upon fruitful soil among the Bashilange. Brass crosses also came into the hands of the Bashilange, and were highly treasured as amulets.

The central point of this new religion is hemp worship, and its origin therefore probably goes back to the time when the custom of hemp-smoking spread from the east coast to the interior of the Congo valley. The adoration and veneration of a narcotic or stupefying drug and the growth of a conventional worship round such a centre is a peculiarity by no means exclusively confined to the Bashilange. In the Soma offerings of the Indian Aryans, in the reverence with which tobacco is regarded by many Indian tribes, we have a similar class of phenomena. At first small groups and societies of hemp-smokers appear to have been formed. The members formed a close bond of friendship with one another, and enlisted new members with passionate zeal, until they attained a preponderating power. In this way friendly relations within the State were maintained and strengthened. The hemp-smokers promulgated decrees of a mildness wholly exceptional in Africa. Their manifestations of friendship were not confined to the members of their society, but were also extended to foreigners, — not always to their own advantage. The keen, industrious Kioko took advantage of the inexperience of the Bashilange to plunder them in every possible way. They sold into slavery whole trading caravans which had entered the Kioko territory in unsuspicious confidence. They themselves brought powder and guns to the Bashilange, and thus enabled individual chieftains to increase their influence. When Pogge and Wissmann, the first Europeans to visit the land of the hemp-smokers, entered the country, they found two rival chieftains in predominance, Kalamba (Mukenge) and Tshingenge. A sister of Kalamba's, Meta, occupied a position analogous to that of the Lukokesha in the Lunda kingdom.

In recent times the raids of the Arabs and their native allies, especially the notorious chieftain Zefu bin Mohammed (Zappu-Zapp, the son of Hammed ben Mohammed, or Tibbu-Tibb), have thrown the Eastern Congo valley into total confusion, depopulated entire districts, and shattered the civilization of the interior. There were, however, migratory movements in constant progress at an earlier period. The inhabitants of Uregga on the south still preserve a definite tradition of their immigration from the north to their present settlements toward the end of the eighteenth century. In the Arab wars the tribe of the Manyema adopted the profession of raiders, and not only provided the Arabs with their most valuable auxiliary troops, but entered the business of slave-catching on their own account (cf. below). Consequently, other races, such as the Bassonge, to the east of the Bashilange, were broken up and partly destroyed. At the expense of the civilization and culture of wide districts, those Arab settlements have been formed which on a cursory glance appear to be the starting-points of a new and higher manner of life. European interference betokens all the introduction of further change, and change, let us hope, of a more beneficial nature.

(*b*) *The Races of the Central Congo.* — In the central part of the Congo valley, the peoples settle most thickly upon the river which exercises a power of attraction like that of the ocean. It affords an abundant supply of fish, easy communication between the settlements, and in case of hostile attacks a secure refuge in the thickets on its banks, in the islands and the opposite shores. The same remarks apply on a smaller scale to the navigable tributaries of the Congo, which in some cases have set a limit to the marauders' raids, and are consequently thickly populated on one bank, the other being barren and deserted. The tendency to advance towards the stream, the shocks of great racial movements transmitted from the outer world, are impulses felt even by the inhabitants of the most central part of Africa. But there is no general connection in these migrations; none of those huge and rapidly constructed States could be formed here as they were in other parts of Africa. The boundless forests, the numerous broad streams, are so many obstacles in the way of any impetuous advance: on the river itself, intercommunication, the first great incentive to the peaceful formation of States, never attained any high stage of development. Stanley alone was able with the help of European weapons to fight his way through the fierce cannibal tribes. To the natives the inviting waterway is a closed path beyond the boundaries of their own tribes.

These conditions have certainly undergone a fundamental change since the arrival of Europeans. In particular, the small fishing tribes who lived on the islands and banks of the river, have extended their journeys and in some cases have become enterprising traders, founding colonies among other tribes. In the lower reaches of the river beginnings had been made in this direction at an earlier period. The Bayansi especially have become a typical trading people. Their dialect has now become the trade language for the district above the falls. European influence early made itself felt in the lower part of the Central Congo, with the result that the river banks in this district became in a measure a zone of attraction for unsettled tribes. The yearning for the sea seems to have been equally prevalent among the races about the lower falls. The kings of Loango were in constant warfare with the Anzig; the coincidence of sound in the names Anzig and Banyansi is probably wholly fortuitous, for the latter are more properly called Babangi, and gained their present name, which means "fleas," from the parasitic manner in which they gained their livelihood.

(*c*) *The Dwarf Peoples.* — In the forest districts, and especially among the negro races who have inhabited their settlements for a long period, an important ethnical transposition has been brought to pass. These negroes could not fail to come in contact with the dwarf peoples, and finally, perhaps after long struggles, they arrived at a common *modus vivendi* which was bound to have its effect upon each race. Such a community of existence must have resulted in course of time in a more or less extensive fusion of races which led here and there to the formation of actual mixed tribes. We have already mentioned the Bashilange, who had probably received a strong infusion of pygmy blood; but the most numerous settlements of this mixed race are to be found in the forests of the Upper Aruwimi; that is, near the smaller lakes at the sources of the Nile, where the ancients laid the scene of the war between the pygmies and the cranes.

(*d*) *From the Congo to the Nile.* — To the north of the Central Congo valley extend those districts which have been until recently untrodden by European

explorers, forming a broad zone of transition between the Sudân and the district of the Bantu negroes; they embrace the Southern Adamaua, the upper course of the Shari and Ubangi and the lands on the Nile valley which, with its peculiar population, divides them from the lands of the steppe peoples on the east, the Galla in particular. It is a zone of transition in a double sense of the word. Here, as in the Sudân itself, the fusion is completed of the true negroes with the fair peoples of the north. In the Sudân the Northern Hamitic stock is in physical or political preponderance, and has therefore impressed its character upon the whole district; but in the south the negro is so far dominant that the infusion of Hamitic blood is only apparent in the warlike tendencies of the population under a veneer of higher culture. At the same time, however, the existence of this zone enables racial movements on the north to continue their course toward the silent interior of the continent, not so much in the manner of an onrushing stream of conquest, but rather as by the transition from centre to centre of a given impact. The intermediate situation of this district of mixed peoples naturally leads to the result that part of the inhabitants are in close though generally disadvantageous and unsatisfactory relations with the wealthy Sudânese; while another part now requires our careful examination.

(*a*) *The Niam-Niam.* — We have first to mention the Niam-Niam, or the Makaraka (Makraka), a name properly applied to the most eastern branch of the race, and sometimes extended to include the whole. They call themselves Sandeh (A-Sandeh). Their district lies on the northern tributaries of the Upper Ubangi; the population is by no means uniform in character, the land being sprinkled with remnants of peoples half or wholly subjugated. When the Niam-Niam were first visited by Europeans they were undoubtedly in the course of a northward advance. Possibly they were originally connected with the Fan of the west coast, and once possessed a district in common with them, from which they afterward migrated; but wherever this early settlement was, there is much evidence to show that it was not very far from the later dwellings of the Niam-Niam. The tribal district of the two ruling houses, to which most of the Sandeh princes belonged, lay on the Lower Mbomu (about five degrees latitude north, and twenty-five degrees longitude east of Greenwich). The permanent results of their influence upon the numerous races of the Upper Ubangi valley, an influence which extended as far as Lake Albert and the Congo itself, shows that they must have been in contact with them for a long period. Another point of evidence is the characteristic throwing-knife of the Niam-Niam, which is wholly unlike that of the Fan, and is found among the dwellers on the Congo about the mouth of the Aruwimi.

Their fierce cannibal habits bring the Niam-Niam into close connection with the inhabitants of the Central Congo valley and distinguish them sharply from the races on the Upper Nile. To these latter the Niam-Niam were objects of hatred and disgust by reason of their cannibal customs. The name "Niam-Niam" was given them by the Denka, and denotes "devourer." For the genealogy of their ruling dynasty and their disruption into village communities, which was brought about by their unregulated system of divided inheritance, see the third genealogical table at the end of the section "Africa."

(*β*) *The Mangbattu.* — The people of the Mangbattu (Monbuttu, Mombuttu) on the sources of the Ubangi, resemble the Niam-Niam in many points, though

they are, or rather were, upon a far higher level of civilization. They are in many respects a mysterious race. A great deal in their civilization reminds us of the Wahuma States on the great lakes, especially their use of pounded bark as clothing material. Their general practice of cannibalism connects them with the Congo races, and they show unmistakable traces of Hamitic blood. It is further remarkable that the weapon characteristic of this zone of transition, the throwing-knife, is not found among the Mangbattu. However, their traditions point to an immigration from the west, and not from the east.

George Schweinfurth (see the plate facing p. 494), the first European to visit the Mangbattu, found them governed in 1871 by two supreme chiefs, Munsa (see the plate facing this page, "The Mangbattu King Munsa dances before his Wives and Warriors") and Degberra (cf. Genealogical Table IV, *ad fin.*). On the north the land was divided by a frontier of desert from the territory of the Niam-Niam. On the south lived pure negro races in a low state of civilization, known by the Mangbattu as Momsu (Mommu, Momvú) and Mambóde. Southwest were the remarkable dwarf people, the Akka (Tikki-Tikki, Watwa, Batwa, or Wambutti), which were partly subject to the chief Munsa. The Mangbattu made constant raids in true Sudânese style into the territory of their southern and southeastern neighbours, and sold the slaves which they captured to the Nubian merchants, who had even then found their way to the northern tributaries of the Congo, until eventually the Mangbattu became the hunted instead of the hunters. The power of their princes collapsed upon the fall of Munsa in 1873, and this event was followed by the disappearance of the civilization peculiar to the people, in which traces of the most various influences were to be found.

(γ) *The Bongo and their Neighbours.* — A transition to the races of the Nile valley is formed by a group of peoples inhabiting the highlands about the southern tributaries of the Gazelle River; their comparatively fair colour and several of their manners and customs seem to connect them with the Niam-Niam, though in other points they rather resemble the true Nile negroes. The Bongo (Dōr) are the most important of these peoples; on the southeast they join the Mittu-Morú, Abukaya, Abaka, and others. Naturally the history of these tribes is wholly uncertain; their sad fate which has befallen them in modern times is bound up with that of the Eastern Sudân, and, as is also the case with the Niam-Niam, Mangbattu, and the races of the Nile valley, is to be attributed to the fatal attacks of the Mohammedan slave dealers and the Egyptian government. As regards their antiquity, we can only say that we have many traces of racial movement and confusion upon the western highlands of the Nile district.

C. The District of the Upper Nile and its Western Tributaries

Like an island in mid-ocean, or a valley across which the storms roar harmlessly, lies the country on the upper channel of the White Nile and the Bahr el Gasal (Gazal). Here, on the swampy banks of the mighty stream, a chain of pure negro tribes has found a refuge from the attacks of advancing migrations and has dwelt in security for thousands of years.

Many points could be adduced to show that the peoples of the Upper Nile have occupied their present settlements from a very early period. In passing we may mention the views of Ernst Marno, who found a prehistoric stratum uncovered on

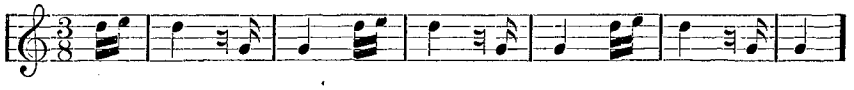
THE MANGBATTU KING MUNSA DANCES BEFORE HIS WIVES AND WARRIORS (1870)

(Drawn by Franz Etzold from George Schweinfurth's sketch and description)

EXPLANATION OF THE PICTURE OVERLEAF

During his journey in Central Equatorial Africa in the years 1868–1871 George Schweinfurth arrived on March 21, 1870, at the residence of Munsa, the king of the Mangbattu, who was then forty years of age, a rather tall, thin man, but strong and of stout and erect build. The traveller describes Munsa's features as by no means ugly, but not attractive, with "the look of a Nero;" he wore a fairly thick chin-beard, and his cheeks bore tufts of hair in places. The blubber lips of the negro were unusually prominent, and in strong contrast to the very Caucasian nose and the strongly orthognathous profile. His eyes shone with the wild fire of animal sensuality, and the contour of the fierce mouth betrayed greed, oppression, and cruelty.

The scene depicted overleaf took place in a great wooden building (one hundred feet long, forty feet high, and fifty feet broad). Within a large space had been left open; eighty of the king's wives sat round upon their stools, clapping their hands, and formed a square round him in single file. Behind the women, who appeared in the most daring decorations of paint in honour of the day, stood the warriors in full military dress, a forest of lances pointing upwards. All the musical powers at the king's disposal were upon the spot — kettle drums, wooden drums, horns, pipes, and bells great and small. A large head-dress of long-haired baboon's hide, at the crown of which waved a long plume of feathers, covered the king's head; genets' tails were fastened upon his arms, and round his wrists Munsa had fastened a large bundle of pig's tails. His loins were girded with a thick skirt composed of the tails of different animals; his bare legs were adorned with rings that jingled together. Thus attired, amid such surroundings, King Munsa flew about in a wild dance, throwing his arms in all directions in time with the music. At one time his legs would be raised horizontally with the ground, and then again kicked high in the air. Meanwhile the music thundered in wild and ceaseless monotony: —



The wives raised their arms and followed this accompaniment, marking time by striking their open hands together. Every half-hour Munsa took a short rest; then he began again with untiring vigour, until a storm of rain drove half way into the hall and damped the excitement of the company.

one of the tributaries of the Nile in the district of the Bari. "In the steep bank of the Chor Lurit, which is about three metres high," he writes, "were displayed at a depth of two to two and a half metres numerous fragments of clay pots, bones, freshwater and land shells, charcoal, etc. The sherds were quite in the style of those lightly burned clay pots which these negro tribes make at the present day, and hence it may be concluded that the negroes have been for a long period in undisturbed occupation of the spot where they now dwell." Although it is by no means absolutely certain, failing more thorough investigation, that the same tribes have inhabited the same place from a remote antiquity, yet this discovery becomes of great importance when considered in connection with other facts.

Among these facts, the anthropological character of the inhabitants is of the first importance; they have conformed to their environment in a remarkable manner, especially the more northern races of the Upper Nile valley, who have become typical swamp peoples. George Schweinfurth asserts that nowhere else in the world is there so excellent an illustration of the natural law that certain conditions of life will produce corresponding organisms among the most different classes of the animal world. In districts the configuration of which is in sharp contrast to that of the neighbouring countries, men and animals alike acquire a number of physical modifications common to both, and a certain resemblance of character. In comparison with the inhabitants of the rocky highlands which surround the Nile valley, the Shilluk, Nuér, and Dinka, according to Theodor von Heuglin, present the appearance of human flamingoes: they are typical swamp-dwellers. Flat feet and long heels are distinguishing marks of their physique. Like swamp birds, they are accustomed to stand motionless for hours on one leg, which is supported by the knee. Their gait is slow, the limbs and neck long and thin. Surely we are here reminded of the legendary cranes with whom the pygmies fought.

So complete a conformation to environment cannot be accomplished in a few centuries; we have here the results of development lasting throughout an immense period of time. The expedition sent by the Emperor Nero to the Upper Nile merely brought back accounts of the people "invariably naked" above Meroë, whose customs corresponded exactly to those of the modern swamp-dwellers; but we may suppose the Megabarri or Adiabari (Simbari and Tonobari are also mentioned) to be the Bari people now dwelling in the Upper Nile district; and even if it is only recently that the Bari have entered the district they now occupy, yet it must not be forgotten that tribes with similar names (Bor and Berri) still exist among the Dinka peoples. It is a more doubtful point whether the Adabuli are to be identified with the Shilluk (Shuli); possibly the Mothitar correspond to the Madi, the Ipsodoræ to the Dōr (Bonga). The custom of rubbing the body with red ashes is also mentioned by the elder Pliny, who gives an account of the results of the expedition.

In spite of their secluded situation, the peoples of the Nile valley were not wholly untouched by foreign influence, as is shown by the progress among them of cattle-breeding and iron-working, two great achievements of civilization which certainly did not grow up spontaneously among them. At the present day the chief tribes in the Nile valley are wholly devoted to cattle-breeding; very few have brought the smith's art to any point of perfection. Moreover, many migrations and changes of settlement have taken place among different tribes. Many of the old

names, such as the Automoli given by Herodotus, who are said to have lived at the point where the Nile flows from west to east, have now entirely disappeared: in later times, other peoples were in a state of unrest and have caused considerable changes. Many of these migratory movements may have been caused by over-population in the Nile valley: traces of a mixed people formed from the overflow of the Nile peoples are to be found in the "Hamito-Nilotes" of East Africa.

(*a*) *The Shilluk and the Tribes related to them.* — The existence of the most northerly race of negroes on the White Nile is a proof of the fact that even this remote corner of the world is not entirely at rest. The Shilluk who are settled on the left bank of the Nile from the mouth of the Sobat to nearly the twelfth degree of latitude north, and extended even further northward at an earlier period, are a typical swamp people, entirely conformed to the environment of the district they now inhabit; for this reason they must have been long settled in the damp lowlands. According to their own traditions, their first home was not upon the Nile itself, but on the Lower Sobat, where a remnant of the race is still to be found. They left these their native swamps about 1700, retreating before the advance of the Galla races, and spread in different directions (possibly several successive migrations may have taken place). The main body settled in the district already mentioned upon the left bank of the Nile; another group, now known as Jur, pushed forward north of the Bongo to the Bahr el Ghasal on the south: the Belanda (Bellanda) were driven yet further southward between the territories of the Bongo and the Niam-Niam. Finally, tribes related to the Shilluk are now settled where the Nile issues from Lake Albert Nyanza, the Shuli in the Nile valley and on the heights which come down to the east bank of the river, and the Lur (A-Lur, Luri) who have been strongly influenced by the Niam-Niam, have been settled for some centuries upon the northwest bank of Lake Albert.

(*b*) *The Dinka.* — A second people, which has apparently inhabited the marshes from the remotest antiquity, are the Dinka (Denka): their numerous tribes occupy the whole of the Nile valley from the sixth to the twelfth degrees of latitude, with the exception of the parts inhabited by the Shilluk; they are also settled on the Bahr el Ghasal and its tributaries as far as the highland frontiers. In spite of their large numbers, which must have always been an inducement to colonisation, they have no tradition of any active migratory movements, but only of losses which they have suffered at the hands of the Shilluk in the North and the Bari in the South. They are the real nucleus of the peoples in the Nile valley; the reason that their name is not mentioned by the ancients is to be found in the fact that their disruption into small tribes concealed their national unity. Until recent times many of their subdivisions, such as the Nuér (Nuehr), Kitsh, Elyab, Bōr, etc., have been considered as independent tribes, before their connection with the great Dinka family was discovered.

(*c*) *The Bari and the Madi.*—South of the Dinka district the ethnographical conditions become more confused. Here the Nile flows through boundless swampy plains, and its banks do not afford so sure a refuge as further northward. The mountains become more prominent, and the immediate result of this local configuration is the confused mixture of races and racial influences with which we

meet in this district. The Bari still hold a self-contained district between the Nile valley and the surrounding mountains from about the fourth to the sixth degree of latitude north. According to their own accounts they have only been settled for a few generations in this district; they came up from the south and took the land from the Berri, a Dinka race. As a matter of fact, their national type does not wholly correspond to the true Nilotic peoples, the Dinka and Shilluk; but the resemblance is comparatively close, so that their migrations cannot have been very extensive.

Further south, and extending to Lake Albert side by side with the Shilluk tribes dwell the Madi (cf. the related Mittu-Morú, p. 480) a race apparently composed of a fusion of Nilotic peoples with the fair-skinned inhabitants of the frontier district (Bongo, etc.). The fact of this fusion is all the information which we possess concerning their earlier history.

Speaking generally, it may be said that although the negro races have successfully maintained their position in the Nile valley, yet they must at one time have been settled further north. They retreated to the east of the Nile valley before the invasion of the Hamites, or were absorbed by them. The existence of negro races on the Central Blue Nile is sufficient proof of this fact.

6. THE INFLUENCE OF THE COLONIES

FOR a long period the development of the European and later Arab settlement was in keeping with the special character of the African continent. The interior remained in unexplored seclusion, the undisputed home of the black races; it was only on the coast that towns and factories sprang up, which formed upon occasion a base for trading expeditions and journeys of exploration, but never exerted any great political influence. It is only of recent years that these conditions have changed; the impulse was given by Stanley's great expedition up the Congo, and the founding of the Congo State, although preparation had been previously made for a change in many respects. Thus the great bulk of the colonial history of tropical Africa may be divided into two main sections, the history preceding and subsequent to the year 1876.

A. THE HISTORY OF THE COLONIES IN TROPICAL AFRICA

(*a*) *The Colonial History of Tropical Africa previous to the Year* 1876. (*a*) *The Portuguese.*—The Portuguese, the circumnavigators of Africa, are the first to appear upon the scene. Although their voyages were undertaken in the hope of discovering the realm of Prester John (which was placed one time in India and another time in Abyssinia), yet they did not despise the work of planting settlements and trading factories from the outset, in order to derive what profit they could from the districts of Africa. Previous to the rounding of Cape Bojador, that is, before the year 1434 (cf. Vol. IV), but little interest attached to the possession of the barren shores of the Sahara; but when a further advance southward discovered a land of increasing richness and attraction, the Portuguese began to tap the resources of this almost unknown country. Gonzales Baldeza, the second mariner to pass Cape Bojador, returned home with a cargo of dogfish skins. After

a second voyage, he was able to present the king with the first slaves from Africa and some quantity of gold dust in the year 1442. The slaves were delivered up to Pope Martin V.; in return he granted a decree assigning to Portugal the right to all the African coast between Cape Bojador and the yet undiscovered Indies. For a time the Portuguese were able to extend and enjoy their African possessions in peace. Shortly afterward, trading companies were formed, in the first of which Prince Henry the mariner seems to have taken a personal share.

It was not, however, until the year 1461 that Portugal began definitely to establish herself; the gulf of Arguin, the first comparatively secure point upon the coast, has invariably attracted the attention of later colonising powers, and at that period a fort was built there, which afforded a good base of operations for a further advance southward. There is no doubt that numerous settlements sprang up in Senegambia also, though historical information on this point is somewhat scanty. But we have clear evidence of the fact in the traces of a strong influence which must have extended far into the interior and is even yet manifest in the existence of numerous half-breeds in certain parts of the coast. The district where the results of this influence are most apparent, the land about the Rio Grande, is in the hands of the Portuguese at the present day, as also are the Cape de Verde Islands. When they ultimately reached the Gold coast they hastened to assure their possession of this promising district by founding the stronghold of Elmina (San George el Mina) in 1481. They afterward entered into close relations with the Congo kingdom (cf. above).

Meanwhile, however, Vasco da Gama had discovered the east coast of Africa and had reached the East Indies. At that period the conditions of Africa invited permanent possession (cf. p. 434). Numerous commercial towns were formed upon the coast around the capitals of Arab Sultanates; these fell an easy prey to any adversary commanding the sea, as there was no cultivated hinterland in their rear. If any further attraction was required, this was to be found in the large amount of gold brought down to the coast of Sofala from Monomotapa (about 1500, more than a million *metikals* of gold = £700,000 yearly; about 1600 and onward 200,000 *metikals*). Consequently, the Portuguese possessions in East Africa (see the plate facing this page, "Buildings of the Portuguese Period in East Africa") rapidly outstripped their settlements on the west coast in prosperity and extent.

During his first voyage in 1498, Vasco da Gama had met with a hostile reception in Moçambique (March 2) and in Mombas (April 7); on the other hand, the prince of Malindi (Melinde, 15th–24th April, 1498) had given him all the support in his power. As a base upon the East African coast was absolutely necessary for the safe continuance of the Indian trade, the king of Portugal despatched a fleet in the year 1500 under Pedro Alvarez Cabral; this admiral met with little success and merely confirmed the understanding with Malindi. On his second voyage, Vasco da Gama cleared the way for a settlement in Sofala (fortified in 1505 by Pero de Nhaja) forced Kilwa to pay tribute on July 14, 1502, and began to wage open war by sea against the Mohammedans and to destroy their Indian trade. This war was continued by Antonio de Saldanha; part of his fleet under Ruy Lourenço Revasco subdued Zanzibar (1503), and shortly afterward Brava (Barava) on the Somali coast. In 1505 Francisco d'Almeida appeared with new ships and troops, garrisoned Kilwa July 24, began the construction of a fort, and destroyed Mombas on August 15, 1505. Henceforward, the coast was kept

The main gate of the fortress at Mombas in British East Africa

The ruins of the royal castle at Kilwa-Kisiwani in German East Africa

BUILDINGS OF THE PORTUGUESE PERIOD IN EAST AFRICA

(After Justus Strandes)

EXPLANATION OF THE SKETCHES OVERLEAF

Few tangible memorials remain of the two centuries of Portuguese rule over the coast of East Africa: the Vasco da Gama pillar at Malindi (Melinde), made known by the Freiherr Karl Klaus v. d. Decken, the scanty remains of the fortress at Kilwa-Kisiwani, the proud fortress "Jesus of Mombas," and some other ruined fortifications on the island of Mombas,—these are practically all.

(1) With a view to supporting the colony in Kilwa, Francisco d'Almeida took Mombas (Mombasa, Mombassa) on August 15, 1505, and destroyed it the next day. But it soon became clear that Kilwa was of no value, and the place was evacuated under the Indian commander Affonso d'Alboquerque in 1512. Meanwhile Mombas had recovered so much of its strength that it had to be retaken on November 8, 1528, by the new general-governor, Nuño da Cunha, who commanded six ships with eight hundred Portuguese; he was then forced to remain more than four months in the conquered town at great loss of life. Upon the death of Shaho ben-Misham, the last king of the old Shiraz dynasty, and upon the accession of the king of Malindi to Mombas, a beginning was at length made in 1593 of a Portuguese fortress, which was named "Jesus of Mombas;" this lasted for some decades. On December 12, 1698, the fortress at last fell before the obstinately repeated attacks of the Arabs, who had been besieging it since March 13, 1696.— After recovering possession of Mombas for a short period (capitulation of March 1', 1728), the last remaining Portuguese definitely abandoned their fortress on November 26, 1729, and escaped to Moçambique.

(2) Dom Francisco d'Almeida, governor and vice-regent in India, commanding a fleet of twenty-two ships and one thousand five hundred men, conquered Kilwa on the 24th of July, 1507, and on the 25th of July set up Mohammed ben-Ruku ad-Din (known as Mohamed Ankoni) as a new king; he then proceeded to build a fortress (Sam Jago) and garrisoned it with one hundred and fifty men. Whether the fortress "the royal castle" shown overleaf is to be referred to the period of prosperity in Kilwa under king Suleiman Hasan (Soliman Hassan, 1178–1195) is more than doubtful. Modern inhabitants say that its founder was one Shirasi Infalme Suff (i.e. King Yusuf of Shiraz); if this Suff is to be identified with the father of a sultan who reigned in 1723, "Ibraymo bun Sultão O'Sufo," "the royal castle" must be dated about 1700, that is, after the Portuguese period.

(After Justus Strandes, "Die Portugiesenzeit von Deutsch-und Englisch-Ostafrika;" Berlin, 1899.)

under the surveillance of a "flying squadron." In the year 1512 the fort at Kilwa was abandoned, and the settlement in Moçambique which had been begun in 1507, now became the chief base of the Portuguese power in East Africa. At the beginning of 1507 the admiral Tristão da Cunha made a punitive expedition against the enemies of the sheik of Malindi, and at the end of March burnt the town of Brava, which had hitherto been consistently hostile; he made, however, no attempt upon Makdishu. As every fleet sailing to India or Eastern Asia touched at the East African coast, the Portuguese predominance was rapidly assured, to the great advantage of the nation, which drew a considerable income from the coast trade and the gold mines of Sofala. But at no period was there an absolute cessation of disturbances and struggles, which were especially frequent in the north.

It was, however, impossible that Portugal should permanently maintain her hold upon these boundless possessions. While the strength of the little kingdom decayed, formidable rivals were arising among the European peoples, who followed in the paths which the Portuguese had opened, and attempted everywhere to gain a footing by the side of the first occupants. Toward the close of the sixteenth century the Portuguese monopoly of trade and power in Africa comes to an end.

The first nation to demand a share in the African trade, in spite of all the threats of Portugal, was England. Holland and France soon followed her example, Portugal gradually lost the larger part of her possessions in Guinea, which had, however, greatly decreased in importance after the discovery of India, and in their best period had never included the whole of the coast line. In the district of Senegal, the natives themselves seem to have thrown off the Portuguese yoke at a somewhat earlier date. Portugal has retained to the present day nothing but the settlements south of the Gambia on the Rios Cacheo, Geba, and Grande (chief harbour, Bolama).

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Dutch were the most dangerous enemies of Portugal in West Africa. Their rise begins in 1621, when the States General gave the "West Indian Company" the exclusive right to all territory that might be conquered between the Tropic of Cancer and the Cape of Good Hope (cf. Vol. VIII). At that time Portugal was united to Spain and involuntarily involved in her fatal downfall (cf. Vol. IV). The Portuguese rule in Senegambia was practically abolished, the Gold coast was attacked, and in the year 1637 the strongest Portuguese fortress, Elmina, was besieged and stormed. Portugal gradually lost all her possessions in West Africa. At length she secured her independence from Spain in 1640 (Vol. IV), and recovered some part of her colonies by a compact with the States General; but she had to accept conditions which greatly restricted her trade. The inconsiderate and underhand behaviour of the Dutch led to the outbreak of a war which resulted to the disadvantage of the States General in Brazil (cf. Vol. I). In the year 1648 a small Portuguese army made Brazil a base of operations for the reconquest of the African possessions. They succeeded in driving the Dutch out of Angola, Benguela, and the island of São Thomé. The war between England and Holland (1652–1654, Vol. VII) proved very opportune for Portugal. Moreover, the Dutch devoted their best efforts to the conquest of East India, to which they already possessed a half-way station in the Cape. Consequently they took less interest in the Portuguese colonies in Africa, and Portugal was able to preserve a large portion of her possessions. The struggle between Holland and Portugal was brought to an end by the conventions of 1662 and 1669.

From that time the Portuguese colonies in West Africa have been somewhat neglected, the attention of the mother country being chiefly directed to Brazil. However, Portuguese influence in Angola, which was mainly used as a settlement for convicts, has extended to the interior, and the island of São Thomé, with its large plantations, has recently become a valuable possession. The chimerical hopes based on the rise of the Congo kingdom have long since been abandoned.

The Portuguese power in East Africa, as in the west of the continent, has endured only in the south. Though these districts were coveted by no European power, yet any weakness on the part of Portugal implied an advance of the Arabs, who had been by her rejected from their position as chief commercial power. Under the then prevailing conditions, the northern part of East Africa was only valuable to the Portuguese so long as they retained their monopoly of the Indian trade. The loss of India immediately cost Portugal her possessions on the coast of Zanzibar.

(β) *The Dutch.* — The Dutch, the most energetic rivals of the Portuguese, have, strangely enough, lost every foot of land which they had ever possessed in Africa. It is certainly true that, with the exception of the Cape, they never made any wide or permanent settlements in Africa. Such coast stations as they took from the Portuguese only remained in their possession for a short period. It was upon the Gold coast alone, the district which has attracted every seafaring nation, that Dutch forts and factories have remained during any great part of the last century. The first Dutch ships appeared off the African coast about 1595. In the seventeenth century the Dutch became more active, and not only occupied different stations upon the coast, such as Gorée, on the Green Mountain range, but also proceeded to place all possible obstacles in the way of other trading peoples. These efforts were systematised by the foundation of the "West India Company" (1621, cf. above), the great object of which was the development of the slave trade. We have already indicated the result of the struggles which ensued. Holland remained in possession of her conquests on the Gold coast and in Senegambia; but a long period was to elapse before the affairs of the district could be brought into order. The encroaching English were gradually repelled; but in the peace of 1667 they retained Cape Coast Castle on the Gold coast, and soon founded many new factories. Eventually the Dutch confined their attention solely to their commercial settlements on the Gold coast, which exported slaves and gold to a large extent, and proved extremely profitable. Gradually the trade declined, and the larger part of the factories were abandoned. Finally (1871–1872) England took over by convention the Dutch settlements of Axim, Sekundi, Tshama, Elmina, Anomabo, and Apang (cf. p. 459).

The condition of the Gold coast is typical of the earlier methods of European colonisation. No commercial State settling there gains any real possession of the land. Nothing is done but to found trading stations, which are invariably protected by fortifications, and exercise a certain influence in the neighbourhood. The occupants, however, are obliged to purchase permission to trade from the local chiefs and to allow the tribes upon the coast to act as middlemen. The natives usually consider themselves the real owners of the forts and factories. Hence, upon the revival of English commerce, it was possible to found a large number of English settlements in the immediate neighbourhood of the Dutch, and indeed

for the most different European peoples to place their settlements in motley array along the coast line.

(γ) *The English.* — The English appear about the middle of the sixteenth century in African waters. A great expedition was equipped in 1553 and purchased a quantity of gold upon the Gold coast, but met with no great success in other directions. However, such voyages were constantly repeated from this time onward. In consequence the English soon came in conflict with the Portuguese, who considered all intruders into their commercial waters as pirates. The slave trade was vigorously pursued, and finally privileges were granted to commercial companies (1585, the Morocco or Berber Company; the Guinea Company, 1588). These, like the Dutch, profited by the unfortunate position of Portugal. The attempts of the English to penetrate into the interior are worthy of note. They made efforts to reach Timbuctoo (see the plate facing p. 528), which was thought to be the source of the gold which reached the coast from the mouth of the Gambia. These attempts were energetically prosecuted by a company founded in 1618.

For a long time the English possessions in West Africa were of little importance, and their extension was further restricted by the opposition of the Dutch, as we have already observed. However, England successfully maintained her footing upon the Gold coast and appreciably extended her influence. She made repeated attempts to settle in Senegambia, and when the close of the eighteenth century brought a period of peace, she possessed a factory on the Gambia, another on Sherboro Island, and perhaps a dozen on the Gold coast. The two first of these settlements became the nuclei of the present colonies, the territory on the Gambia (with Bathurst and the forts George and Yarbutenda), and the colony of Sierra Leone (cf. below). At that time they were the property of the "Royal African Company of England," which carried on the slave trade with great energy, though in spite of this it became involved in serious financial difficulties in the course of the eighteenth century. Three hundred thousand negro slaves are said to have been exported during the years 1713–1733. The average increased, when a new company was founded after the collapse of the old society in 1749, and the restrictions upon the slave trade removed. The trade was shattered by the secession of the United States in 1776, and the new company was obliged to go into liquidation; but the exportation of slaves continued as before.

Meanwhile interest of a less selfish nature concerning this mysterious continent had been gradually increasing in England. On June 9, 1788, the "Association for promoting the discovery of the interior parts of Africa" was founded; and at the same time a strong antipathy to the slave trade and its horrors was growing up. These feelings were the prelude to a slow but fundamental revolution of the conditions of the African colonies. During the war between England and the seceding United States (1775–1783), a large number of negroes had contrived to escape from the yoke of their American masters and to enter the English service; at the close of the war, England had to deal with the question of providing for these allies. Certain philanthropists persuaded the government to take the negroes back to Africa and to settle them on some suitable part of the coast under British protection. In 1787 the first expedition started for Sierra Leone with four hundred blacks and about sixty European women of loose character, whom it was intended to get rid of in this way. The arrival of further contingents, and the

foundation of an English company gradually raised to prosperity a colony which had made a somewhat unpromising start; and even the ravages caused by the descent of a French man-of-war were speedily repaired. In the year 1807, Sierra Leone became a Crown colony; the population was greatly increased by the liberated slaves brought in by the English and settled on the land, though the first contingent of negroes who had been brought over from America showed a tendency to despise the new arrivals. The country now became self-governing, and on the whole ran a favourable course of development; the English protectorate, though mild, prevented any gradual relapse into barbarism on the part of the negroes. The settlement of Freetown became the central point of the local civilization; the rest of the district (70,000 square kilometres) was chiefly inhabited by indigenous tribes and parts of it were practically unknown.

Upon the Gold coast English influence increased, until it became predominant. The native tribes were not disposed to consider themselves as subject to the English, as is shown by the history of the Ashanti war, the result (1817) of which was that the tribute of four ounces of gold per month paid to the Fanti as a kind of rent for the use of the soil was henceforward paid to the Ashantis; the presence of the English was thus merely tolerated. The Ashanti war in the following decade opened disastrously, but was brought to a successful conclusion, a result which materially strengthened the British power, especially when the Ashantis in 1831 renounced their supremacy over the allied chieftains of the coast; but in the following years England exercised little more than a protectorate over the Gold coast, the notoriously bad climate of which deterred Europeans from making settlements. Disturbances occurred after 1868, due to the fact that England and Holland had exchanged certain coast settlements with a view to the better delimitation of their territories (cf. above, pp. 459 and 487). Subsequent events are: the short campaign of the year 1874 (p. 459), the proclamation of the chief of Kumassi as king of Ashanti, in the year 1894; his degradation after a nearly bloodless war in 1895, which brought the Ashanti kingdom to a well-merited end and marks the beginning of the British Protectorate; and a formidable revolt in 1900, during which Frederic Hodgson, the governor, was besieged in Kumassi from March to June, and reduced to the greatest straits; it was not until July that the beleaguered garrison could be relieved.

Much later in date than the Gold coast possessions, but belonging to the earlier period of colonisation, is the colony of Lagos, which was founded in 1861, and has been autonomous since 1886; at first an important centre of the palm oil trade, it is now merged in the great English possessions on the Niger and Binuë. Friendly relations with the immediate hinterland of Yoruba have been maintained from the outset.

In East Africa, the islands of Mauritius (a French possession from 1712–1810, as the "Île de France") and Rodriguez excepted, England had no colonies or forts for a long period. In 1884 certain places on the North Somali coast (British Somali Coast Protectorate; Zeila [Zejla], Berbera, and others) were occupied from Aden, a base which has been in English hands since 1839; the important position of Harar was given up to Abyssinia under the convention of June 4, 1897.

(δ) *The French.* — The French began their efforts to gain a share in African commerce at the same date as the English and Dutch: in 1541 four ships left the

little harbour of La Bouille near Rouen to begin commercial relations with Guinea, and mention is made of the Cap à Trois Pointes in documents of 1543 and 1546. At the outset, the attention of French merchants was concentrated chiefly upon the district which has since become the real centre of France's great West African possessions, namely, Senegambia. Attempts have been repeatedly made to penetrate further into the interior from this point, which is one of the most easily accessible parts of the continent, but it is only comparatively lately that results of any great political importance were achieved; moreover, the French rule in Senegal was rather of that questionable character which we have observed in the English possessions on the Gold coast. In 1626 St. Louis was founded on the lagoon at the mouth of the Senegal, and became the central point of the growing colony; the island of Gorée is also deserving of mention as a second important settlement. By degrees numerous commercial settlements and forts were founded along the Senegal River, especially by André Brué about 1700. Senegambia received her first real impulse to development in the latter half of the nineteenth century (1852–1865, by Louis Léon César Faidherbe); for the military colonial activity of the French in the west of the Sudân since 1880, cf. below, p. 501.

The province of "French Guinea," the coastland of Futa Djallon (hitherto known officially as "Rivières du Sud"), has been separated from Senegambia since 1890 by the Portuguese possessions. France has never exercised any great political influence in this district, but by founding numerous factories has assured her position upon the coast, which is valuable as a point of entrance to the interior of the Sudân.

The claims of the French to the Ivory coast, which has been in their occupation since 1842, and was governed from the Gabun River before that date, were not seriously put forward before 1893; Abidjean-Adjamé (now "Bingerville") has taken the place of the unhealthy Grand Bassam, as the capital. Allada and Abomeh, the remnants upon the Slave coast of the Dahomeh kingdom subjugated in 1892 (cf. p. 461) have recently risen to importance owing to the increased trade of the harbours of Great-Popo, Weidah, and Kotonu.

The first settlements on the Gabun River were made in 1830 and 1845; Libreville was founded in 1849. In 1862 and 1868 the district was extended southward to Cape Lopez and to the Ogowe, the claims to territory further northward remaining undecided. France had no possessions south of the Ogowe before the foundation of the Congo State (for her acquisitions since 1878, cf. below, pp. 495 and 502).

(ε) *The Spaniards.* — The four great names in the earlier history of African colonisation are Portugal, Holland, England, and France; side by side with these powers other rivals have come forward and have now almost entirely disappeared from the scene. Spain alone has retained something, or to speak more correctly, everything, for her African possessions were never of any great account; for when Pope Alexander VI declared on appeal that all newly discovered lands were to be divided between the two Iberian colonial powers who were the only claimants with a show of legal right by discovery or acquisition, the Portuguese received the whole of Africa in undisputed possession. The claims of Spain were thus confined to the Canary Islands (Teneriffe, Hierro or Ferro, etc.), which are not parts of negro Africa, to the islands of Fernando Po and Annobon (Anno Bom) in the

Gulf of Guinea, and — since 1843 — to a small district between Kamerun and Gabun, namely, the strip of coast-line on the Rio Muni, the islands of Corisco, Great and Little Eloby.

Fernando Po, the most valuable of the possessions on the south, was at first in the hands of the Portuguese, like the whole of West Africa, without rising to any great importance. The few settlements made by the Portuguese failed to prosper, and were entirely destroyed by the Dutch in 1637; it proved impossible to begin friendly relations with the Bube, a Bantu people who had apparently migrated to the island before its discovery. In 1777–1778 Portugal ceded the islands of Fernando Po and Annobon (southwest of São .Thomé) in exchange for territory in South America; the Spaniards failed in their attempts at colonisation, and abandoned the island. In 1827 the English occupied the favourably situated island, founded Port Clarence (the present Santa Isabel), and settled a number of liberated negro slaves there, who still retain the English language; but all attempts to acquire the island by purchase or exchange were thwarted by the obstinacy of Spain. Since 1841 Spanish officials have been stationed in the island, and a governor was appointed in 1858; but nothing has been done to improve the economic condition of the settlement.

(ζ) *The Scandinavians.* — Toward the end of the eighteenth century Africa attracted the attention of Sweden and Denmark. The efforts of the Swede Carl Bernhard Wadström (1764–1799) to found an agricultural colony on the west coast, resulted in total failure; more successful were the efforts of the Danes who had been trading on the Gold coast and founding factories at an earlier date. In the nineteenth century they possessed several strongholds in the eastern part of the Gold coast, of which Christiansborg was the most important, but in 1851 they ceded the entire district to England.

(η) *Brandenburg-Prussia.* — Ruined settlements are to be found upon the Gold coast, over which the flag of a German power once flew, — the old colonies of Brandenburg. Though these early attempts at German colonisation are of very minor importance in the general history of Africa, yet they are worthy of mention as being the prelude to the greater developments of later years.

In the years 1675 the Great Elector Frederic William took the first steps toward the creation of a Brandenburg navy (under the Dutchman Benjamin Raule) which was intended to take an active part in the commerce and colonisation of the world; as early as 1634 the Elector George William had been negotiating with Sweden about a projected Indian company. On its first voyage (1680–1681) the little Brandenburg fleet concluded a convention in May, 1681, with three negro princes in the neighbourhood of Cape Three Points on the Gold coast, which gave Brandenburg the right to erect a fort. The new possession was to be worked by the African Commercial Company, to which the Great Elector granted the rights of trading for thirty years in 1682; Emden, the harbour of the Brandenburg Electorate on the North Sea, became the headquarters of the company in 1683. On New Year's day, 1683, Major Otto Friedrich v. d. Gröben laid the foundation stone of the fortress of Gross Friedrichsburg (cf. Vol. VII). In 1684, Brandenburg gained a footing in another part of West Africa, on the island of Arguin, of the White Mountains, after France had abandoned several earlier attempts at

colonising the district. Here again a fort was built which successfully resisted several attacks. In 1717 the king of Prussia sold all his African possessions to the Dutch company for 7200 ducats. This was the end of the Brandenburg-Prussian settlements.

(*θ*) *The Arabs.* — While European influence and territory were slowly growing in West Africa, the Mohammedans had been rapidly advancing in the Sudân; they had also overrun the larger part of the east coast, starting from their original home in Arabia, and were extending their power toward the interior. For a time it seemed as if it was Africa's fate to be gradually transformed into a Mohammedan province from within, the true nature of which would be concealed by the line of European possessions on the coast, just as an unsound fruit may be enclosed by a healthy skin. The possibility of so important a change has been temporarily precluded by European rivalry in Equatorial Africa. Moreover, in the normal course of ethnological development (cf. the only Mohammedan branch of the Aryans, the Persians), the Mohammedan elements in negro Africa will become localised in course of time, and gradually break away from the Arab stock.

The east coast of Central Africa has been the obvious point of attack for the Arab power; and Arab influence will always be paramount here, whenever the power of the European occupants declines. The flourishing Arab settlements of the earlier period were partly destroyed, partly subjugated by the Portuguese; in the south, the Arab were successfully driven back; but the northern towns, especially Mombas (Mombasa), which was always in an unsettled state, were a doubtful and expensive acquisition, even during the flourishing period of Portuguese predominance (cf. above, p. 484). When Portugal's power declined the strongest and most maritime of the Arab States naturally entered into her inheritance.

This Arab State was Oman, which was situated on the eastern point of the Arabian peninsula, a district facing India and Persia; at an early date its geographical situation gave it a dominant position, and the power of the State was increased by the formation of a special Mohammedan sect, the chief of which was the reigning sultan of the land, with the title of an Imam of Maskat. Oman was torn by internal dissensions for a long period; but in 1624 the Jarebite Nasser (Nāsir) ben Murdjid (d. 1649; cf. genealogical table V, at end) succeeded in making himself sole ruler of the whole country. He was forthwith obliged to embark upon a war with the Portuguese, who had several coast towns belonging to Oman in their possession (1643, capture of Sohar); but it was his cousin and successor, Sultan ben Sef (Saif, Sif; 1649–1668), who first succeeded in taking the last Portuguese stronghold, Maskat (end of January, 1650). During the course of this war, Oman had become a formidable maritime power. Sultan ben Sef harassed the Portuguese in India and East Africa, and about 1660 temporarily seized the town of Mombas. In 1698, his son and successor, Sef ben Sultan, succeeded in capturing Mombas, stirring up the entire population of the coast against the Portuguese, and thus subduing East Africa as far as Cape Delgado.

Meanwhile it began to appear that the little State of Oman had undertaken a task beyond its energies. If the coast towns (Kilwa, Zanzibar, Melindi, Patta, Fasa) took advantage of the weakness of Oman to declare themselves independent petty States, the Arab dominion would be overthrown. This was precisely what

occurred. In 1728 Portugal availed herself of the resulting confusion to make a second attack; Patta (cf. the genealogical table VII, at end) fell into her hands again, and on the 16th of March Mombas, the last Arab stronghold on the coast, was obliged to open its gates. This was the expiring effort of the Portuguese power. As soon as the inhabitants of the coast recognised their mistake, and again united their forces against the foreigners, towns were lost in rapid succession (Zanzibar, Masia, Pemba, and on November 26, 1729, Mombas; cf. reverse side of the plate facing p. 484).

In Maskat the ruling Jarebite dynasty was shortly afterward replaced by the Abu Saidi family, which rules in Oman and Zanzibar at the present day (cf. genealogical table VI, at end); the founder of this dynasty was the Commander-in-chief Sohar Ahmed ben Said (Sa'îd), who ascended the throne in 1744 (1741 ?). The change of dynasty led to a second change in the relations between Oman and the African coast towns. Marka (Merka), Zanzibar, and Kilwa alone acknowledged the new supremacy; the remaining towns, headed by the ever restless Mombas, under the brothers Mohammed (d. 1746) and Ali ben Osman, declared their independence and found themselves immediately at war with Ahmed ben Said in consequence. At the same time, internal struggles were raging in the several towns, especially in Patta. Ultimately (1785) an ingenious manœuvre restored to Maskat the whole coast line, which for a long time bore the mild yoke of the rulers without complaint.

It was not until the governor of Mombas, Abdallah ben Ahmed (1814–1823) attempted to make himself independent, that the reigning monarch of Maskat, Seyyid Said, was roused to greater energy. After long hesitation, he sent a fleet to East Africa in 1822, and with the assistance of Mohammed ben Nasser (Nāsir), the governor of Zanzibar, who had remained faithful to him, he speedily reduced Mombas to a desperate condition. As a last resource Seliman ben Ali placed himself under the protection of the Englishman Owen (1824). But the English government of 1826 did not confirm the convention, and in 1828 the town was forced to surrender to Seyyid Said, who had appeared before the walls with a fleet of eleven ships of war and a force of two thousand men. Shortly afterward, however, Mombas was again in full revolt, until 1837, when Seyyid Said succeeded in recovering possession of the town by treachery and completely expelling the ruling family of the Msara (see genealogical table VIII, at end) to which he had previously intrusted some powers of government. In 1840 the victorious sultan determined to transfer his residence permanently to Africa, and chose Zanzibar for this purpose.

The connection between Oman and Zanzibar was dissolved by the death of Seyyid Said (1856), one of his sons, Seyyid Madjid taking the African dominions, while Seyyid Sueni (Thowejni) received the Arabian territory. England, whose position as dominant Power in the Indian Ocean was now assured, adjusted certain points of variance between the two rulers in 1859, by inducing the sultan of Zanzibar to pay his brother in Maskat a yearly subsidy of forty thousand dollars. England also supported the sultan against one of his younger brothers who attempted to revolt, the later sultan Seyyid Bargash. During the closing years of Seyyid Madjid's life (since 1866) England paid the yearly compensation due from the sultan to Maskat out of her own resources.

After Seyyid Madjid's death in 1870, the power passed to his brother Seyyid

Bargash (d. April 25, 1888). Under his government those changes began which have effected a fundamental revolution in African affairs.

The wealth of the Arabs dwelling on the coast and the islands was chiefly derived from their landed property. Mombas, for instance, was strong enough to offer a long resistance chiefly by reason of its possession of the island of Pemba, with its rich plantations. Since 1818 the clove-tree had been cultivated there with brilliantly successful results. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the commerce of Zanzibar was very unimportant; the export of ivory was comparatively small; the slave trade was carried on in a very modest way, and the traders (chiefly Indians) were few in number. The introduction of the clove-tree produced a great change. Large plantations now sprang up, requiring many hands to work them; slave hunting and the slave trade revived. The wealth thus acquired enabled enterprising Arabs not only to get slaves from the coast tribes by barter, but also to fit out strong, well-armed expeditions for the purpose of breaking down the numerous obstacles to trade, and buying or kidnapping slaves in the interior. Ivory and cheap slaves now came down to the coast in abundance, and the extraordinary profits which were made at the outset were a stimulus to more extensive raids and trading expeditions. Thus Arab influence spread further into the interior, though the idea was never entertained of establishing any permanent political supremacy on the continent, apart from that already existing in the settlements upon the coast. The Zanzibar government certainly claimed the allegiance of the several Arab contractors who made their way into the interior on their own account; but it could not and would not exercise any control, and generally did not attempt to assert its rights until the return of the caravans.

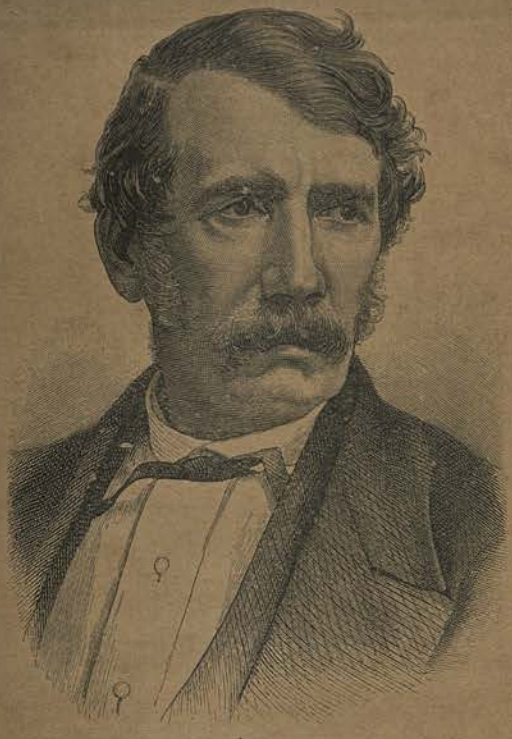
The increase of the slave trade, and the devastation which it created, did not escape the notice of the English, who thus obtained the opportunity which they had desired for interfering in the affairs of Zanzibar. As early as 1847 they had prohibited the slave trade north of Brava; in April, 1862, a serious breach was caused by the high-handed action of the English men-of-war, which had inflicted loss upon legitimate commerce, and in 1873 the intimidation of the English ambassador, Henry Edward Bartle Frere, and the arguments of the Consul, Dr. Kirk, obliged Seyyid Bargash to agree to the absolute cessation of the slave trade. The rule, however, was attended with fatal consequences; the Arab plantation owners were deprived of the labour necessary to their work, were reduced to poverty, and inspired with fierce hatred of every European. The only course open to these ruined men was to try their fortunes at trading on the continent, to collect ivory, and kidnap slaves, which were secretly brought over to Zanzibar. Thus the unfortunate districts of East Africa were sacrificed to marauders of the worst class, and the Arabs became the curse of the country. About the different centres of Arab influence, oases of higher culture certainly arose amid the general devastation, which exercised some beneficial influence upon the natives; but such benefits were far outweighed by the attendant misery. The Arabs began to make plantations at these centres also, a fresh demand for slaves arose, and the raids continued incessantly. The earliest and most important base of operations of the Arab traders is Tabora in Unyamwesi, which may be said to mark the first and shortest stage of the Arab advance. Further inland is Ujiji, the harbour of Tanganyika, and also the notorious Nyangwe on the Upper Congo, from whence the Eastern Congo valley was cruelly devastated. Many tribes, such as the Manyema (cf. p. 473), became the ready helpers of the Arabs, and now carry on raids on their own initiative.

Reports of the dealings of the Arabs had excited general disgust in Europe; but for a long time it was impossible to quench the fire raging in the interior, and all that could be done was to keep a sharper watch for the exportation of slaves from the mainland to the islands. The efforts of the Europeans received only lukewarm and grudging support from the sultan of Zanzibar. This was but natural, since the advance of the Arabs into the interior brought him greater wealth and increased political influence. An official of the sultan was established in Tabora; elsewhere he succeeded in making his name feared among the tribes of the interior. Thus it appeared that success in the struggle against the slave trade would be slow and doubtful at best, when the foundation of the Congo State and the consequent partition of Africa entirely changed the complexion of affairs.

(*b*) *The Colonial History of Tropical Africa since the year* 1876.— (*a*) *Leopold II, Stanley, and the Foundation of the Congo State.* — The history of the Congo State begins on September 15, 1876, with the foundation by King Leopold II of Belgium of the "Association Africaine Internationale;" its chief objects were the exploration of Central Africa, the civilization of the natives, and the suppression of the slave trade, and the foundation of permanent settlements was therefore an essential part of its policy. Meanwhile the Congo problem had been solved by Henry Morton Stanley (James Rowland; see his portrait on the plate facing this page, "The Most Successful Explorers of Africa"). His ambitious character was not content with the accomplishment of purely scientific achievements; he saw plainly that the great Congo River offered the only possible route by which a large part of Africa could be opened up without loss of time and with resources comparatively scanty. Full of bold schemes, he returned to Europe in August, 1877, and gained a friendly reception from the new company and King Leopold. The company determined to work the recently discovered district for itself.

It was high time. France, in the person of the Count Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza, had already seized a part of Congoland. On November 25, 1878, Stanley founded the branch company in Brussels, "Comité d'Études du Haut-Congo," returned to the Congo in 1879, founded the settlement of Vivi, and began to make a road from the river's mouth to Stanley Pool (Léopoldville, 1882). He also concluded many conventions with the negro chiefs, thus forestalling de Brazza, who had founded or was preparing to found the stations of Franceville, Brazzaville, and Poste de l'Alima between 1880 and 1881. Meanwhile Portugal, supported by England, who had an eye to her own interests (convention of February 26, 1884, between England and Portugal), laid claims to the territory at the mouth of the Congo, which were vigorously resisted by most of the other States. With the object of relieving this state of tension, Germany invited the Powers to a conference.

This Congo conference, which was held at Berlin (November 15, 1884, to February 26, 1885), considered as such, marks an agreeable advance in the civilization of Europe. A century previously it would have been hardly possible to carry on the discussion of so fundamental a rearrangement of positions without some preliminary blood-letting. But in other respects many of the resolutions passed show that European diplomacy was here treading upon unaccustomed ground. The most important point was the recognition and delimitation of the Congo Free State, though this question was only settled incidentally; for the conference had already recognised the State indirectly by consenting to receive Colonel Strauch as the



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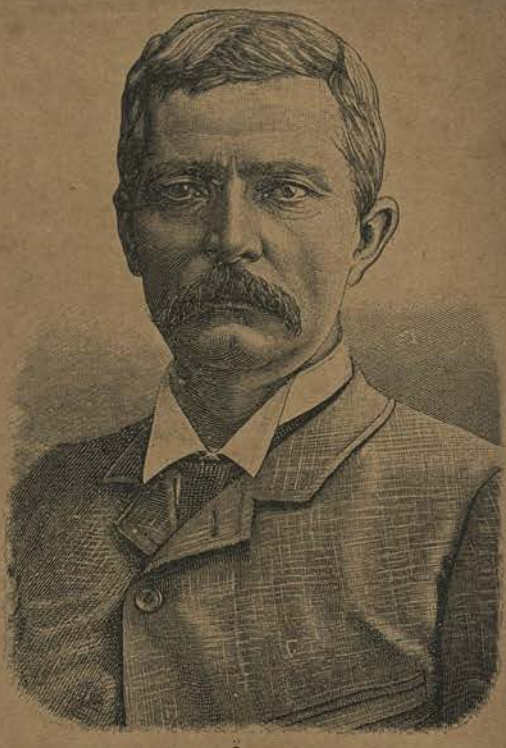

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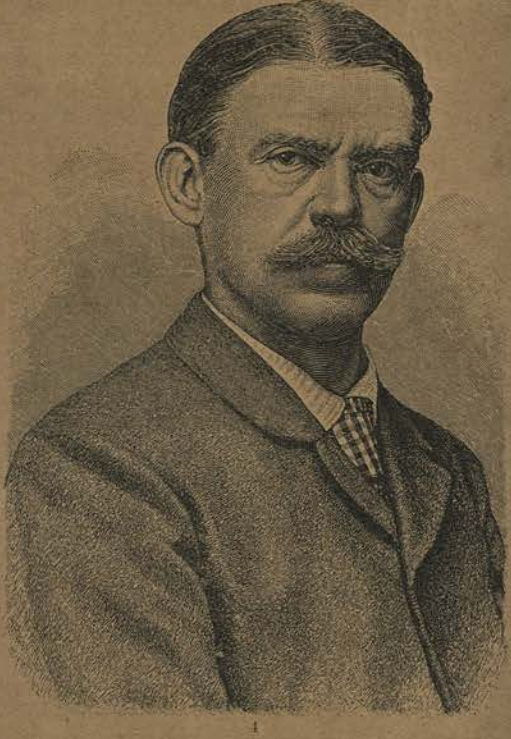


4

THE MOST SUCCESSFUL EXPLORERS OF AFRICA

EXPLANATION OF THE PORTRAITS OVERLEAF

1. David Livingstone, born March 19, 1813, in Blantyre near Glasgow ; died May 1, 1873, at Ilala on Lake Bangweolo in Africa.

2. Henry Morton Stanley (properly James Rowland), born January 28, 1841, at Denbigh in Wales.

3. Heinrich Barth, born February 16, 1821, in Hamburg ; died November 25, 1865, in Berlin.

4. George Schweinfurth, born December 1836, in Riga.

[2, 3, and 4 from photographs, 1 from J. W. Whympers' woodcut in Horace Wallace's "The Last Journals of David Livingstone," London, 1874.]

ambassador of the Congo Company. The general resolutions of the Berlin conference contain declarations concerning free trade and passage for ships in the Congo valley for a preliminary period of twenty years, the neutrality of the various districts on the Congo, regulations as to harbour and pilot dues, the placing of beacons and lighthouses, etc., and corresponding regulations for the navigation of the Niger, a prohibition of the slave trade, and rules for the future occupation of African territory. This last clause is an indication of the rivalry already existing among the European powers for the acquisition of land in Africa. The larger part of these resolutions has led to little practical result. Free trade in a district where security and facility of communication, the indispensable conditions of free trade, can only be secured by extraordinary efforts, is as impossible as is the distinction between necessary and excessive taxation.

The delimitation of the Congo State concluded in 1885 by a number of special conventions was by no means a *chef d'œuvre*. The Portuguese claims reduced the seaboard greatly in extent, and as France was in possession of the right bank of the Congo from Manyanga to the mouth of the Ubangi, the Congo State ultimately took the form of a gigantic fruit upon a slender stalk. It soon became apparent that the new body politic depended for its existence chiefly upon such supplies as Leopold II could or would send out; the "Free Congo States," an utterly unsuitable appellation given by Stanley in imitation of the North American constitution, were really a private colony or enterprise of the Belgian king. Belgians were consequently preferred for the service of the State, and Belgian companies proceeded to develop the economic resources of the country. Stanley soon showed himself incapable of carrying on the administration of this strange political creation, and its transformation into a Belgian colony was only a question of time. Moreover, government expenses were continually on the increase. Though the relations of the Congo State with European governments were of a peaceful character, one power which was hostile to European civilization had no intention of remaining a passive spectator of the partition of Africa, — the Arab power.

(β) *Germany's Appearance among the Colonial Powers.*— Shortly before the foundation of the Congo State, several causes had contributed to produce a strained situation of affairs. France was obviously working with the object of uniting the whole of Northwest Africa into a great colonial empire which was to extend from the Senegal River to Tunis and to include the Western Sudân; Stanley's achievements now roused her to use her neglected colonies on the Gabun River as a starting point for expeditions which were to secure the largest possible share of the Congo territory and the Congo trade (cf. below, p. 471). Her movements were finally decided by the sudden appearance of Germany among the colonial powers.

This action on the part of Germany was merely the result, somewhat deferred, of the national unity which she had attained in the struggle of 1870–1871, and the immediate consequence of her rapid economic development. Seeds that had been waiting the hour of germination suddenly burst into unexpected maturity under the breath of favouring circumstance, so that German colonial policy was anything but a prepared and premeditated movement. Fortunately Germany possessed a leader in Prince Bismark who was able to evolve order out of chaos; though his plan for the annexation of Samoa came to nothing, he was enabled to turn an enterprise which was not of his beginning to the entire advantage of the State,

and to protect it from the ill-will of other powers. Upon his retirement in March, 1890, his creation was so firmly founded that its existence was not imperilled even by the damage inflicted by incapable hands (cf. p. 472).

The German nation was vaguely conscious of the fact that they would be forced to enter into competition with the Great Powers, if their civilization was ever to fulfil its destiny. But in special details they were sadly unprepared for the pursuit of these new objects. They spent time in quarrelling over the respective advantages of emigrant colonies or plantation colonies, while their chances of finding colonies anywhere were diminishing year by year. When they ultimately succeeded in acquiring territory, fresh difficulties arose. Puerile fancies, timidity, and philistine indifference obscured the greater sides of the question; German capitalists preferred losing milliards in Argentine and Greek bonds, to venturing a few millions in enterprises of national importance, and the administration exercised in the few possessions by the German bureaucracy was at times of a truly remarkable character.

(1) *German Southwest Africa.*— The history of the German colonies in Africa begins officially on April 24, 1884. On this day Prince Bismark proclaimed a German protectorate over the possessions acquired by the Bremen merchant Franz Adolf Eduard Lüderitz, after a lively interchange of notes with the English government. On August 7th of the same year the German flag was hoisted in Angra Pequena, and at other points of the coast shortly afterward. By slow degrees, and after raising numerous obstacles, the English government and Cape Colony were induced to recognise the German protectorate. England retained possession of Walfish Bay and the adjacent territory, and also of the islands on the coast, to which she had priority of claim. Meanwhile the interior was included in the protectorate by conventions which were carried through partly by the agents of Lüderitz and partly by the ambassadors of the empire. In this way the whole of Namaland and Damaraland was gradually brought under German supremacy, a process which ultimately led to a definite arrangement with England (July 1, 1890). By the terms of this agreement, the lower course of the Orange River was to be the southern boundary of the German territory, the eastern boundary was the twentieth degree of longitude east (of Greenwich), but from the twenty-second degree of latitude south the frontier was to extend to the twenty-first degree of longitude east. On the north a small strip of German territory was to run as far as the Zambesi. The compact with Portugal of December 30, 1886, determined the Lower Cunene as the northern frontier, and thus placed Ovamboland under German protection.

German Southwest Africa is undoubtedly the most important German acquisition in Africa, and the only one which is capable of being gradually transformed into an entirely German district. Of no less importance are the facts that it was the first acquisition in point of time, and that the diplomatic struggle for its possession against the grasping spirit of English policy, opened the way for other undertakings of the kind. Walfish Bay, the natural harbour of Damaraland certainly remained in English hands, but the discovery of an available landing place at Swakopmund largely obviated the inconvenience which would otherwise have resulted. However the district developed very slowly, although German millionaires had made it the scene of their operations, and though it offered favourable

possibilities to German emigrants. Several reasons may be given in explanation. First of all, Lüderitz the founder of the colony (d. 1886) had not the means necessary to carry out this gigantic undertaking. The "German Colonial Company of Southwest Africa," which was founded on April 5, 1885, to take his place, proved to be a very feeble organisation. In the interior the struggle between the Herero and the people of Hendrick Witbooi (cf. above, p. 428) was then at its height. Yet the German imperial commissioner was sent to the seat of war without any real force at his disposal. But the worst enemy of the German protectorate was to be found outside its frontiers. This was the ambitious prime minister of Cape Colony, Cecil Rhodes, whose vast projects were most unpleasantly thwarted by the intrusion of Germany.

Meanwhile the animosity of the Herero, which had been stirred up by the Cape government, had been so far cooled by the repeated attacks of Witboois that they were now induced to recognise the German supremacy. It was now incumbent on Germany to suppress the disturbers of the peace and to form a close bond of union with the more capable of the contending parties. The Bastaards were the best of the conquerors, and were settled at Rehobot, the seat of the new government. The formation of a body of native troops for frontier defence proved impossible, and a German force had to be sent into the country. The first contingent, under the leadership of Captain Kurt von François, arrived in the summer of 1889, and built Wilhelmsfeste (Fort William) at Tsaobis as a base of operations, but was much too weak to compel the obedience either of Witbooi or of the Herero, who had been stirred up anew by the English adventurer Lewis, and so to be able to play off one party against the other. Captain von François was soon appointed imperial commissioner. He conceived his first task to be the reduction of Witbooi, who had recommenced his raids with redoubled energy on the death of the chieftain Ka-Maherero (1890) and possessed a useful base of operations in the stronghold of Hornkranz. The protectorate troops were reinforced to the number of three hundred men, and the seat of government was changed to Windhoek; the war then began, but though Hornkranz was stormed on April 12, 1893, there seemed no immediate prospect of the subjugation of Witbooi. Ultimately Major Theodor Leutwein (governor-general since 1895) brought additional reinforcements, and after a final bloody battle in the Naukluft, successfully obliged Witbooi to lay down his arms on September 9, 1894. The conquered were treated with clemency and banished to their ancestral home of Gibeon. As was to be expected, the Herero became more overbearing upon the disappearance of Witbooi from the scene. Several serious misunderstandings have necessitated further reinforcement of the troops. Under their protection Germans and in places Boers have definitely begun to settle upon the land. The unfortunate outbreak of rinderpest in 1898 has, however, caused considerable loss among them. The government happily decided to begin the construction of a railway from Swakopmund to Windhoek. The danger of English capital acquiring a preponderating influence in the companies of colonisation (especially the London Southwest African Company) has been to some extent obviated.

(2) *Togo and Kamerun.*— No long time after the foundation of the southwest colonies, the districts on the Slave coast and at the mouth of the Kamerun River were placed under German protection. Hamburg and Bremen merchants,

whose trade upon the yet unclaimed coast districts had been constantly disturbed, were anxious, if not to establish a formal protectorate, to send German men-of-war into those waters, and to conclude compacts with the negro chiefs. The events in Southwest Africa, and the growing enthusiasm in Germany for colonisation, induced Prince Bismark to accede to these desires. The Togo district on the Slave coast, where the presence of a German warship had been found necessary a short time before, was first placed under German protection by Gustav Nachtigal on July 5, 1884. This possession, though certainly the smallest of all Germany's African colonies, has, in comparison with others, developed most successfully. It has been almost entirely spared the effects of any serious struggle. After an agreement with France had been arranged, the frontier upon the English possessions was defined in the Convention of Samoa of 1899, German Tongoland thereby advancing to Sansanne Mangu. Meanwhile the little colony was running a prosperous course of economic development. The budget shows a modest surplus.

Kamerun was the most important of all possible districts for acquisition. Hamburg firms had been active there for a long period and trade was increasing. On July 14, 1884, it was placed under the German flag. The area of the German protectorate on the coast was speedily settled by arrangement with France (December 24, 1885) and England (May 7, 1885, and August 2, 1886).

The affairs of the new colony soon took an unfavourable turn, partly through the repeated inadequacy of the German forces, and partly because the English merchants on the coast fomented disturbance in the hope of adding to the embarrassments of the German protectorate. On December 20, 1884, a bloody battle took place between the inhabitants of several disturbed districts, and the troops landed from a German squadron ("Bismark" and "Olga"). Since the first governor, Julius Freiherr v. Soden, took up his residence in July, 1885, the country has been comparatively quiet; but its development has been very slow, even though a regulated system of finance was introduced, and attempts to work plantations on the splendid volcanic soil of the Cameroon Mountains have not been wholly unsuccessful. The plantations have recently become increasingly prosperous; the hinterland has been opened up by numerous expeditions, and its resources are now being tapped by commercial companies. One of these, which was founded with the help of Belgian capital, has a base in the Congo valley. A revolt of the police troops enlisted from the Dahomeans, which took place on December 15, 1893, has not materially damaged the welfare of the colony.

Unfortunately, Germany fared very badly in the delimitation of the hinterland (November 15, 1893, with reference to the English, and March 15, 1894, with reference to the French colonies), and France in particular has gained very largely at her expense.

(3) *German East Africa.* — In East Africa we find a German possession which has not only attracted more general attention than any other of her colonies, but has also obliged Germany to play a great part in the history of African politics and to co-operate in the solution of important questions. This colony again owes its origin to private enterprise.

In East Africa, with the exception of the uninviting district of Somaliland, the coast was wholly in other hands. The sultan of Zanzibar, Seyyid Bargash, in a temporary fit of ill-humor, had invoked German protection against England in

1874; but Zanzibar was already to a large extent one of the vassal States of the British Empire, and its acquisition could therefore have been made only by formal convention. The "German Colonisation Company," which was founded on April 3, 1884, then conceived the desperate but successful idea of sending an expedition into the hinterland of the Zanzibar coast, acquiring territory there, and awaiting the further results of their action. Karl Peters, who had started the company, and was the leader of the little expedition, concluded a number of treaties in November, 1884, with different chieftains in Usagara, Nguru, etc., which were officially confirmed on February 27, 1885. At the same time the company obtained an imperial charter. Meanwhile the English stirred up Seyyid Bargash to put legal obstacles in the way of the settlement, and to declare his rights to the hinterland of the coast by the despatch of troops to that district. When Germany vigorously rejected these claims, the French government declared their intention of abstaining from any interference, and England showed a more moderate spirit. On August 13, 1885, the parties interested came to a temporary understanding, the conclusion of which was considerably expedited by the arrival of a German squadron off Zanzibar. By the agreement between England and Germany of October 29, 1886, the coast remained the property of the sultan; but the harbours of Dar es Salaam and Pangani were to be at the disposal of the German East African Company, which was formed on September 7, 1885. The company at once set to work, extended its territory further inland, begun experimental plantations, and founded stations. When the custom-houses of the coast were leased to the company on April 8, 1888, and a permanent income was thus definitely assured, it appeared as if no obstacle now remained to check the course of a sound development.

Unfortunately the actual resources of the company were totally inadequate to meet the claims upon them, or to provide against the dangers of the situation. In East Africa, Germany had to deal with a far more formidable opponent than in any other quarter. The whole of the Arab power raised the standard of opposition. The occupation of the coast settlements had dealt the slave trade a deadly blow, and had thereby destroyed the second chief source of Arab wealth; — the plantations which were worked by means of the cheap labour brought down from the interior. Utter ruin was now threatening the once prosperous Arabs of the coast. Their profession of slave hunters and slave traders had made them fierce and lawless in disposition, and the continual attacks of the Europeans had inspired them with a passionate hatred of foreigners.

On August 15, 1888, the officials of the East African Company took possession of the custom-houses, and disturbances at once broke out in every direction, resulting in the murder of some of the officials. The stations o. Bagamoyo and Dar es Salaam held out with the aid of German warships, though hard pressed by swarms of rebels, chiefly negroes under the leadership of individual Arabs. The most formidable opponent of the Germans was the Arab Bushiri, who had stirred up the revolt in Pangani, and from this point guided the movements upon the coast. The behaviour of the sultan's officials was in most cases ambiguous, if nothing more.

The empire was obliged to come to the help of the hard-pressed company. On January 30, 1889, the Reichstag determined upon the formation of a body of native troops for purposes of defence; Hermann Wissmann, who had just returned from his second famous journey across Africa, was appointed commander-in-chief

of the coast district. Sudânese soldiers were enlisted in Cairo; soldiers from the coast districts and Zanzibar (Askari) also joined, and Zulus came up from the south. As early as May 8, the first blow against Bushiri was delivered, and his fortified laager at Bagamoyo was stormed by the protectorate troops with the help of a division of German marines; the district of Dar es Salaam was then cleared of the enemy, and the natives induced to submit peacefully on May 27. The next task was the recovery of the coast towns, which were completely in the hands of the rebels. Saadani was reduced first (on June 6); the other places appeared inclined to surrender without a struggle after Bushiri's retreat to the interior, where he destroyed the German station of Mpapua. However, the negotiations came to nothing, and on July 8, Pangani was bombarded and stormed, and Tanga occupied after a short struggle on the 12th. Mpapua was reconquered and rebuilt by Wissmann in person. Meanwhile Bushiri had found new allies in the Masiti (cf. p. 441), and advanced with them against Bagamoyo from the southwest. This band, which had caused fearful devastation, was defeated on October 19, by Karl Freiherr v. Gravenreuth (killed November 5, 1891, before Buëa). Bushiri, who had been several times defeated and put to flight, was ultimately captured in December near Pangani, where he was executed on December 14, 1889. The powerful chieftain of Useguha, Bana Heri, continued to hold out in his own district, but his laager was stormed on January 15, 1890; after a second defeat on March 9, he surrendered, and was pardoned at the beginning of April. The troops, which had been heavily reinforced, were now concentrated for action against the revolt which had continued in the south (Kilwa-Kiwinje, Lindi, Mikindani); the movement was attended with complete success.

Wissmann, who had gained a brilliant reputation as a soldier and organiser throughout the protectorate district, was at this juncture unfortunately recalled; the constant change of governors (v. Soden, v. Schele, etc.), and the divergent nature of the policy adopted by each, increased the insecurity of the situation. Though the premiums were duly paid, a reduction of the protectorate troops was thought advisable; the disastrous results of this regulation were seen in the bloody defeats sustained by separate divisions in Uhehe (August 17, 1891; cf. genealogical table II, at end) and at the Kilima Njaro (June 10, 1892). Meanwhile Emin Pasha (Eduard Schnitzer), who had been relieved against his own desire by Stanley, had entered the German service, and founded stations in Tabora and on Lake Victoria; but the East African administration could not appreciate the experienced traveller at his proper value, and by the promulgation of countless regulations and prohibitions on the coast, showed its utter incapacity to deal with the affairs of the country according to the dictates of common sense. However, much has been accomplished in many directions. The capital Dar es Salaam has developed satisfactorily, and plantations of considerable extent have been made in the Tanga hinterland, which has been partly opened up by a railway. The final delimitation of the colony (see the map facing this page, "Africa" [political]) was made under the German-English convention of July 1, 1890, whereby Zanzibar was placed under the British protectorate, an agreement which dealt a heavy blow to the development of the German protectorate district. At the same time were surrendered the hardly earned rights to the valuable Wituland district at the mouth of the Tana and to part of the Somali coast; Uganda was also given over to the English influence, — all this in return for Heligoland. The coast from Umba

(N.) to Rovuma (S.) was left entirely to Germany; the Sultan Seyyid Ali of Zanzibar received the sum of four millions of marks as compensation. Of late years the colony has developed fairly satisfactorily in spite of bad harvests and other economic losses. The greater part of the hinterland now recognises the German supremacy, and the colony is connected with the mother country by a line of German steamers. Great changes will probably be brought about by the construction of railways.

(γ) *French Policy in the Sudân.* — Competition for the possession of African territory was first raised to fever heat by the advance of Germany; but the first steps in this direction were made by France; she very cleverly employed the several coast stations which she had long possessed as bases for a bold advance into the interior, and advanced systematically toward the realisation of the dream of a great French empire in Africa.

The first step was the further extension of the possessions in Senegambia. The English territory on the Gambia and that held by Portugal on the Rio Grande were soon so surrounded by districts under French protection that their further development was impossible; the left bank of the Senegal was entirely under French supremacy, and an advance to the Upper Niger was seriously determined. As early as 1854 the governor Louis León César Faidherbe (cf. above) had succeeded in checking the advance of a dangerous Mohammedan army, which had been collected by the marabout Hadji Omar. Faidherbe raised the siege of Medina (1857), defeated Hadji Omar, who retired to his capital of Segu-Sikoro on the Niger, and subdued the larger part of Upper Senegambia. Colonisation on a large scale began considerably later, and is nearly contemporary with the events on the Congo. In the year 1878 Paul Soleillet (d. September 10, 1886) made his way to the Upper Niger, and found a friendly reception; a year later the French assembly voted funds for the building of a railroad from Medina to Bammako, which was to connect the Upper Senegal with the Niger and thus attract all the traffic of the Western Sudân to Senegambia. The work of construction was vigorously begun, labourers were imported from China and Morocco; but in 1884 no more then seventy kilometres had been completed, and this at a cost of thirty millions francs. The enterprise was thereupon abandoned for the time and has only recently been resumed.

Meanwhile Joseph Simon Gallieni had advanced to the Niger in 1880, and had concluded a treaty with the Sultan Ahmadu (Mahmadu) Lamine of Segu, the son of Hadji Omar, whereby the valley of the Upper Niger as far as Timbuctoo was placed under French protection (1881); Kita, an important point between the Senegal and the Niger was fortified. In the next year a second expedition defeated the bold guerilla leader Almamy Samory, the son of a Mandingan merchant of Bankoro, who was born at Sanankoro in 1835; this action took place on the Upper Niger, and a fort was built on the river bank at Bammako. Several smaller movements kept open the communications with the Senegal and drove back Samory, until he eventually placed himself under the French protectorate in 1887. The resistance of Ahmadu, who declined to fulfil the obligations of the treaty which he had made, was not broken down until April 6, 1890, when the town of Segu-Sikoro was captured. In the same year Louis Monteil started from Segu, and went eastward to Kuka in Bornu, making treaties at every point of his journey, and returning

by Tripoli to his native land. The French also made a successful advance into the interior from the Ivory coast: Dahomeh, which was subdued in 1892, was a further possible starting point for expeditions into the Sudân districts. England had previously agreed with France, on August 5, 1890, that a line drawn from Say on the Niger to the northwest corner of Lake Chad should form the boundary line of their respective spheres of influence. In 1893, Samory, the ruler of Bissandugu, Kankan, and Sansando was forced to abandon his kingdom of Wassulu (Quasselou) to the French, and to retire upon Kong, which lay to the southeast. In the middle of the year 1898 he was driven from this district and fled, accompanied as usual by a numerous body of dependents, to the hinterland of the Liberian republic. There he was defeated on September 9, 1898, and twenty days later was driven back upon the sources of the Cavally by an advance of Captain H. J. Eug. Gouraud, and taken prisoner; he died in captivity on June 2, 1900. From that date the supremacy of France in the west of the Sudân has gained in strength.

The vast project of uniting the north coast and the Western Sudân into a great Franco-African empire has been overshadowed by the yet more comprehensive plan of extending French Congoland to the Central Sudân, and thus uniting into a compact whole all the French possessions in Africa (with the exception of Obok). From the time when Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza (cf. above) transformed the humble colony of Gabun into the huge "Congo Français," between the years 1878 and 1880, France has made unceasing attempts to extend her territory on the north and northeast. The German colony of Kamerun has, among others, been shut out from further expansion by these movements (cf. above). The destruction of Rabah has removed the chief obstacle to the French designs (cf. p. 498), and so a great compact French colonial empire is practically formed.

(δ) *England's Nile to Cape Policy.* — England, whose dreams of a great African empire from the Nile to the Cape were unpleasantly disturbed by the entrance of Germany, appeared somewhat late upon the scene; however, she took all that there was to be had. Taking advantage of the weakness of Portugal, she extended her territory into the interior as far as lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika (Nyassaland, 1891; since February 22, 1893, "British Central Africa"). Her influence extended from the mouths of the Niger to the Hausa States, and its extension over the western part of Adamáua with the capital of Yola was a blow to Germany. But her success was greatest in the east.

English voices had repeatedly proclaimed East Africa to be the land of the future, which might become a second India; as the Cape and Egypt were already in British hands, the project of making the whole of East Africa an English province, did not appear impossible of realisation. For a time the Mahdi revolt made the Egyptian Sudân inaccessible, and completely isolated Emin Pasha in Equatoria; but these events only showed the possibility of advancing from the East African coast or the Congo upon Equatoria and making an English province of land that was practically ownerless. Stanley's "Relief Expedition" (p. 500) was undoubtedly actuated by motives of this kind. After the surprising advance of Germany, England bestirred herself to secure some part of the East African coast, — at any rate, Mombas; the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba were secured to her on July 1, 1890, owing to the adroitness with which she took advantage of the collapse of Germany's foreign policy after the fall of Bismark (p. 495). On

August 31, 1896, these acquisitions were declared to be specially under the British protection, as the "East Africa Protectorate." At this period the district of the Upper Nile was exclusively under British supremacy. The old plan was then resumed of creating a line of English influence from Alexandria to the Cape; the Congo State ceded a strip of land connecting English Uganda with the north bank of Lake Tanganyika, which latter provided a connection with British Central Africa; but German opposition prevented the conclusion of the compact.

As the attempt made in 1888 to get a footing on the Upper Nile with Emin Pasha's help had failed, the "British East African Company," which had taken over the English possessions on the East African continent, turned its attention to Uganda. In that district an intolerable state of affairs had been brought about by the jealousy of the Protestants, Catholics, and Mohammedans, and the interference of a foreign power seemed highly desirable. The Mohammedans, who were the weakest faction, were driven out, and about 1890 the land was divided between the Protestants and the Catholics. The representative of the British Company, Frederick Lugard, was received by King Mwanga (cf. p. 448) toward the end of 1890, somewhat distrustfully; the Protestant party hoped much of his appearance, though they had no desire for an English protectorate. At that period a German protectorate would probably have met with universal recognition. On December 26 Mwanga and his chiefs made a compact with Lugard, placing Uganda under the protection of the British East African Company. To soothe the prevailing dissatisfaction, Lugard led the united Christian parties, in May, 1891, upon an expedition against King Kabrega of Unyoro (cf. p. 449) then marched northwest and united to his party the Sudânese who had been left behind on Emin Pasha's retirement. These reinforcements enabled him to found a number of forts. At the beginning of 1892 fresh disturbances broke out. Lugard was ultimately forced to throw in his lot with the Protestant party; the king and the Catholic missionaries fled to the German territory on the south. After the conclusion of a fresh compact, Mwanga returned to Uganda in the spring of 1892; the Protestants received the largest share of the country (two-thirds), the Catholics and Mohammedans obtaining each one-sixth. As the British East African Company proved incompetent, Uganda was placed under the protection of the English government on June 19, 1894, as also were Unyoro and Ussoga on June 30, 1896. The attempt to press forward down the Nile was renounced for the moment; a part of Emin Pasha's old province was even leased to the Congo State, and the Congo troops which had successfully crushed the Arab rising on the Upper Congo, entered the district threatened by the Mahdi, and reoccupied some of Emin Pasha's stations. The overthrow of the Mahdi power (cf. below) will give England a clear road to the Egyptian Sudân.

In other parts of Africa England has shown no great activity. The favourable positions on the Gambia and in Sierra Leone have scarcely been used for the purpose of extending English influence over the hinterland, and on the Gold coast England has satisfied herself with the reduction of Ashanti to the position of a vassal State (cf. pp. 459 and 488).

(ε) *Portugal.* — The old colonial power of Portugal has not entirely disappeared. The revival of prosperity in São Thomé has encouraged colonial activity in Angola (cf. p. 485). In East Africa the Portuguese are clinging to the posses-

sions which the English have so sadly reduced. The peace and safety of the Southern colonies, which are beginning to revive under the influence of the mining industries in the Transvaal and Rhodesia, were secured by an expedition against a revolted Zulu prince. It remains to be seen whether the financial difficulties of the mother country will not result in the sale of some part at least of her African possessions; a secret convention concluded in 1898 between England and Germany was apparently intended to provide for this possibility.

B. The Negro Republic of Liberia

In our mention of the English colony of Sierra Leone (p. 487), we spoke of attempts which were made to settle and to civilize liberated slaves on the coast of Africa; these attempts were by no means unsuccessful in Sierra Leone, where the movement was very sensibly directed by the English government. A few decades later, Liberia was founded from North America. In that country a society was formed in the year 1816 (American Colonisation Society for colonising the free people of colour of the United States), the object of which was to return liberated negroes to Africa and to form them into an organised colony. After several failures, the colony was founded on Cape Mesurado and took root, although the colonists suffered both from fever and the incursions of the natives. These early settlers were indeed a sturdy folk, accustomed to hard work and prepared vigorously to defend their colony. In 1822 the colony obtained a constitution under the name of Liberia, but was governed for some time longer by a white agent, Ashmun, who may be considered the real founder of Liberia; he succeeded in organising the somewhat helpless elements of the new State, and in considerably extending its area. The number of immigrants steadily increased. In 1835 the temperance party founded a special colony, Maryland, which was joined to Liberia in 1857; other companies were content to found individual settlements within the Liberian territory. In 1839 Liberia received a more liberal constitution, but continued under the administration of a white governor (Buchanan). At length the hostility of England, who declined to recognise the supremacy of the American Colonisation Company, forced the Liberians to declare their independence on July 26, 1847; they placed their country under a republican constitution elaborated by Professor Greenleaf of Harvard University. Roberts, who had hitherto acted as governor, was chosen president, and the first negro governor, Stephen Allen Benson, was elected in 1855. Taxation disputes with England embittered the early years of the young republic (since 1860); the administrative power passed fairly regularly from one to the other of the two chief parties in the country, religious beliefs having but little influence upon these changes. Immigration from America gradually declined, the first hardy colonists died out, and their descendants proved an inferior stock. This deterioration became terribly plain abroad upon the contraction of a loan of £100,000 sterling (1871), which Liberia obtained upon terms incredibly disadvantageous; the country is even yet suffering from the consequences. In 1882 England wrested from the eighth president, Gardiner, a weak ruler, the district of Galenas, which had been purchased in 1850. At the present day the population consists of eighteen thousand "Americans," the immigrants from America and their descendants, and of the natives of the coast, who may amount to a million. Christianity has spread to a very small extent among the natives, whereas Mohammedanism is making formidable progress in the hinterland.

C. The History of the Colonies in Non-Tropical South Africa

The only parts of the Dark Continent where European nationalities can develop under normal conditions are the Cape, Natal, and the Boer territory in non-tropical South Africa. It is to be hoped that German Southwest Africa may be classed with these in course of time. Moreover, the settlers in these districts have been, almost without exception, of Teutonic race. Other nationalities, in particular the French Protestants, which have sent out emigrants to these districts, have been absorbed into the mass of the population, and have adopted the English language or the Dutch, the latter being the most widely distributed idiom. A fusion of nationalities in the proper sense of the term has taken place only in the great mining towns.

(*a*) *South Africa during the Agricultural Period* (1652–1866) — (*a*) *The Rise of a South African Nationality.* — The colonial history of South Africa begins with the year 1652. The first settlement in Table Bay was made with the object of providing a supply station for the East India merchantmen, and was founded by Jan von Riebeek (cf. p. 419). The little band of colonists tried to enter into friendly relations with the neighbouring Hottentots, who, however, soon adopted an attitude of hostility. Cattle breeding was begun, and settlements made on the plain around the first of the little forts which were built. The number of the settlers gradually increased; but when the farmers attempted to advance further into the interior, disputes with the natives increased, and actual war broke out in 1659. At that period began the influence of those conditions of life which were to mould the Dutch settlers to a special and in many respects remarkable type of humanity. The Dutch East India Company was unable to protect the more distant of the settlers, and these therefore organised a military force of their own ("commando"). Their position in face of an ever-menacing foe hardened their character, stimulated to the full their true Low-German leanings to independence, and also implanted a contempt of the yellow-skinned "creatures," and an inexorable harshness in dealing with them in the hearts of these peasants (*Bauern*) or "Boers." The first Hottentot war ended ingloriously for the Dutch in a peace which constituted the Brack-Rivier as the boundary line of their settlements. They gradually succeeded in reducing the neighbouring Hottentot tribes to subjection, and in entering upon trade relations with the remoter tribes. The plundering Bushmen (p. 419) were not so easily repelled as the Hottentots.

The year 1684 witnessed the foundation of Stellenbosch, Paarl, and Drakenstein. The Cape settlers were no longer exclusively of Dutch nationality. They included a considerable number of Germans who had come as soldiers in the service of the East India Company, and also French Protestants. The new South African nationality was formed of these three elements. The further the colonists spread into the interior, the weaker became the influence of the East India Company upon them, and the greater the independence of the individual Boer upon his remote farm. Hence the ruthless manner in which he attacked the natives with the result that the Hottentot population in the west of the Cape was gradually expelled, destroyed, or absorbed. But the settlers were confronted with an enemy of a wholly different character when they reached and passed the boundary

of the Kaffir races on the east. The first struggles began in 1737, while the first great Kaffir war broke out in 1780 (cf. p. 420).

(β) *The Interference of England* (1795). — In 1785 the town of Grakf Reinet was founded on the Algoa Bay to anticipate a possible English settlement in that quarter. However, England was soon able to take possession of the whole colony, and her action was at the moment highly beneficial to the country. Dissatisfaction with the Dutch East India Company had risen so high among the settlers that revolts broke out in different quarters, and the republic was proclaimed at Swellendam in 1795. At the same time the natives were in a general state of ferment, and the settlers, who then numbered scarce more than twenty thousand souls, were threatened with a war of extermination. When England took over the country in 1795 in trust for Holland (definitely in 1806), she met with no resistance worthy of mention.

The attempts of the English government to organise the country and to obtain the necessary funds for this purpose by the imposition of taxes, met with very scanty approval among the Boers. Large numbers of them attempted to withdraw. "Trekking" (removal, migration) began upon a large scale as soon as the English government tightened the curb. As the Kaffir resistance placed obstacles in the way of any further advance eastward, the main stream of migration flowed north. The Boers were largely replaced by English colonists, to whose efforts is undoubtedly due the higher stage of civilization prevailing in that remote and isolated district. In the east of the Cape territory they gradually outnumbered the Boers. The first great migrations of the Boers beyond the Orange River took place during the years 1834–1836. Even at that time the fundamental opposition of ideas, which was to give South African history its distinctive character, was clearly marked. The "Afrikaander," as the emigrants preferred to be called, proposed to live in freedom and independence in their new district, whereas the English government maintained that the Boers remained British subjects wherever they went, and that their new district was consequently British territory.

Beyond the Orange River the Boers found a State which for the Africa of those days was comparatively well organised. The Griqua (cf. p. 427) were a race already containing a strong infusion of Dutch blood, and were by no means ill disposed toward the white settlers, considering that they would be a valuable source of help against their great enemy, the Basuto prince Moshesh (p. 439). But no sooner had a considerable number of the new arrivals settled in the country than the English asserted their jurisdiction by the installation of a magistrate. Dissensions broke out between the Boers and the Griquas. The latter appealed for help to the English, who reduced the Boers to subjection by the victory of Tauwfontein in April, 1845. On December 24, 1847, Harry Smith, the governor of Cape Colony, placed the land under English protection.

(γ) *The Foundation of the Boer Free States.* — A revolt was stirred up by the Boer leaders Andries Pretorius and Willem Jacobs; the capital of Bloemfontein was stormed and the English resident forced to retire; but this movement brought no advantage to the Boers, who were defeated by Smith at Boomplaats on August 28, 1848. The majority then placed their property in their ox wagons and migrated northward across the Vaal River. The English had not yet

crushed Moshesh, and Pretorius turned this struggle cleverly to account, and appeared as mediator between the two enemies. In this way he obtained the right to found an independent State beyond the Vaal in the Sand River Convention of January 17, 1852. This was the origin of the Transvaal, or South African Republic. The official title, "Hollandsche Afrikaansche Republik," was changed in 1853 for "De Zuid-Afrikaansche Republik" by the leading free State of Potchefstroom.

The new State received a welcome reinforcement in the persons of the Boers who abandoned Natal (cf. below,) together with a body from the south under Hendrik Potgieter; these latter had been expelled from their settlements near the modern Potchefstroom in consequence of an edict of the Cape governor George Napier, and had migrated at the beginning of 1840 to Ohrigstad, Zoutspanburg, and ultimately to Lydenburg.

However, it was not until February 13, 1858, that all the districts north of the Vaal were politically united by a comprehensive constitution; up to that date the republics of Potchefstroom, Zoutspanberg, Lydenburg (founded 1849), and Utrecht had led a separate political existence. Martinus Wessels Pretorius, after the death of his father in 1853, became the first president (1858–1871) of the new State. The office was no sinecure. The relations between the natives and the weak population of whites were very unsatisfactory; outrages and reprisals were the order of the day, and such fearful massacres as the destruction of a whole Kaffir tribe which had taken refuge in a cave were by no means unique occurrences. The Transvaal Boers were the most stubborn element of the African population, and the most enamoured of freedom, invariably ready to escape any attempted introduction of law and order by embarking upon further migration. They were especially incited to these adventurous expeditions by their extraordinary idea that in this way they would eventually reach Jerusalem, the real position of which was utterly unknown to them. Upon one expedition to the northwest a number of Boers succeeded in reaching Portuguese West Africa, after fearful losses of men and cattle; there they founded a new settlement in the hinterland of Mossamedes. Another band reached Damaraland in 1884, founded the republic of Upingtonia (called after the Irish lawyer Upington), and then placed themselves under the protection of the German government. Migration north of the Limpopo was impossible, owing to the prevalence of the tsetse fly.

So ill founded were their claims that the English were unable permanently to retain their hold of the land between the Vaal and the Orange rivers. Moreover, the wars with Moshesh proved expensive both in money and troops, and led to no definite result. England, therefore, ceded the "Orange River sovereignty" on February 23, 1854, and on March 11 the Boers formed a second republic, the Orange Free State.

(δ) *Cape Colony.* — The ready compliance of the English is partly accounted for by the fact that they were fully occupied by the wars with the Kaffirs in the east of the Cape territory. These wars had begun as early as the Dutch period (p. 436) and were of continual recurrence. In 1834 the farmers were obliged temporarily to abandon whole districts. At the beginning of 1848 "British Kaffraria" was taken over by England. In 1850 the Xosa had been stirred to a state of ferment by the witch doctor U'mlangani; the frontiers were completely devas-

tated by Sandili (cf. p. 436), Fort Armstrong was stormed, the settlers put to flight, and the governor, Harry Smith, temporarily shut up in Fort Cox. With the exception of the mixed race of the Fingu (p. 436), which remained faithful to the whites, almost all the Kaffir races to the east of the Cape took part in the revolt, in which numerous Hottentots also joined. The suppression of the disturbances by George Cathcart went forward very slowly, and no decisive battle was fought. Hardly had peace been to some extent restored (the treaty was concluded on March 9, 1853), when another witch doctor, U'mlakaya, planned a second revolt. U'mlakaya prophesied victory, provided that the Xosa would first slaughter the larger portion of their cattle, and his predictions met with general credence; but when two hundred thousand cattle had been killed, the English government interfered, imprisoned the leaders, and prevented any outbreak until increasing famine reduced the numbers of the Kaffir tribes from one hundred and five thousand to thirty-eight thousand souls, and compelled them to make an unconditional surrender (1857). The Kaffirs were greatly overawed by the arrival of the German legion which had been originally enlisted for service in the Crimean War. Most of the legionaries settled in the country, and soon formed a kind of military frontier against the restless Kaffirs. Since that date the number of European settlements in Kaffirland has been greatly increased.

The Cape, where the English and Dutch nationalities had increased without coalescing, gradually became a well-organised State. In 1853 the colony became autonomous, and had its own parliament (opened on July 1, 1854); morality and civilization were advancing. This satisfactory state of affairs had been brought about in great measure by the efforts of the missionaries, who smoothed down the mutual antipathy of the whites and the natives, and raised the Kaffirs and Hottentots to a higher stage of civilization, notwithstanding the sneers and the opposition of the Boers.

The blackest page in the history of the Dutch settlement is the callous and cruel treatment of the natives by their colonists. In 1795 the English were just in time to save the Moravian mission to the Hottentots from destruction by the envious Boers. The favour shown by England to the missions, her protection of the natives against the fierce oppression of the Boers, were the chief causes of that animosity against England which ultimately drove many Boers to migration beyond the Orange River. The execution at Slagters Nek in 1816 of five Boers (Abraham and Stephanus Bothma, Corneluis Faber, Theunis de Klerk, and Hendrik Prinslo) who had resisted the English authorities, is still remembered. It is probably a mere coincidence that the great "treks" northward began after the abolition of slavery in all British colonies (August, 1833), and this notwithstanding the manifesto of Pieter Retief of the year 1836, wherein the chief cause of the Boer migrations is said to be the change in the relations of the Boers to the natives. Thus in the two republics on the north the relations of the Boers to the natives were highly unsatisfactory, whereas in the Cape a better state of things prevailed. The settlers were, however, in most districts largely outnumbered by the natives, whose feelings toward them were rarely of a friendly nature. Kindness, moreover, was by no means an invariable characteristic of the English rule.

(ε) *Natal.* — The colony of Natal was founded by Boer emigrants about the same time as the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic. The first settlers

on the coast were some English merchants (Farewell 1824, Gardiner 1835) and missionaries, who had entered into friendly relations with the Zulu princes Tchaka and Dingaan (p. 437). They were soon followed (1837) by the Boer leader Pieter Retief with Gert Maritz at the head of a train of one thousand wagons. They found the land almost depopulated by war, and proceeded to negotiate with Dingaan for the cession of the modern Natal. At first they were apparently successful, but on February 5, 1838, they were massacred with sixty-six comrades in the Zulu camp (cf. p. 438). The Boers collected their forces, inflicted a crushing defeat on Dingaan in the same year (December 16) at Umslato, stormed and burned his town, and forced his successor Umgande (Panda) to confirm the cession of territory on February 14, 1840. Pietermaritzburg was founded as the capital of the "Batavisch–afrikaanischen Maatschappij," and in November, 1839, the republic ("Port Natal") was proclaimed.

Meanwhile George Napier was by no means inclined to recognise the new State. England was even then beginning that policy which proved disastrous to the free Boers, of occupying the whole of the seaboard, and thus cutting off the States in the interior from communication with the sea. Her command of the sea enabled her to prosecute her claims upon the coast while the Boers were extending in the interior. The Cape governor supported the Zulus, then attacked and defeated the Boers, succeeded in subjugating the country in 1842, and ultimately added it to the British colonies in 1845. In a few years part of the Natal Boers were again seized with migration fever and removed to the Transvaal (cf. above, p. 507).

The English government found a serious task imposed upon them, when they took over Natal, which became a separate colony independent of the Cape in 1856. In the immediate neighbourhood were the powerful and warlike Zulu kings, the white population of the land was very sparsely distributed, and it became a refuge for the numerous Zulus who desired to escape the tyranny of their kings. In a few years their numbers rose to one hundred thousand. The dangers which thus threatened the country both at home and abroad were successfully averted at the cost of much trouble, chiefly by the adroit handling of the "native secretary," Theophilus Shepstone, and were at last entirely nullified by the increase of European immigration, which definitely established the superiority of the whites. The destruction of the Zulu power in 1879 (p. 438) freed the colony from its most dangerous enemy.

Zululand was not immediately incorporated by the English after Ketchwayo's death (1884), and in that country events ran a similar course. In consequence of disputes about the succession Ketchwayo's son Dinizulu applied to the neighbouring Boers. About three hundred of them came to his help and obtained from him a strip of territory in the west of the free Zululand. In 1884 the "Nieuwe Republik" was founded there, with Vryheid as its capital. English opposition prevented the new Free State from extending eastward to the sea, and in 1887 it was joined to the South African Republic. To prevent any further attempts of the kind, on April 29, 1895, England seized the last unoccupied portion of the African coast. Tongaland (Amatongaland) with the district of the chiefs Sambana and Umbegesa, Swaziland, which lay further in the interior (King N'Bunu or U'Buru), was placed under the protection of the Transvaal on December 10, 1894, after long negotiations.

(*b*) *South Africa during the Financial Period* (1867–1901). — During the first period of the further development of ex-tropical South Africa, cattle breeding and agriculture were the main sources of wealth in a country with a slowly increasing population. In 1867 begins a second period, the age of great financial undertakings. The diamond and gold fever becomes the ruling principle of the time. Immigration increases by leaps and bounds, but the immigrants are in many cases of doubtful character. Wealth increases rapidly, but is unequally distributed; economic change leads to political change, and in Cecil Rhodes the typical successful pioneer becomes the directing power in the Cape government. The South African Boer finds himself in danger of being driven from his country by a new and unpleasant element of population; his existence is threatened by the greed of wealth, and as further retreat northward is impossible, he determines upon war (cf. Vol. VII, p. 123).

(*a*) *The Incorporation of Griqualand.* — It was in the year 1867 that the first diamond was found, an event which led to the discovery of the rich diamond fields which lie to the east of the junction of the Orange and Vaal rivers. About the same time (1868) Karl Mauch discovered the first traces of gold near Tati, in Mashonaland; in 1871 gold was found in the Transvaal (Lydenburg). The rush of men excited to fever heat at once began, bringing with it the population peculiar to all rich gold districts. In 1869 the discovery of the "Star of South Africa," a splendid stone of 83½ carats, had turned public attention to the resources of South Africa, and a similar rush set in to the diamond fields on the Vaal. Their political status was at first a matter of such doubt that the diamond diggers organised themselves into republics in some districts, until England took the country under her protection without regarding the rights and claims of the Orange Free State, in whose territory Kimberley and the most important diamond fields were situated (October 27, 1871); compensation was not paid until 1876 (cf. above, p. 428). This district of West Griqualand formed the first extension of the Cape territory beyond the Orange River.

(*β*) *The Transvaal in* 1870–1880. — This oppression of the Orange Free State was destined to be followed by another and more serious act of aggression. In 1871 M. W. Pretorius, the first president of the Transvaal Free State, had resigned, owing to popular disapproval of the concessions he had made in a frontier dispute, and T. T. Burgers was elected in his stead. He did a great deal to improve the civilization of the country and the education of the people, which had been sadly neglected; but he had not the firm grasp upon the helm which was then required. The mineral wealth of the Transvaal had now become generally known, and England was not slow in renewing her earlier claims to the country. The Transvaal was in a state of confusion; if the wars with Secocoeni, the son of Sekoati, and chief of the Bapedi, and the misunderstandings with the Bechuanas, Amaswasi, and Zulus were to be brought to an end, some decisive step on the part of Burgers was imperatively necessary, and England gladly availed herself of this opportunity for interference. The Transvaal was annexed on April 12, 1877, Burgers made a protest in writing, and the English troops entered the country without resistance.

A Boer deputation, with Paul Kruger and H. Jorissen at the head, went to

Europe to ask for help, but the attempt was for the moment unsuccessful; the Boers were thrown upon their own resources. After some initial improvement the condition of the population steadily deteriorated under the English rule; their relations with the natives, which had been the ostensible cause of the English interference, remained as unsatisfactory as ever, and the animosity of the Boers increased in proportion. Consequently, the call to revolt in 1880 was received, as was natural, with universal enthusiasm. Small Boer contingents besieged and isolated the few English garrisons, and their main body was concentrated on the Natal frontier, thus obliging the English army of relief to march through a mountainous country specially adapted for defensive operations. The English suffered several defeats: on December 14, 1880, in the valley of Bronkhorst Spruit; January 28, 1881, at the pass of Laing's Nek; February 8, at the Ingogo Heights; and February 27, at Majuba (or Amajuba) Hill. A change of ministry took place in England, and brought the Liberal minister, William Ewart Gladstone, who was opposed to annexation, back into office. On August 3, 1881, was concluded the Pretoria convention; the Transvaal recovered its domestic independence, but was to remain dependent upon England with respect to questions of foreign policy. Paul Kruger (see portrait, p. 514) was made president of the new republic, which was proclaimed August 8, 1881.

By the cession of the Transvaal, which was recognised in the London convention of February 27, 1884, the dream of a great South African Empire under English sway had been rudely broken. The interference of Germany in Southwest Africa (p. 487) shortly afterward dealt a second heavy blow to this project; but at the Cape were still to be found supporters of the scheme, who hoped for better days. In the goldfields (Moodie, Sheba, Witwatersrand) the Transvaal certainly possessed a source of wealth, but at the same time a serious danger to its internal prosperity. The gold miners who crowded into the country and made Johannesburg their headquarters (founded 1886) were chiefly of English nationality, and were therefore inclined to favour English interests. The laws of the republic which imposed a long stay in the country upon the immigrant desirous of burgher rights prevented the mining interest from gaining any preponderant influence in the domestic policy of the State; hence the most important object was the alteration of these laws, or, in the last resort, the abrogation of them by force. Cecil Rhodes, the prime minister of Cape Colony since 1890 (cf. pp. 496, 510, 512), undoubtedly worked deliberately to this end; at the same time he was busily engaged in securing the rest of South Africa for England, in surrounding the Transvaal with English territory wherever possible, and so cutting off communication between the Transvaal and German Southwest Africa. Kruger on his side continued the construction of the railway begun by T. T. Burgers to Delagoa Bay, which belonged to Portugal; the railway thus touched nowhere on English soil, and gave the Transvaal a freer position (the portion from Pretoria to Komati Poort was opened on January 1, 1895). England's attempts to get possession of Delagoa Bay were frustrated, at first in 1875 by the decision of the French President MacMahon in favour of Portugal, and in later times partly by the interference of Germany, which began to pay greater attention to South African affairs, and partly by Portugal's prompt payment of the fifteen million francs, the compensation adjudged in 1900 to the Anglo-American Railway Building Company by the decision of the Swiss Confederacy (Blaesi, Hensler, and Goldan).

(γ) *Rhodesia.* — Pretexts were soon found for an English advance northward into Rhodesia. During the years 1882–1883 two small Boer republics had been formed beyond the western frontier of the Transvaal, Stellaland (capital, Vryburg) and Goshen (Goosen; capital, Mafeking), which, notwithstanding their low vitality, checked the progress of trade by the imposition of heavy duties, and were moreover speedily involved in a series of lively quarrels with the natives. In 1884 Mankoroane, chief of the Batlapin, and Montsiwe (Montsiva), chief of the Baralong, placed themselves under English protection; an armed force was sent north under Sir Charles Warren, and on September 30, 1885, the district was annexed, under the title of "British Bechuanaland." Further north, on Lake Ngami, the Mmangwato Khama (Chama), the son of Sekomi, whose capital was at first Shoshong, 1889–1895, Kwapong (Kopong), and afterward Palapye, had largely extended the territory of his (West) Bechuanas (cf. p. 469), and thereby facilitated the English advance yet further. A revolt broke out in the Christmas of 1896 against the British Protectorate, which had been established since August, 1885, but was brought to an end by the subjugation of the Bechuana chiefs, Galishwe and Toto, in August, 1897.

A further opportunity for encroachment occurred in Mashonaland, whither numbers of adventurers had been attracted by the goldfields. In 1889 the Matabele prince Lobengula (p. 441) agreed to a cession of his territory to the "English South African Company" (British South African or Chartered Company) which Rhodes founded in that year. When he attempted revolt in 1893, he was reduced to obedience by the protectorate troops under Leander Starr Jameson. Buluwayo, the residence of the Matabele king, became the capital of the new colony "Rhodesia" (the name came into use on May 1, 1895). The country, which suffered greatly from drought, rinderpest, and locusts, was protected by forts; its northwestern corner, the Marutshe kingdom of Leboshe, was styled "British Central African Protectorate." The settlements made by English missionaries in the hinterland of Mozambique made it possible to advance the British frontiers beyond the Zambesi as far as Nyassa and Tanganyika in 1889 (British Central Africa: Anglo-Portuguese Convention, June 11, 1891). Thus an enormous area was brought permanently under English influence, and, with the exception of Nyassaland, its resources were thrown open to the "Royal Chartered Company."

(δ) *The "Uitlanders," Jameson's Raid, and the Preparations for War* (1895–1899). — Meanwhile the agitation in the Transvaal had continued. A revolution was not in accordance with the inclinations of most of the inhabitants of Johannesburg and the "Rand," but it was an easy matter to start a movement among the restless elements of the population for the overthrow of the existing constitution by every possible means. The lead was taken by the "Transvaal-Union" or "National Union," which represented the demands of the immigrant "Uitlanders." President Paul Kruger showed himself not wholly disinclined to introduce a number of reforms by degrees, thus cutting the ground from under the feet of the movement, and more rapid measures were therefore deemed advisable. A revolt was deliberately prepared in Johannesburg, and at the same time a small body of troops was collected on the west frontier of the Transvaal with the support of the Chartered Company. Under pretext of "saving" the women and children in Johannesburg, who were said to be exposed to Boer violence, eight hundred men

under Dr. Jameson's leadership (cf. above) entered the Transvaal on December 29, 1895, with the object of joining the revolutionaries in Johannesburg, who were to act at the same time. The attempt failed miserably. Thanks to Kruger's watchfulness, a Boer force was on the spot. Jameson's troops were defeated at Krugersdorp January 1, 1896, and forced to surrender, the following day at Blakfontein; in Johannesburg the rising proved abortive owing to the want of union among the inhabitants, the Germans in particular siding with the South African Republic. The German Emperor William II sent a telegram on January 3, congratulating President Kruger on his victory. The Boer population in British South Africa was greatly excited; the Orange Free State collected troops and showed itself ready to help the threatened sister republic. These events obliged the English government to act cautiously.

It had become clear to the Transvaal leaders that the independence of their country was seriously menaced; consequently they proceeded to make prudent preparations for the inevitable outbreak. European sympathy proved to be of some immediate advantage to the Boers, since England was induced to make some timely concession in order to avoid international complications. The Jameson raid had opened Afrikander eyes in the Orange Republic, and the president in office, who was friendly to England, was replaced by Martinus Thomas Steyn, the representative of a confederacy of Boer States. In Cape Colony also the opposition of the Dutch to the English nationality became more accentuated; the Dutch ultimately gained a majority in the elections, Rhodes and his following were forced to retire in 1896, and W. P. Schreiner, an Afrikander, replaced Gordon Sprigg in 1898. For the Transvaal Boers the gold-mining industry, which had once been so threatening a danger, was now a most valuable support; the State revenues were enormously increased by the produce of the mines, and were expended in the purchase of admirable artillery and in arming the whole of the Boer forces with the latest pattern of repeating rifle. Pretoria was fortified, Johannesburg was at once protected and overawed by a strong fort; and like some stronghold before the beginning of a siege the Transvaal provided itself with supplies and munitions of war of every kind for a long period.

It would be wrong to suppose that England entered upon the war merely in the interests of a few mine-owners and gold capitalists; a chief motive was British "Imperialism," the great idea of making a second India of Africa. But the capitalists have to bear the blame of unduly hastening the outbreak of the struggle. After the Boers had been once warned and prepared, a postponement could have brought nothing but advantage to England; year by year the numbers of the foreign population in the Transvaal rose, and the English language and civilization extended; in this way the controlling power would have passed imperceptibly from the Boer hands. Rhodes and his group of speculators who had brought about the Jameson raid are undoubtedly to blame for the fact that in spite of negotiations for a peaceful settlement an appeal to arms in solution of the questions in dispute became inevitable. The Chartered Company had the appearance of being seriously crippled, and the real state of affairs was obscured by such immense projects as that of a railway from the Cape to Cairo; the only means of relief from these embarrassments was to turn the stream of gold which flowed from the taxes on the Transvaal mining industry away from the coffers of the Boer government into the pockets of the Chartered Company. The hazy

"suzerainty" of England over the Transvaal, which at most only permitted her interference in the foreign policy of the country, was advanced in favour of the Uitlanders, for whom a considerable extension of the franchise was demanded. If the republic gave way, the Boers would sooner or later cease to be masters in their own house; if the concession was refused, a collision with England became inevitable.

(ε) *England's War against the two Boer Free States* (1899–1901). — The aged Paul Kruger (see inserted plate, "P. J. Joubert and St. J. P. Kruger"), who continued at the head of his nation, at once recognised the real direction of the British policy; on the other hand, the English government was very imperfectly informed upon the extent of the Boer preparations. While the English were prolonging the negotiations and sending troops to South Africa, the Boer republics suddenly took the decisive step. In an ultimatum (October 9, 1899) they demanded the immediate withdrawal of the English troops, and proceeded to mobilise their own forces in view of the probable rejection of their demands; when the ultimatum was answered by a plain refusal, they crossed the frontier at different points on October 11.

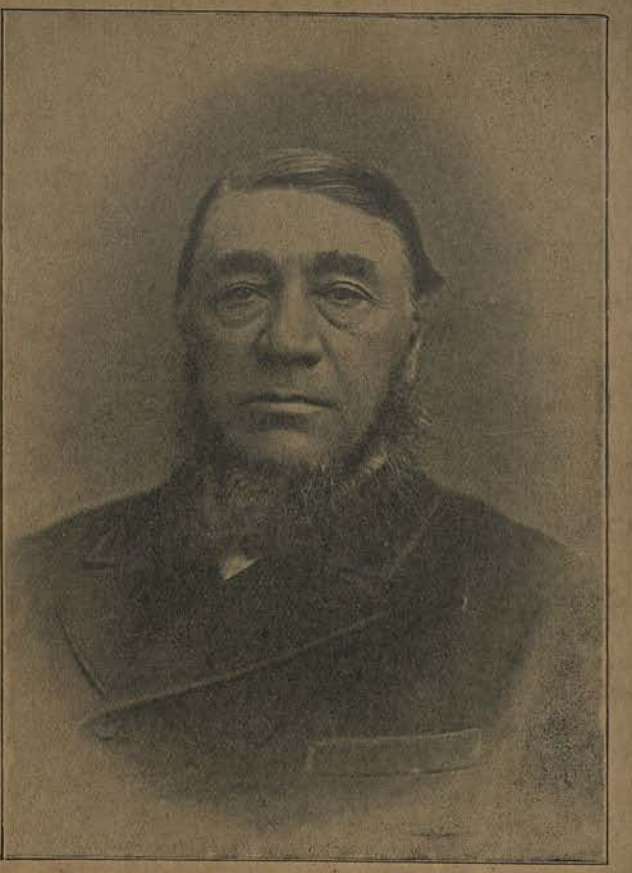
The early stages of the war were marked by a series of English defeats, which were the more discreditable as they were largely due to the retrograde condition of the British army; for the Boers, at any rate during the first months, were anything but determined purposeful warriors.

The Boers of the two allied republics began the campaign by attacking the neighbouring English colonies, Natal in particular. Piet Joubert (see inserted plate) drove back the troops of General George Stuart White in several engagements, and completely invested them in Ladysmith, the fortified base of the English positions (October 30). In the West, Mafeking and Kimberley were invested, but could not be reduced. A division of Boers on the South eventually crossed the Orange River at different points, and operated in the northern districts of Cape Colony, where they were joined by a portion of the Dutch population.

England's first task was the relief of the besieged garrisons. At the beginning of November General Redvers Buller, commander-in-chief of the English reinforcements, started from Capetown for Natal with part of his army corps; a division under Lieutenant-General Paul Sandford Lord Methuen advanced to the relief of Kimberley, while Lieutenant-General William Forbes Gatacre was ordered to clear the north of Cape Colony of the enemy. Methuen pressed forward with the utmost haste, as the most important task seemed to be the rescue of the diamond town Kimberley and of Rhodes, who was shut up in it. He soon met the forces of the Boer general P. A. Cronjé, and after the battles of Belmont and Graspan (November 23 and 25) suffered severe loss at the Modder River (November 28) and at Magersfontein (December 11, 1899). Meanwhile Gatacre had fallen into a Boer ambush at Stormberg (December 11). At the same time progress in the north of Cape Colony was also brought to a standstill in spite of the efforts of the admirable English cavalry general George Arthur French. Buller's attempts met with even smaller success; however the Boers were unable to take Ladysmith, which they had bombarded with heavy artillery since November 9. Part of the Boer troops occupied the important ford of the Tugela River at Colenso, while other

PETRUS JAKOBUS ("PIET") JOUBERT

The Commander-in-Chief (General-Kommandant) of the Boers, and Vice-President of the Transvaal since 1896; born January 20, 1831, of Huguenot origin, died March 27, 1900



STEPHANUS JOHANNES PAULUS ("PAUL") KRUGER

President of the South African Republic (elected 1882, 1888, 1893, and 1898); born October 10, 1825, in the Colesberg district, of German origin

divisions advanced as far as Pietermaritzburg, ultimately retiring beyond the Tugela as Buller advanced. On December 15 Buller attacked the Boer position from Colenso, and was severely defeated with a loss of 140 dead, 762 wounded, 228 prisoners, and 11 guns.

England now prepared additional reinforcements of militia, yeomanry, and colonial volunteers: the best generals at the disposal of the country, Frederic Sleigh Lord Roberts of Kandahar and Horatio Herbert Lord Kitchener of Khartoum were placed at the head of the South African army. At the beginning of February, 1900, preparations had been made for a new campaign. Roberts determined first to drive back General Cronjé from Kimberley, and then by delivering a blow at the heart of the republic to secure the relief of the hard-pressed town of Ladysmith. His plan was successfully carried out. Cronjé allowed himself to be surprised by the approach of an overwhelming English force, which relieved Kimberley on February 16; he failed in his attempt to escape eastward, was surrounded at Paardeberg (February 18 and 19), and after a brave resistance of nine days was forced to surrender with four thousand men in the bed of the Modder River near Koodoesrand on February 27. Without further delay, Roberts reached Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Republic, on March 13.

Meanwhile Buller's task had been to contain the Boer army in Natal and to relieve Ladysmith if possible; in the course of his operations he had received several severe defeats. Attempts to turn the Boer position on the Tugela were thwarted by the battle of Spionskop (January 22 and 24, 1900), which cost the English about twenty-four hundred men and the Boers one hundred and fifteen. But the Boers, as usual, made no attempt to follow up their advantage. Moreover, the effect of Lord Roberts' successes soon made itself felt in Natal. Buller was again driven back at Vaalkranz (February 5); but the obstinacy of Joubert, who was ill and forbade all pursuit, saved the British army from further disaster. Buller began a fourth advance on February 14, and this time his attempt proved successful: Ladysmith was relieved on February 28, and the Boer army retreated to the mountain passes.

After the capture of Bloemfontein Roberts spent a month and a half in reorganising his army and commissariat. The Boer troops in the north of Cape Colony, a division of which were led by Christian de Wet, retreated unmolested to the Orange Free State, and there began those guerilla operations, which were gradually to become the systematic method of Boer warfare. Joubert's death (March 27) was a misfortune rather apparent than real, for younger leaders were beginning to come to the front among the Boers, such as Hans and Louis Botha, De Wet, Beyer, Herzog, Delarey, etc. A good example of the new mode of warfare was the surprise at Sanna's Post or Koornspruit (March 31), where De Wet took three hundred prisoners and seven guns; a similarly successful stroke at Reddersburg soon followed (April 3 and 4). However it proved impossible to offer any serious opposition to the English advance: Roberts began to move forward at the end of April. On May 31 Johannesburg with its mines, the real prize of the war, was in the hands of the English; the Transvaal capital, Pretoria, was taken on June 5, Mafeking having been relieved on May 17. These successes did not, however, lead to the subjugation of the Boers, any more than the advance upon Machadodorp (August 28) and Lydenburg (September 6), Kruger's place of refuge, although the Delagoa Railway was captured in the course of the operations. On

the return of Lord Roberts to England (November 30) Kitchener assumed the chief command; his efforts to bring the guerilla war to an end and to stop the tireless activity of De Wet were for a long time unavailing. He was unable to prevent the invasion of Cape Colony by strong bands of Boers toward the end of 1900, though this movement did not bring about the general rising of the Cape Dutch which had been expected. The confusion in China increased the difficulties of the English position, and, to crown all, the plague broke out in Cape Town. Hence about the middle of March, 1901, the first attempt was made to induce the Boers to lay down their arms by the offer of conditions which were moderate in comparison with the unconditional surrender previously demanded; the proposals were declined by Botha, Steyn, and De Wet on March 22. The attempts of the English to break down the obstinate resistance of the enemy by the deportation of prisoners to St. Helena (Cronjé) and Ceylon and by overrunning the country had failed to produce the desired effect up to May, 1901. Fighting was prolonged in a somewhat desultory manner for twelve months further; but renewed overtures from the Boers for peace ended in the conference between Lords Kitchener and Milner on the one side and the Boer leaders on the other, with the result that peace was signed on June 1, 1902, upon conditions the carrying out of which lies in the lap of the future.

7. THE SUDÂN AND ABYSSINIA

A. The Western Sudân

(*a*) *The Country.* — By reason of its climatic conditions and ethnographical character the Sudân may be considered as a transition zone between the Sahara and the well-watered tropical regions of Central Africa; but this description in its widest sense is applicable only to the central and eastern portions of the district, as may be observed by examination of the configuration and contour of the African continent. The vast promontory thrown out by the continent on the west is washed by the waves of the Gulf of Guinea on the south, exactly at the point where the forest land of the Congo valley extends further eastward, so that the southern half of this projection appears to belong wholly to the Sudân. But the climate of the southernmost frontier, the Guinea coast, and the population which has clung with wonderful tenacity to that district is pure African; similarly, further in the interior we find a zone of transition from barren desert to tropical luxuriance, from the fair sinewy people of the steppes to the dark full-bodied sons of the humid tropics, and this zone is as easily to be recognised here as it is further to the east.

But it was in the west, that is, in the Niger basin, that the Sudânese nationality was enabled to expand most widely and to develop in its most characteristic form its imperfect civilization, which has been modified by northern influences from the earliest times. In the first place, however vigorously the western negroes may have resisted the constant pressure of northern influence, they were unable to recruit their numbers from the black populations of Central Africa; these latter were continually making involuntary migrations northward, in the sense that the Sudânese princes made a practice of enslaving large numbers of them: thus the Central African exercised an influence upon the Sudânese nationality strongly

tending toward negro modification. Further, the configuration of the Western Sahara made its influence especially powerful. The western part of the great desert is comparatively well provided with springs, oases, and pasture grounds; here and in the steppes on the southern frontier true nomadic peoples arose, whose powers of conquest and empire building often made themselves strongly felt in the history of the Western Sudân. While the inhabitants of the Sahara itself thus modified the destinies of the country, the dwellers upon the north coast, who had their share in the development of the Mediterranean civilization, were able to send their caravans as far as the Niger and the Senegal, and thus to plant the seeds of culture and religion in the south.

(*b*) *The Population.* — The statement that the Sudân is a zone of mixed population must not be taken as implying that the whole of this vast district is occupied by a new people of uniform type. In respect of racial fusion it will be remembered that in the west were two mutually repugnant elements which were forcibly commingled; remnants of each are yet to be found everywhere in their original purity. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the fair-skinned "Berbers" who came from the north are themselves the product of a fusion of different elements, which process was continued even into the times of authentic history (cf. Vol. IV, p. 211). The different primal elements of which the Berber race was composed were divided in very unequal measure among the different mixed races of the Sudân and Congo land. The Eastern races (Wangbattu and Niam-Niam) are chiefly mixed with the brown Ethiopians, who spread into Africa from an early period from a starting-point south of Egypt; on the other hand, the large number of blondes among the Fulbe points to a strong infusion of the blond Libyans. Ethiopian influence, for which the Nile afforded a convenient passage to the interior, seems to have extended to an extraordinary distance. At a comparatively later period another light-coloured race, the Arabs, influenced the Sudân from the north and the east.

Fusion with the northern peoples may in some cases have begun very early. During the Carthaginian and Roman periods individuals, at any rate, broke through the intervening barrier of desert. Herodotus tells us of a wild journey undertaken by certain members of the nomadic race of the Nasamones, who are said to have reached the Niger from Egypt. If it be true that the Sahara was better watered in earlier ages than at the present time, such an undertaking would have been easier in remote antiquity, even without camels, than in our own day. However classical antiquity has little or nothing to tell us of the ethnographical condition of the Sudân, the authentic history of which does not begin before the Arab period.

As in the case of the smaller steppe and desert districts of Africa, so with the Sahara and the steppes upon its southern frontier, we may assume that the power and importance of the desert tribes increased considerably in proportion as the growing numbers of their cattle enabled them to derive more profit from the poor soil upon which they lived. At first probably unsettled bands of hunters, they grew to be powerful and warlike tribes. In this course of development were two separate stages marked by the introduction of cattle at an early period, and the introduction of the camel, which did not take place until late in the Roman period. At first the black agricultural tribes of Central Africa were superior to the needy

inhabitants of the desert, but the balance of power turned in the opposite direction until the negroes were subjugated or forced to retreat.

At an early period the negroes seem to have been spread over nearly the whole of the Sudân and far into the desert. Whether they were ever settled yet further north, whether the Berbers of North Africa are descended from an early negro population, particularly those in the districts bordering upon the desert, are questions which must remain at present unsolved. Fezzan was certainly at one time populated by negroes; tradition and the dark colour of the people are evidence of the fact. In the Western Sahara are also unmistakable remnants of an old negro population. According to the Roman historian Sallust (86–34 B. C.) the southern districts of the true desert were in the hands of the negroes at his time; but even then forerunners of those different races from which the Berbers were afterward compounded, may have been settled side by side with the negro inhabitants.

In the Sudân, which was accessible to North African influences, the spread of civilization may not be so immediately connected with racial movement as it certainly was in North Africa itself. It is a characteristic fact that the use of the plough never made its way across the Sahara, or confined the true negro custom of hoe cultivation to the Sudân. On the other hand, the domestic animals which were brought into Africa over the Isthmus of Suez, or perhaps the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb, were introduced into the Sudân and from thence into Central Africa. In this way was brought about the distribution of the sheep, goat, ox, horse, and finally the camel. If civilization in antiquity followed the paths which it takes to-day, the Sahara may be considered as the centre round which the stream of culture flows. Civilization enters North Africa from the east, spreads to the modern Morocco, from thence turns south into the Niger district, then moves eastward, and at length in the neighbourhood of the Nile meets another stream flowing southward from Egypt. This line of movement is broken upon occasion by traffic from the harbours of Tripoli to the Central Sudân. At times this latter road was much used, and many new achievements of civilization were thus transmitted which might at a later period have arrived by the more usual route through Morocco and the Niger countries. As civilization increased, mixed peoples arose, who lived in towns, and formed a new link in the chain, averting or turning into other channels the long-standing struggles between the settled peoples and the nomads or between the fair tribes and the negroes. The art of manufacture was introduced from the north, and exercised a deep influence upon peoples and States. In the Western and Central Sudân are two great State-forming races, largely of negro blood, the Mandingo (Mandinka, Mandingans; cf. above, p. 456) and the Hausa. These are manufacturing and trading peoples by profession. They are thus endowed with the necessary qualities for entering a foreign district, forming small colonies within it, and seizing the government for themselves when occasion offers. The Mandingo are leather workers, dyers, weavers, and smiths, and extend as far as the west coast. Trade and manual industry have enabled the Hausa to advance to the Slave coast, where their support of Mohammedanism has gained them considerable influence. The Soninke (Serakolet, Sarakoleh), to the south of the Mandingo, are a tribe of similar character. We have examples of involuntary migrations of this kind, especially in the east of the Sudân, to which inhabitants of Bornu and Baghirmi have been transplanted, bringing with them a higher civilization. It is very possible that the transmission of civilization by migration

of this kind was one of the forces which completed the expansion of the earliest States in the Sudân, the negro finding manufacturing ability to be a new means of overpowering the shepherd tribes of the desert, who were disinclined to labour. The stimulus given to pilgrimage by Mohammedanism extended the horizon and greatly increased traffic.

When the Berber races grew to be powerful tribes, excellently conformed to their special environment, the black races, with their tendency to form petty States, were forced to retreat. By far the most important of these tribes is the great Tuareg people (isolated form, Targi), or more properly Imoschagh (Amasigh, Masigh). Their conformation to the conditions of desert life and their advance southward appear to have been purely involuntary. Though the northern parts of the desert were already in the possession of the Tuareg (Sallust), the main body of the people seems to have been settled in the fruitful districts under the mountain chain of North Africa until the Arab conquest drove them gradually to retreat southward. Different Arab tribes pressed after them, and in places divided the new territory with them; but the negroes who were settled in the oases on the south of the desert, succumbed to the attacks of the Tuareg. These repeated shocks produced racial movements which were transmitted to the Sudân in southerly and easterly directions.

(*c*) *The Early History of the West Sudân.* — (*a*) *Ghana.* — Even before that period important negro kingdoms existed in the Western Sudân. The history of the kingdom of Ghana, or Gharata (properly Aucar), can be retraced further than any other. This State is said to have been founded about 300 A.D. It was situated on the edge of the desert, west of Timbuktu, and northwest of the Upper Niger valley. It was not, however, a pure negro kingdom. The ruling house seems to have belonged to a fair race, while the bulk of the population was Mandingo or Malinke. This information is valuable as showing that long before the Mohammedan period the Sudân was a district of mixed population, and that the oft-recurring course of events which brings a fair race to rule over a negro population was not unexampled even at that time. Twenty-two rulers are said to have reigned in Ghana before the beginning of Mohammedan chronology.

Carthage and Cyrene carried on commercial relations, at any rate indirectly, with the countries beyond the desert, and North African civilization had strongly influenced the Sudân when the Arabs overran North Africa. A people thus appeared on the edge of the great desert for whom the inhospitable land had no terrors, and who were spurred on to desperate enterprises by the hope of extending the Mohammedan religion and their own power. The kingdom of Senhagia in the Western Sahara seems to have been the starting-point for the spread of Mohammedan propaganda. The town of Biru (Whalata) was apparently a centre of trade and of Mohammedan civilization until it was overshadowed by Timbuctoo. In fact, it is at an early period that we find the first traces of Mohammedanism in the Sudân. It was not everywhere that the new religion found favourable soil, and it has not even yet made its way throughout the country; but it brought with it the greatest mark of a higher civilization, the art of writing, and thus laid the foundation for a reliable history of the Sudân. The most priceless historical records of this district, the annals of Sonrhay, were composed by Ahmed Baba (about 1640).

While Ghana was at the height of its prosperity, a new kingdom was developed at no great distance, Sonrhay (p. 521), where the dynasty of the Saa — apparently also of Berber origin — came to power at the outset of the seventh century. The Saa Alayaman was the first ruler, according to Ahmed Baba, and was succeeded by fourteen kings before the land came under Mohammedan rule. The centre of the kingdom of Sonrhay lay within the great curve of the Niger, south of the modern Timbuctoo; but it also possessed important districts beyond the Niger, further to the east.

(β) *Melle.* — Sonrhay was at first of no great importance: a third and somewhat younger State, the kingdom of Melle, was for a long time predominant in the Western Sudân. The early history of Melle is wholly obscure; it seems to have been founded by the Mandingo, who perhaps first overthrew the Berber supremacy; at the time of its greatest prosperity its power extended northward far beyond the curve of the Niger, and it may have made itself felt indirectly as far as the Atlantic Ocean: its rulers were Mandingo, and consequently belonged to the dark races. The first Mohammedan preachers are said to have come to Melle in the year 990 and to have met with a favourable reception. Mohammedanism had spread among the peoples of the desert, and greatly stimulated their tendencies to political union. As early as the ninth century a Berber chief Tilutan had accepted the faith of Islam, had converted the neighbouring negro races, and risen to great power: about 1034 most of the Berber tribes of the desert were united under the sceptre of Abu Abdallah. Toward the end of the eleventh century the Tuareg founded the town of Timbuctoo in a spot which had been regularly used for holding markets: the town (see the plate facing p. 528) became an important centre of their influence. About this period the old kingdom of Ghana was conquered for a time by the Almoravides, who became highly important in the history of North Africa and Spain (cf. Vol. IV, p. 507).

Meanwhile the princes of Sonrhay had accepted Mohammedanism about 1009, and become rulers of Ghanata about 1100; the chiefs of Melle, on the other hand, a State which was steadily growing in power, do not seem to have followed this example before 1200. Mansa (Sultan) Mussa was the most important of the rulers of Melle. He ruled from 1311 to 1331, raised his kingdom to the position of a first-rate military power, and proceeded to make conquests in all directions. He subdued what remained of the old kingdom of Ghana, which had recovered its independence but had lost most of its territory to Melle in the thirteenth century; he conquered the Sonrhay kingdom and took the prosperous town of Timbuctoo from the Tuareg. His reputation extended far and wide, when he undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca with a vast retinue of followers in the year 1326, and showered wealth around him with a liberal hand. An architect was brought from Granada to Timbuctoo to build a palace for the king. After the death of Mussa the kingdom was threatened with disruption; however, Mansa Isliman restored its power about 1335 and recovered Timbuctoo. which had been conquered by the heathen prince of Mossi. Melle seems to have carried on a furious struggle with general success against the southern kingdom of Ginne (Jinne), the princes of which had accepted Mohammedanism in the thirteenth century. Melle continued at the height of its power for another century, and then began to sink beyond hope of recovery. According to Ahmed Baba, an "army of God," which appeared and

disappeared with equal rapidity, destroyed the larger part of the population; this must refer to some great and fatal revolution or to a devastating epidemic. In the year 1433 the Tuareg recovered possession of Timbuctoo while the governors of the different provinces of Melle were at war among themselves.

(γ) *Sonrhay.* — During the latter half of the fifteenth century Sonrhay (p. 520) rose to a dominating position under the guidance of the cruel but energetic Ssonni (Sunni) Ali, a ruler of Berber extraction. One of his ancestors, Ali Kilnu, who had been brought up at the royal court at Melle, fled away with his brother and raised a successful revolt in Sonrhay. At first the rulers of Sonrhay were content to retain their independence: Ssonni Ali was the first to begin conquest on a large scale. He stormed Timbuctoo with fearful slaughter in 1469; the town at once became a trading centre for the Western Sudân and North Africa; he then acquired most of the former kingdom of Ghana and had considerably increased his power, when he was drowned on an expedition to the Sudân (1492).

His son who succeeded him was soon overthrown by one of the deceased king's generals, Mohammed ben Abu Bakr by name, a pure negro who took the royal title of Askia. Here we meet with an instance of those reactionary movements which frequently occur in the racial struggles of the Western Sudân: the negro population which formed the main element in the Sudânese kingdoms succeeds in throwing off the yoke of the fair desert peoples, and asserting the supremacy of its own race. As a matter of fact, the racial fusion which took place in most cases makes it as little possible to speak of pure negroes as of pure Berbers, and a change of rulers disturbed neither the Mohammedan religion nor the existing civilization. The "Askia" soon showed himself a born ruler; he was a capable general, and strengthened the resisting powers of his kingdom by the encouragement which he gave to domestic industries; a brilliant pilgrimage to Mecca increased the reputation of his country abroad. He seems to have created a standing army, Ssonni Ali having been accustomed to lead out merely a general levy of the whole people. After his return from Arabia he conquered the kingdom of Mossi, the ruler and people of which country had displayed an obstinate hostility to Mohammedanism; he then turned upon Melle, took and destroyed the capital of this ancient kingdom, and made the country tributary to himself (1501). With the peoples dwelling further south and the western tribes he had a more obstinate struggle. Leo Africanus shows that the Askia also extended his power on the east and succeeded in partly subjugating the Hausa States which were even then in a flourishing condition: his power extended as far as Agades on the northeast, where he drove back the Berbers and planted negro colonies from Sonrhay: this action may also be considered as a counterstroke of negro against Berber. Toward the end of his life dissensions broke out in his family, and in 1529 his son Mussa forced him to abdicate.

Sonrhay maintained its power to the full during a long period of time. Especially glorious was the reign of the Askia Isshak I (1539–1553), who embarked upon the first of the quarrels with Morocco. He was succeeded by Daud, who ruled in peace from 1553 to 1582. However El Hadj, the son of this latter king, was troubled with constant outbreaks of civil war. Shortly after he had ascended the throne, ambassadors appeared from Morocco bringing gifts: these were, how-

ever, in reality the forerunners and spies of a powerful Moorish army, sent out by the Sultan Mulai Hammed of Morocco, which was advancing through the desert upon the Niger. This monarch had resumed the policy of the Almoravides, who had conquered Ghana from Morocco and in whose army the Sudânese negroes formed a most valuable contingent. The army of Morocco was overthrown in the desert; but the civil wars continued. In 1587 El Hadj was deposed and died shortly afterward.

Hardly had the Askia Isshak II put down the revolt and established himself upon the throne, when a fresh army advanced from Morocco, seized the capital of Gogo, and then took Timbuctoo. The leader of this army entered into negotiations with Isshak instead of continuing his conquests, and was immediately dismissed in consequence by Mulai Hammed, whose ambition had been fired by the example of the Spanish empire of Philip II. His successor, the Basha Mahmud, notwithstanding the scanty numbers of his troops (3,600 against a probable 140,000) utterly defeated Isshak's army, which could not stand before the firearms of the Morocco troops. Isshak fled eastward to the heathen tribes upon his frontiers, and met his death among them. Further resistance was in vain, and the powerful kingdom of Sonrhay was no more. It had comprehended all the country on the Upper Niger and Senegal, and had extended its power to the sea-coast and deep into the desert. The immigrants from Morocco formed a new element in the racial fusion; their descendants are now known as Rumat (sharpshooters). The town of Timbuctoo became the centre of the new Morocco province (cf. Vol. IV, p. 248), which did not, however, extend as widely as the old Sonrhay kingdom had done: many of the frontier provinces seceded, and individual races conquered additional territory for themselves, such as the Bambara and especially the Fulbe.

(δ) *The Hausa States.* — The destruction of the kingdom of Sonrhay led to more important results than these. Hitherto the central point of West Sudânese civilization had been upon the Upper Niger, where northern influences made themselves most rapidly and certainly felt. Henceforward it moved eastward to the Central Niger and Binuë, and to the district contained in the angle of these two streams, to the Hausa States. When once civilization had made an entry into this district, it became more strongly rooted there than upon the Upper Niger. Since the latter area largely consists of steppe lands, nomadic tendencies are predominant, and civilization is permanent only in the commercial and industrial towns. Now the Hausa States form a country of towns, from which civilization radiates to the surrounding districts; the inhabitants also are not wandering nomads, but agricultural negroes. It is true that civilization has not even yet become universal, nor is the country a political whole. Heathen races have their settlements scattered between the territories belonging to the several States, are persecuted by the expeditions of the territorial masters, and make raids upon the country in revenge for the tribute of slaves which is constantly exacted from them.

The ancient history of the Hausa States is even more obscure than that of the western kingdom. All that can be said with certainty is that the Hausa people, to whom the States owe their name and their first political organisation, were originally settled as a whole further to the north, and that they belonged to those negro races which inhabited the southern parts of the Sahara and the neighbouring districts. The mountain land of Aïr, or Asben, may once have been in the

possession of the Hausa. Thence they were driven south by the Berbers of the desert, having previously received some infusion of Berber blood, and gradually imposed their language upon a countless number of tribes, language and not race thus becoming the bond of unity among them.

The Hausa point to Biram as the cradle of their race, a little town lying east of Kano near the borders of the kingdom of Bornu; if this tradition be reliable, the greater part of the Hausa civilization must have come from the Central Sudân, and especially from Bornu rather than from the west through Melle and Sonrhay. The founder of the town of Biram bore the same name as the place, and from him and his grandson, Banu, it is said that the forefathers of the seven ancient Hausa peoples descended, and also the first kings of those seven States which were bounded collectively by the Binuë and the desert on the one side, and by the Niger and the Bornu frontiers upon the other. But when the Hausa started from the lands on the edge of the desert to found their kingdom, the original inhabitants on the river banks held out against them for a long period, and are to be found existing in parts even at the present day, just as they defied the attacks of the Sudânese civilization and its exponents in a thin strip of country on the Atlantic coast, or as they even now maintain their position in the Upper Nile valley. The seven old Hausa States were Biram, Kano (p. 524), Daura, Gobir (p. 525), Katsena (p. 524), Sofo, or Saria (pp. 524 and 526), and Rano. Gobir and Daura, together with Biram, may be considered the earliest political creations of the Hausa people. They have a tradition that the mother of the founders of the Hausa kingdoms was a Berber woman, which confirms the opinion that they are not a pure negro people, but have intermingled with the races of the desert.

The Hausa people probably developed their great talents for trade and manufacture at an early period. It was perhaps rather the influence of their civilization than their military power which extended their language and to some extent their authority over a second group of States which are generally known as the illegitimate or bastard Hausa States, from the tradition that they were founded by seven illegitimate sons of Banu. They are Kebbi, Zanfara (Zamfara), Guari (Gbari), Yauri, and beyond the Niger and Binuë, Nupe, Yoruba, and Korórofa.

The legends concerning the founders of the seven Hausa States enable us to form some idea of the political conditions prevailing during their antiquity. When the Hausa States of Banu were divided among his sons, they also received definite posts of responsibility: thus, two of them were appointed overseers of traffic and commerce, two more were to superintend the dyeing industry, a fifth had to make the kidnapping of slaves from hostile districts his special business. Here we have an excellent sketch of the economic conditions in the old Hausa kingdoms. The main source of the national wealth were the flourishing manufactures, especially the making and dyeing of textile fabrics, which were distributed far and wide by a vigorous trading system. Slave hunting was the means of obtaining cheap labour for the factories, which were, however, generally carried on by the freemen, and slaves were used also for purposes of agriculture, though this again was chiefly in the hands of the half-civilized aboriginal negroes, who lived around the great industrial centres. Slaves were for many reasons a very important article of export, and to this was chiefly due the flourishing character of the trade between the Sudân and the countries round the Mediterranean.

In early times both the rulers and the inhabitants of the Hausa States were in

a state of heathenism. It was apparently in pre-Mohammedan times that the nucleus of the kingdoms was formed upon the southern edge of the desert, even though the Arabs and the racial movements caused by their expeditions provided the real impulse which drove the Hausa southward. States began to be formed at an early period in the territory of the true and half-breed Hausa States, as is proved by the existence of the old kingdom of Fumbina in the modern Adamáua (cf. below, p. 526). In fact, the entry of the Hausa into the districts which they now occupy naturally brought about the retreat of the peoples settled there, who may have been partly civilized and capable of concerted political action, and an impulse was thus given to the formation of new kingdoms on the border of the modern Hausa land. If it is the fact that the Hausa migrations were connected with the racial changes caused by the advance of Mohammedanism, then the foundation of the Hausa kingdoms may be placed in the ninth or tenth century of our era. Paul Constantine Meyer does not consider that political organisation began before the twelfth century.

Little is known of the history of the Hausa States previous to the introduction of Mohammedanism, which seems to have been first effected in Katsena about the year 1540. In the sixteenth century Katsena was the most powerful kingdom, and the ruling dynasty can be retraced to about the year 1200. About 1513 it seems to have been conquered by the Askia of Sonrhay, Hadj Mohammed, and forced to pay tribute. When the prince of Kebbi shook off the yoke of Sonrhay, Katsena became dependent upon Kebbi and at a later time was under the influence of Bornu. The first Moslem prince of Katsena was called Ibrahim Maji; fifty years after his death the Habe dynasty came to the throne, and ruled until the country was conquered by the Fulbe. The town of Kano rose to importance after Kat[illegible] it was partly inhabited by Bornu people, and repeatedly united to the [illegible]gdom. During a long period the rulers of Bornu and Korórofa str[illegible] possession of the town. We have but scanty information upon the[illegible] the other Hausa States and their relations to one another pre-vi[illegible]ning of the nineteenth century. The kingdom of Saria, Soso, or[illegible] have been temporarily in the possession of the first Askia of S[illegible]

[illegible] *of the Western Sudân.* — (*a*) *The Fulbe.* — Our lack of [illegible] the fact that when the Fulbe conquered the Hausa [illegible]yed all the earlier historical records. Hence con-[illegible]h the victorious invasion of the Fulbe, who have [illegible]istrict for the time being. Where the Fulbe race [illegible]ples as Fula, Fellani, Fellatah, and Fullan) has [illegible]wy figure and the fair colour of the skin mark th[illegible] their habits are those of typical nomads, and [illegible] breeding. Their language shows their conn[illegible]ginal settlements were in the Western Sudâ[illegible] of the Senegal and partly in the valley of this [illegible] be are the old dominant race of Ghana can be no pro[illegible] which is not without intrinsic proba-bility, that the ancestors [illegible]ached the Sudân from Morocco.

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TIMBUCTOO.

(From a drawing by J. M. Bernatz.)

Printed by the Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig.

London: H. Heinemann. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

States on the Upper Niger and Senegal which were the first to become important in the Western Sudân. ' It is quite possible that they originally settled as a State upon the Central Senegal, soon spreading further eastward, at first almost imperceptibly. About 1300 the Fulbe who were settled in Melle sent an embassy to Bornu. Ssonai Ali, king of Sonrhay (p. 521) made an expedition against the Fulbe in the south of his country in 1492, and made them tributary to himself; but about 1500 we hear of the Askia Hadj Mohammed as again struggling against this people, so that they had presumably become powerful and had spread considerably toward the east. This expansion was brought about at that time by the same methods as at a later period. The Fulbe entered the territory of settled peoples in their character of wandering cattle herds, and seized any opportunity which offered of making themselves masters of the country and founding small independent kingdoms. About 1533 mention is made of wars between the declining kingdom of Melle and those western Fulbe who had settled near their original home. As the Fulbe advanced eastward they naturally incorporated other nomadic races with themselves, and also intermarried largely with the negroes, especially with the dark-skinned Jolof, near the old settlements of their race (cf. p. 456); in this fusion the Torode tribe originated. A development in the direction of a caste system reduced many tribes to the position of manual workers; some portion at least of the Fulbe abandoned their nomadic life in favour of manufacturing occupations.

These migrations gradually brought the Fulbe into Hausa territory. At first they were merely tolerated, and contemptuously regarded as intruders. In the sixteenth century they had increased considerably, and gained some political influence in certain quarters, especially in Kebbi (cf. pp. 523 and 524), where about this time they succeeded in interfering in the dissensions of the Kanta dynasty, which had been founded shortly before. Even then individual bodies had advanced as far as Bagirmi on the east, and perhaps also to Adamáwa on the south. At the present day heathen Fulbe are settled in that district, the rest of the population being distinguished by a fanatical adherence to Mohammedanism.

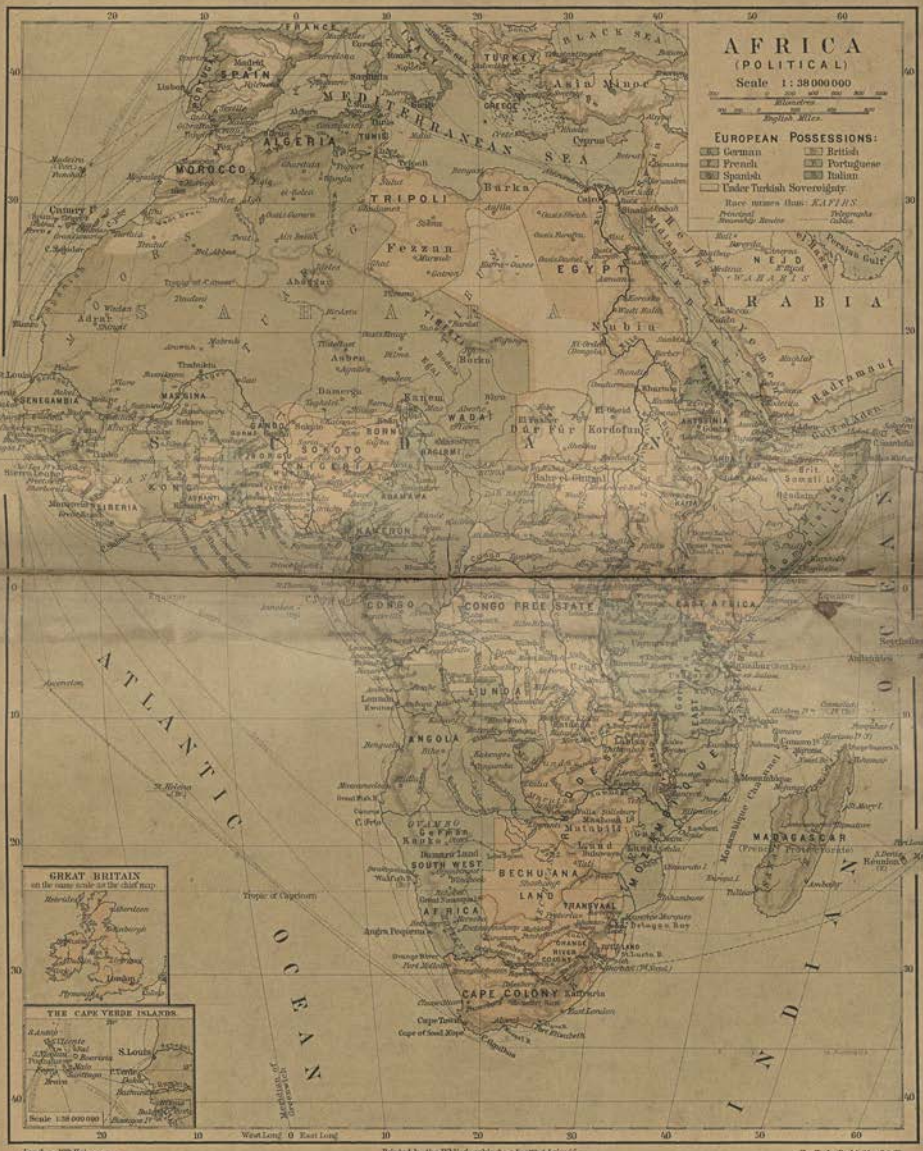
This same fanaticism was the ultimate cause of a fundamental revolution in the Hausa States. As in most cases, so also in this, the religious movement was nothing else than the natural result of a gradual change of social and racial elements; but the religious movement produced this further consequence, that it roused the Fulbe to consciousness of their own strength, and gave them a common watchword against the Hausa, who approached religious questions in a spirit of tolerance though not of absolute indifferentism. In the year 1802, in the land of Gobir (Gober), a Fulbe sheik, by name Othmând an Fódio, succeeded in using a religious movement to forward his political designs; his vigorous religious songs roused his compatriots to the height of enthusiasm and excited them to war against the rulers of Gobir. Though at first defeated, he contrived to make head against his adversaries, and upon his death he left a kingdom to his warlike son Mohammed Bello. The latter, though constantly defeated by the kings of Bornu, steadily increased the area of his dominions. The sultans of Sanfara, Gobir, and Nupe formed an alliance with the Tuareg, and strove to drive back the Fulbe, but in vain. At the same time the Fulbe in the river district on the Senegal revolted and founded the kingdom of Futa Jallon in the mountainous country to the south of the river. In 1816 a fanatic from Gando set up the kingdom of Massina, to which Timbuktu was added in 1826. Between the years 1850–1860 Segu (cf.

below, p. 528), which had been founded about 1650 by the heathen Mandingo (Bambara), suffered a similar fate.

The Hausa States fell entirely into the hands of the Fulbe; though some States held out for a long time, the Hausa people were forced to surrender their supremacy to the nomadic people they had formerly despised. In other respects political conditions underwent but little change. The chief Fulbe power was centred in the kingdom of Sokoto, Mohammed Bello's inheritance. The king of this State is at the same time spiritual lord of all the Fulbe States on the east, but his influence does not extend to political relations. The lands upon the Central Niger form the kingdom of Gando (Gandu); its first ruler was Abd' Allahi, Othman's brother. To Gando belong — though only as regards religious matters — the highly civilized Nupe (capital, Bida), which was weakened by civil war and fell into the hands of the Fulbe in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Their most southern State is Ilorin (Elorin), to the north of Yoruba. Finally Adamáwa on the southwest, which was conquered by the Fulbe during the years 1820–1830, is now practically independent (cf. below, p. 527). The other rulers of the former Hausa States are chiefly loosely dependent upon Sokoto; some of them, such as the sultan of Bautshi, whose dynasty came to the throne about 1800, are not Fulbe, but pure negroes.

The first attack of the Fulbe had shaken the States of the Western Sudân to their foundations and had threatened Bornu itself with destruction, but the kingdom which they founded soon showed signs of disruption. Many of the Fulbe moved into the town, intermarried with the Hausa, and lost their own language and their distinguishing characteristics, with the exception of the Bórroro, who clung to their nomadic habits. At the same time their fanatical temper disappeared, and with it their military prowess. The armies raised by the sultans consisted almost exclusively of negroes. In short, the negro element began to assimilate with the dominant race imperceptibly, but irresistibly. Further, the Fulbe rulers were as little masters of the whole district as the Hausa kings had been. Numerous heathen races continued to offer a desperate resistance to the Mohammedan advance; even when conquered, converted, and made serfs to the Fulbe, they merely helped to swell the numbers of the negroes. One small Hausa kingdom was even able to preserve its independence. When the Fulbe conquered Saria, the capital of the old State of Soso, the king retreated southward into heathen territory and there founded a new kingdom, with Abuja as its capital, which survived all the attacks of the Fulbe. The Hausa also maintained their position in their early home at Gobir.

Thus the Fulbe supremacy was nominal rather than real, and extended over a district the population of which a higher civilization had endowed with indestructible powers of recuperation. Though reduced to the position of an inferior race, the Hausa people were rapidly distributed in the course of trade over all the surrounding districts, and brought their language with them. As far as Kete-Kratji in German Togoland, Hausa is now the universal commercial language, though in a somewhat debased form. The Fulbe kingdom has decayed internally and is on the point of dissolution. Small tribes are able to cut all communications between Kano, Saria, and Sokoto for a long period in the year, or to carry off Hausa people from the very gates of Gando. The only reason why this kingdom has so long survived any foreign attack is the fact (according to P. Staudinger) that no energetic neighbour is to be found upon its frontiers.



London: Wm Reinemann. Printed by the Bibliographisches Institut Leipzig. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

(β) *Adamáwa.* — On the south the old Hausa kingdoms were surrounded by a ring of independent heathen States, — Korósofa, south of the central Binuë, Fumbina, the predecessor of the modern Adamáwa, and others. Adamáwa, which was thus called after the first Fulbe ruler, Adama, is distinguished from the other Hausa States by a certain peculiarity in respect of which it more nearly resembles the kingdoms of the Central Sudân. It does not belong to the great western projection of the African continent, but the whole of its southern frontier touches Central Africa with its pure negro population; hence unbounded possibilities of extension lay before it, and its rulers were enabled to carry on slave hunting upon the largest scale. The soil is moreover extremely rich and fertile, and specially adapted for an agricultural people, so that the cattle plague, which impoverished the Fulbe in the other Hausa countries, was but little felt in this kingdom and did not seriously impair the national strength. In Adamáwa most of the Fulbe had devoted themselves from an early period to agriculture, and labour for this purpose was always obtainable by slave hunting; moreover, the immigration from Bornu of industrial families proved highly beneficial to the development of civilization.

Adamáwa is governed by the prince of Yola, who is resident on the northwestern frontier, facing the other Hausa States. His influence is weakened by the remote position of his capital, and his supremacy is by no means universally acknowledged throughout the country. Small heathen districts and communities are to be found scattered everywhere among the main centres of the Fulbe power, and most of these are in a state of continual feud both with the Fulbe and among themselves. The organisation of the Fulbe kingdom in general and of Adamáwa in particular is exactly parallel to mediæval feudalism. The provinces are placed under separate dignitaries, each of whom commands a large number of vassals, while most of the officers at court are in the hands of the slaves. The most important Fulbe provinces of Adamáwa are Bubanjidda, Ngaundere, Tibati, and Banyo. Before the entry of Germany Tibati and Ngaundere (Ngaumdere) steadily extended their frontiers, and were the strongest provinces in the whole Fulbe kingdom. Near them and to the south of Adamáwa is the independent heathen State of Galim, which was formed in comparatively recent times, and has been strengthened by the addition of numerous heathen refugees. In the north (Jamárê, Balda) the fierce guerilla chief Mallam Hajato (Hayatu), son of Prince Saïdu and grandson of Mohammed Bello (p. 526), has thrown off the supremacy of Yola. Lower down the Binuë the Fulbe have founded new States within the last century. In our own times Germany has entered Adamáwa on the south and checked the advance of the Sudân negroes (cf. p. 498).

(γ) *The Morocco Period of the Western District.* — In spite of unfavourable conditions, the small numbers of its army, and the difficulty of providing reinforcements, not to speak of the numerous revolutions in Morocco itself, which cannot have failed to influence the course of events in the Sudân, the supremacy of Morocco over the western districts previously belonging to Sonrhay was maintained, nominally at least, for a surprisingly long period. The reasons for its long continuance are sufficiently simple. The Morocco soldiers, the Rumat (cf. p. 522), whose muskets had brought the war to a rapid termination, settled in the strongholds and adopted the position of a ruling caste, gained friends and influence by marrying the native women, and eventually became a separate nationality, capable of

retaining their hold of the conquered district in independence, though it was against their interests to sever all connection with Morocco. The connection between the new province of Sonrhay and Morocco thus continued unbroken until the latter kingdom was shaken by the disturbances which broke out after the death of Mulai Hammed in 1603. From that time onward Morocco no longer sent out a pasha as governor and administration was carried on by the Rumat themselves. Every newly elected pasha was forced to secure the recognition of his rights by liberal presents to his supporters, and the system resulted in excesses which far surpassed all that Rome had seen under the Pretorian guards. One hundred and fifty-four pashas are known to have ruled within a period of one hundred and fifty years. Civil wars and extortion were the natural consequences of this state of affairs. At the same time constant struggles with the different Tuareg races continued. In the seventeenth century Sonrhay provided a large number of black soldiers for the Morocco army. These constituted the bodyguard of the sultans, and rendered valuable service against such vassals as attempted revolt. About 1680 a small Morocco army made an expedition against the Sudânese districts which were independent of Morocco, and returned home with rich booty. But from 1682 the sultan of Morocco's name no longer appears in the government documents, the last trace of dependence thus disappearing. The attempt of one ambitious ruler to found a dynasty of his own proved a failure. The power of the Rumat, the descendants of the old Morocco army of conquest, gradually declined. In 1737 their army was defeated by the Tuareg prince, Ogmor, who now became the overlord of Sonrhay for a time, though he did not succeed in entirely subduing the Rumat. About 1770 the town of Gogo (Gao), on the Niger, was lost to the Tuareg. On the north bank of the river rose the powerful kingdom of Aussa (Asauad), which cut off all communication with Morocco and seized Timbuctoo. Finally, at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Rumat power was utterly destroyed by the attacks of the Fulbe. Mohammed Lebbo started from Gando, the new Fulbe kingdom on the Central Niger, with an army of fanatics, and founded a kingdom on the upper part of the river, the central point of which was the town of Massina (1816; cf. p. 525). Timbuctoo (see the coloured plate facing this page, "Timbuctoo") fell temporarily into his hands, and during the first half of the century was occupied by the Tuareg and the Fulbe in turn.

(δ) *Hadji Omar and Ahmadu.* — A further period of disturbance began with the rise of a new Fulbe fanatic, Hadji (Hadj) Omar, whose family came from the earliest settlements of the Fulbe people on the Senegal. He set himself up as the founder of a religion, and soon collected a powerful army. The first objects of his attack were the negro kingdoms which had risen upon the ruins of the great States on the Senegal and Upper Niger (Bambuk, Kaarta, and Segu); after utterly devastating these districts, he entered into rivalry, much to his own disadvantage, with the French in Senegambia (p. 501), and finally gained possession of Timbuctoo. When his garrison had been driven out by the Tuaregs he marched upon the town in person, but was severely defeated (1863). However, he succeeded in uniting the territory on the Upper Senegal and Niger into a great kingdom, which he left to his son Ahmadu, who assumed the title of Emir el Mumenin (Lamine, lord of the faithful), as his father had done, chose Segu-Sikoro as his capital, and thus lived among the Bambara negroes (cf. above, pp. 522 and 525), who were chief among the

tribes subject to him. Segu was conquered by the French in 1890, and a year later Ahmadu's kingdom was completely subjugated.

(ε) *The Southwest.* — The history of those districts which lie further to the southwest toward the coast, and have been visited by Europeans only in recent years, is comparatively obscure. Their economic importance rests chiefly upon their possession of the kola nut, which has become a valuable article of exportation. We know from the traditions of the negro kingdoms of Ashanti and Dahomeh that both States were involved in wars with the Mohammedan princes (p. 458), and that Dahomeh was for a long time tributary to a Sudânese kingdom (p. 460). But by no means all of these districts were or are Mohammedan. In many of the southwestern kingdoms the numbers of the faithful are extremely scanty, while others cling tenaciously to heathenism. The kingdom of Mossi (cf. above, p. 521), lying nearly half way between Ashanti and Timbuctoo, is a stronghold of heathenism, and, what is about the same thing, of a pure negro nationality. After the fall of the kingdom of Melle new States were formed of its southern provinces. Undoubtedly the Mandingo kingdom mentioned in the sixteenth century was one of these, as the Mandingo people were the founders of Melle. In this case also large towns became the central point of the kingdom, such as Kong, the importance of which was formerly much exaggerated, owing to the false rumours which reached the coast. In the middle of the nineteenth century Samory (cf. p. 507) founded a powerful kingdom to the south of Segu, which ultimately fell before the attacks of the French in 1898.

Generally speaking, Mohammedanism spread through all these districts, rather by way of peaceful intercourse than as a result of conquest. First comes the Arab or half-breed Arab merchant, whose wealth creates a feeling of respect for his religion. He is followed by the mendicant friar or priest, who writes texts from the Koran and sells them as valuable charms. Finally, some of the chiefs or the ruler of the country is converted to Mohammedanism, while the mass of the population are allowed to remain undisturbed in their heathen beliefs.

(ε) *The Division of the Western Sudân among the European Colonial Powers.* — In the course of the race for colonial empire during the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century, the Western Sudân has been almost entirely divided among the powers (on paper, at least). Broad coloured spaces on the latest maps show the "spheres of influence" of the several powers. In the Western Sudân we are chiefly concerned with the claims of England and France, compared with which German development must be of very slow progress (cf. p. 498).

(α) *France.* — The French advance upon the Upper Senegal and Niger has been already described in broad outline (p. 501). In this district the natural enemies of France were Ahmadu of Segu, whose power was overthrown beyond recovery by the French advance (p. 528), and Samory, who has been crushed in like manner (p. 501). Under various conventions France has now secured all the territory on the Upper Niger as far as the frontiers of Gando.

(β) *England.* — On their side the English have availed themselves of their positions on the Lower Niger and the Benuë to advance into the interior, and have

succeeded in bringing the Hausa States under their influence, with the exception of the greater part of Adamáwa. Events have developed slowly, and, comparatively speaking, upon a sound basis, for the trader has preceded the politician, — a process exactly reversed in most of the French colonies. The fact that England has been able thus opportunely to secure the monopoly of the Niger trade and of the products of the Hausa countries is due to the low estimation in which Africa was held by the European powers until late in the nineteenth century. The Niger in particular, the only waterway to Central Africa navigable by ships of great draught, was practically unused until in 1832, and especially since 1854, the Englishman, Reeder Macgregor Laird (1808–1861), made numerous journeys up stream while trading for ivory. However, it was not until 1870 that the first factories were built upon the river. One of the chief retarding causes was the conformation of the Niger delta, which offers many obstacles to navigation, and is inhabited by hostile tribes. Indeed, at an earlier period no one had supposed that these numerous arms were the estuary of a great river. For this reason, again, the first important settlement of the English in this part of Africa, the town of Lagos (cf. p. 436), was not made upon the delta, but upon the lagoons further to the west.

In the seventies a number of small companies were formed, each of which attempted to embitter the existence of the others, until in 1879 the general agent, MacIntosh, succeeded in incorporating almost the whole number into the United African Company. In 1882 this undertaking was renamed the "National African Company," and extended its operations; on July 10, 1886, it received a charter from the English government, and has since taken the title of the Royal Niger Company. Two French companies now turned their attention to the Niger, but succumbed in 1884, before the competition of the English traders, who now entirely monopolised the Niger trade, and paid but little respect to the Congo acts (p. 494), which provided for free communication for traders upon all African rivers. England strengthened her political influence, not so much by military operations as by dexterous handling of the native chiefs, who were very ready to accept yearly subsidies. Since 1885 the sultan of Sokoto has been in receipt of a yearly pension of £1,500; the rulers of the Yola (since 1893) and of Gando (since 1885) have each received £1,000 per annum. On the river itself English influence is maintained by a force of six hundred men, and the company possesses a fleet of thirty flat-bottomed steamers.

Under the deed of transference executed on June 30, 1899, which became operative on January 1, 1900, the territories of the Royal Niger Company were divided by the British government, and from them, together with the Niger Coast Protectorate, two new protectorates were formed, — Northern and Southern Nigeria. The frontiers were determined as follows: Southern Nigeria extends to the Niger coast of Ogbo (west) to the Cross mouth (east), is bounded on the west by Lagos, on the north by the sister protectorate, on the east by Kamerun. The chief commissioner, Ralph Moor, has his residence in Old Calabar, with a body of police troops seven thousand strong. The other chief towns are Benin and Akassa. Northern Nigeria is a much larger district, and is bounded on the west by French Dahomeh, on the north by the French Sudân, on the east by the hinterland of the German Kamerun; thus it embraces the old Fulbe and Hausa States (Sokoto, Nupe, Ilorin, Saria, Bautshi, and Muri), parts of Borgu and Gando, and also part

of Bornu as it extends northeast as far as Lake Chad. The chief commissioner (General Frederick Lugard; cf. p. 503) resides in Jebba, while the town of Lokoja, at the confluence of the Benuë and the Niger, is the capital of the country. The important centres are naturally the capital towns of earlier history, — Wurno, Sokoto, Gando, Saria, Bida, Ilorin, Yola, Yakuba, and Kano.

B. The Central Sudân

(*a*) *Introductory.* — Hitherto the central districts of the Sudân have been invaded by European activity to a far less extent than the west. By the central Sudân we mean that portion of the belt of territory crossing Africa from east to west which is bounded by the Niger valley on the west and the Nile on the east, and faces the moist lands of Central Africa throughout its length, displaying to the fullest extent those peculiarities of a transition district, which give a special character to the Sudân as a whole. The district is, however, by no means uniform, but consists of a number of territorial areas more or less self-contained, wherein are to be found a corresponding number of political communities generally independent of one another. On the west we can observe the Chad basin, in the fruitful plains of which the kingdom of Bornu has developed. Next we have the valley of the Shari, with Bagirmi, and finally in the east two mountainous districts with the States of Wadai and Dar Fur. To the south of these districts begin the pure negro territories, which belong ethnographically to the northern frontier of the Congo basin. As being the source of an unceasing supply of slaves, they have founded the prosperity of the States in the Sudân proper, and have also given rise to continual racial fusions. On the north extends the Central Sahara, the peoples of which have taken an important part in the history of the Sudân States, and in some cases have decisively influenced their fate. It was from the desert and the North African coast that civilization was brought into the Central Sudân.

(*b*) *The Desert Peoples of the Central Sudân as a whole.* — The geographical position of the Central Sudân, especially of the area from Bornu to the North African coast, is of the highest importance. North of Lake Chad the Mediterranean makes its deepest indentation in the African continent, forming the two bays of the Syrtes. The emigrant advancing southward from this point will find rest and repose in a chain of oases, including the land of Fezzan, the greatest of all the oases of the Sahara. Hence the journey from Tripoli to Lake Chad has been a favourite route with European explorers; there are no great mountain chains to be crossed as in Morocco and Algiers, and the dangerous part of the desert is comparatively narrow. So favourable a conjuncture of circumstances must have given rise at an early period to trade and intercourse, which would be only temporarily interrupted by the desert tribes.

The most remarkable people of the Central Sahara are the Tibu (Tubu, Tebu, Tibbo) or Teda; the purest types of this race are settled in the mountains of Tibesti, and have apparently dwelt there from very early times. According to Gustav Nachtigal, who spent some unpleasant weeks among them, they are a peculiarly unsociable type of humanity, wholly conformed to the conditions of their environment both in character and physique. A strong, perhaps even preponder-

ant infusion of negro blood has left unmistakable traces in the race, but has not hindered the process of accommodation to environment. It is also possible that certain dwarf tribes resembling the Bushmen, of which the old geographers make mention, may have been absorbed into the race. Spareness of build, activity and power of endurance, are the chief characteristics of the individual. The colour of the skin is, upon the average, lighter than that of the Sudân negroes and darker than that of the Berbers. The negro type of face is to be found side by side with features of a more aristocratic cast. Their perseverance and their intellectual quickness enable the Teda to become capable merchants as well as clever robbers and thieves. A further stimulus in these directions is given by the avarice and lack of scruple which has been ingrained in them by years of grinding poverty.

The Teda have no traditions of their own whatever; but it is certain that they were once in possession of a larger area of the desert than that which they now occupy, and also that their entry into some of their present settlements is of recent date. The mobility of this people is reflected in their history. At the present day not a single representative of the Teda is to be found in the oasis of Kufra, which was once inhabited by this race, and in Fezzan their numbers are very small. On the other hand, Teda have migrated into Kanem and Bornu in great numbers within a recent period. At the present day, in addition to Tibesti, the Teda inhabit the oasis of Kauâr on the chief route from Bornu to Tripoli; the dwellers in Borku and the Bahr el Ghazal are of a cognate race, though not generally considered as Teda.

Antiquity has but little to tell us concerning the Teda. They are certainly not to be identified with the Garamantes, who had a kingdom in Fezzan, of which the Romans eventually took possession (Phazania). It is much more probable that they are to be connected with the Troglodytic races south of Fezzan, which Herodotus places among the Ethiopians. Their attitude to the Garamantes may, generally speaking, be comparable with the hostility of the South African Bushmen toward the Dutch settlers (p. 424). Hence it is possible that the Teda proved a danger to the long-standing trade of the Garamantes with the Sudân; it was perhaps due to their hostile attitude that the old caravan route from Fezzan did not advance straight to Lake Chad, but turned southwest toward the mountainous district of Aïr.

Though the nucleus of the Teda people continues to inhabit its early settlements, it has not escaped the influence of those movements which were connected with the Arab invasion of Africa and the introduction of Mohammedanism (cf. also below, p. 533). It is only a few centuries ago that the Teda seem to have embraced the new faith; yet Arab strongholds appear at an early date in Fezzan and in the Central Sahara. Very little is known of the early history of these Arabs; but at a later period we are able to learn the history of one Arab tribe, which is not only noteworthy in itself, but may also serve as a typical example of nomadic life, and of the influence exerted by nomads upon trade and settled races.

The tribe of the Aulad Soliman once dwelt near the great Syrtes, where the herds of camels found abundant pasture during the winter; in the summer they moved to Fezzan, in order to visit their date plantations and collect the harvest. During one of those feuds which are a necessity of life to the desert nomads, the tribe gained power and prestige, and united numerous smaller tribes under its protection. Dissension with the rulers of Tripoli drove the Aulad Soliman into a

temporary exile in Egypt. In 1811 disturbances broke out again in Tripolitania and Fezzan, and the usurper Bey Mohammed el Mukni seized the town of Mursuk. The tribe then took the opportunity of returning to Fezzan, and laid siege to Mursuk, but was in large part treacherously annihilated (1815). The tenacious vitality of the tribe was not destroyed, but for twenty years it disappears from the history of Fezzan, while a new generation of warriors was growing up. A chieftain's son, who had been brought up at the court of Tripoli, joined in some of the raids from Fezzan into the Sudân, and was struck with the wealth of that country; as his tribe had recovered its strength, he conceived the idea of leading it into this district to acquire riches and power. For the moment he found a sufficient field for his energies in Tripoli and Fezzan, and maintained his position as lord of Fezzan for twelve years. When he lost his land and life in a decisive battle against the Turks, his earlier plan was remembered; and the remnants of the tribe marched southward, first upon Borku, and afterward to Kanem on the north shore of Lake Chad. They numbered scarce a thousand men capable of bearing arms, but in spite of these scanty numbers they soon spread the terror of their name throughout the district between Lake Chad and Tibesti; they plundered the flocks of the resident tribes, exacted toll from the caravans, and made forays from time to time into the adjacent Sudân States, until, as they extended their sphere of action, they came into collision with the most eastern of the Tuareg tribes, who were accustomed to import Bilma salt to Bornu and the Hausa States from the pits at Garu and Kalala in the oasis of Kawâr (Kauar or Hendri Tege). The Tuareg are said to have lost fifty thousand camels in a short time. But this warlike people could not be provoked without making reprisals; an army of seven thousand men marched to Kanem, and so utterly defeated the Aulad Soliman that the tribe and its power seemed to be annihilated for the second time (1850). However, it recovered itself, and was taken into the service of the king of Bornu as a frontier guard against Wadaï. In time the Aulad Soliman regained its position and became the terror of the neighbourhood, which was so utterly devastated, that the Arab hordes were obliged to push their marauding expeditions to a greater distance. Such was the condition of affairs when the German explorer Gustav Nachtigal visited the country in 1871.

In earlier times there may have been many a counterpart to the history of this wild, restless, and indestructible tribe, the Aulad Soliman; it is a history which shows to what a small extent the steppes and deserts form any real boundary to the Sudân States, and how greatly these States may be influenced by the nomad bands of the Sahara, whose strength consists rather in their mobility than their numbers. It was pure chance that the Aulad Soliman did not attack and conquer one of the Sudânese kingdoms when in a temporary state of weakness. The tribe did once attempt to interfere in the quarrels about the succession to the throne of Wadaï, a course of action for which numerous precedents could no doubt be found in the past history of nearly all the States of the Central Sudân.

(c) *The States established in the Central Sudân.* — (a) *Bornu.* — Thanks to its favourable situation, to the fertility of its soil, and to a happy fusion of populations, Bornu for a long period illumined the darkness of the Central Sudân with the light of its civilization, and was able to transmit the seeds of higher culture to neighbouring kingdoms. Anterior to its partial inclusion in the British protec-

torate of North Nigeria (end of 1899) it comprehended the territory extending from the southwest of Lake Chad and west of the Shari to the frontiers of the Hausa States; it was bounded on the north by the desert and on the south by the settlements of independent heathen tribes. It was a typical Sudân State, a district of transition from the Sahara to negro Africa. On the east and the west its boundaries were determined with some precision; but on the north and south they varied, and were rather lines of decreasing influence than definite frontiers. Kanem in particular, the country to the northeast of Lake Chad, was ultimately almost entirely independent of Bornu, although at one period the most intimate relations had subsisted between these two districts.

The historical traditions of Bornu, which were first collected and sifted by Heinrich Barth, cover a considerable number of centuries; but it is not until the end of the ninth century A. D. that the history becomes reasonably trustworthy. Bornu is an admirable example of the manner in which States which were first formed on the desert frontiers of the Sudân have gradually shifted their centres of gravity further and further south into what was once pure negro territory; thus the origins of the Bornu kingdom were not in the modern Bornu, but in Kanem, further to the northeast, at the present time the raiding district of the Aulad Soliman. The Kanembu, as they are called from their old place of settlement, together with the Kanuri form the nucleus of the Bornu population. However, Kanem itself does not seem to have been the original home of the Kanembu, who are related to the Teda in point of language, and were possibly an early offshoot of this desert people, inasmuch as their own traditions speak of earlier settlements lying further northward. When we remember that in the Central Sudân the negro population once extended far northward and occupied the whole of Fezzan (cf. p. 531), we can at once admit the possibility of a great historical movement, namely, the southward advance of the State-forming Berbers, with which was connected the rise of the old State of the Garamantes in Fezzan, and later of the kingdoms of Kanem and Bornu.

It is remarkable that the first king of Kanem mentioned by the chroniclers is said to have been an Arab (Sef), and in fact a descendant of the old Himyaritic royal family. Assuming this statement to be correct, we may conclude that in pre-Mohammedan times or in the early period of Mohammedanism Arabs had migrated into Africa and had obtained influence among the tribes of the Sahara; but this is an extremely doubtful supposition. Other accounts of the early history of Kanem are equally unreliable. From the year 900 A. D., when Kanem seems to have run a rapid and brilliant course of development, historical information becomes more complete and more trustworthy. The mothers of the first princes about whom we have any certain information are not of Arab, but of Teda extraction. Here we have an indication of the manner in which the early settlement of Kanem may have arisen upon negro soil. Possibly the same course of events took place as happened during the Fulbe conquests of the Hausa States. In Bornu also the passive but tenacious negro nationality (cf. p. 521) may have gradually recovered strength; as early as 1250 there is a "black" king (Tsilim) on the throne of Kanem. During the eleventh century, however, Tibesti seems to have been very closely connected with Kanem.

A great impulse was given to the new kingdom under King Humê or Ume about 1130 A. D., when Mohammedanism was introduced into Kanem, and the land was

thereby brought into close connection with the Mohammedan civilization. The strength of this connection is shown by the fact that the ruler of Bornu undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca, in the course of which he died in Egypt in 1151. His son and successor, Dunama (II), made three pilgrimages to Mecca, and died in 1205. In the second half of the thirteenth century Dunama (III) Dibbalâmi (cf. genealogical table IX, at end) became famous as a powerful monarch; he organised the army, and either introduced or so improved the cavalry, the most dreaded arm of the Sudânese forces, that his successors were able to advance northward and reduce Fezzan, and further to take the first steps toward the subjugation of Bornu on the south, which was at that time inhabited by heathen negro races in a low stage of civilization. The kingdom of Kanem seems to have attained its greatest area about this period: it was even in friendly relations with Tunis, and consequently in connection with Mediterranean civilization.

However, shortly afterward the process of disruption began, which advanced as it usually does in States based upon feudal organisation. Quarrels about the succession, revolts of powerful vassals, conspiracies of every kind, sapped the strength of the kingdom for two centuries. None the less, about 1360 the conquest of the heathen countries on the south was gradually completed in spite of the desperate resistance of the aboriginal inhabitants, the Sô, who had defeated four kings of Kanem between 1348 and 1351 and take the form of giants in the legends of the Bornu people. Some portion of the inhabitants of Kanem migrated into this newly acquired territory, but the negroes were not wholly expelled.

It was, moreover, high time for the rulers of Kanem to find and secure for themselves a new district further removed from the steppe-dwellers and their attacks; for not only were Fezzan and Tibesti gradually slipping from the grasp of the shattered kingdom, but it proved impossible to retain possession of Djîmi, the capital. In this quarter the Bulala tribe gradually made themselves masters of the land after a long struggle, and about 1370 forced the rulers of Kanem to retreat southward to Bornu. The wars with the Bulala, whom Barth considers as related to the Teda people, began under the rule of King Daud, whose name, strangely enough, is not to be found in the list of kings given by Gustav Nachtigal, and continued until the definite abandonment of Kanem, though the cession of this place by no means made an end of the internal dissensions and disunion of what now becomes the kingdom of Bornu. The Bulala also continued their hostilities for a long period.

Meanwhile the resources of the new district seem to have been gradually developed, and to have proved favourable to the rise of a second era of power. The impulse was given by the energetic king Ali Dunamami (1465–1492), who checked the excessive growth of feudalism, and created a definite centre for the kingdom by founding a new capital (Oasr Eggomo), and especially by extending his frontiers westward. When his son Idris (III, Edriss) had twice defeated the Bulala, about 1500, Bornu again became the dominant power in the Central Sudân and westward as far as the Niger. Under Mohammed (V, 1515–1539) the kingdom reached the highest point of its prosperity. A no less distinguished ruler was the "Sultan" Idris (IV) Amsami, who reigned 1563–1614. He secured the military supremacy of his kingdom by the introduction of firearms, subdued the small half-independent heathen tribes within the boundaries of Bornu, then extended his influence over the Hausa States on the west and the desert tribes on the north, and in general

established his kingdom so firmly that it enjoyed a period of comparative peace and prosperity under his successors.

But the peace thus acquired was but the prelude to a second fall. In the following period most of the rulers were weak-minded pietists, who allowed the military power of the kingdom to decay. The body politic was internally corrupt, and was only saved from destruction by the absence of any more powerful enemy. The inevitable collapse came at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1808 began the Fulbe revolt in the Hausa States, which eventually made this apparently harmless pastoral people the masters of that great district (cf. p. 525). The Fulbe had also migrated into Bornu about 1560 at latest, and their excitement at the success of their kinsfolk is not surprising. King Ahmed (1793-1810) was, according to the chroniclers, "a learned prince, liberal to the priests, extravagant in almsgiving, the friend of science and religion, kind and gracious to the poor;" but energy he had none, and the formal ceremonies of the feudal court, in the midst of which he lived in the old capital (Birni), were stiff and lifeless. When the Fulbe, under their leader, Othman dan Fodio (p. 525), attacked Bornu, all resistance was in vain, the more so as the country had been depopulated by a fearful plague. Birni was hastily abandoned by King Ahmed, and fell into the power of the nomad race in 1809.

However, Bornu was not destined to share the fate of the Hausa States. The kingdom displayed unsuspected recuperative powers. The leader of the Kanembu was the Faki Mohammed el-Amin el-Kanemi, a native of Fezzan. He entered into marriage relations with one of the petty feudal lords of Bornu, and drove the Fulbe out of his territory by arousing in his own followers a spirit of religious enthusiasm which proved a match for the fanaticism of the Fulbe. After the death of King Ahmed (1810) his son Dunama (X) continued the war against the Fulbe, but met with no definite success, until he was driven to place himself under the protection of the victorious Faki. The king attempted afterward to recover his independence, with the result that Mohammed el-Amin gained all the real power, he himself becoming a mere figurehead surrounded with empty ostentation. At that time a new capital, Kuka, was founded.

Mohammed, who now assumed the title of "sheik," found himself involved in a severe struggle with the neighbouring kingdom of Bagirmi in 1817, from which he did not emerge in triumph until 1824, after being forced to procure reinforcements from Fezzan. When he died in 1835 he left to his son Omar, and to the nominal sultan, Ibrahim (1818–1846; Ibram, Brahim), a strongly established, though not very extensive, kingdom. Omar succeeded in concluding peace with the Fulbe and in reducing the western provinces to obedience; but the adherents of the deposed dynasty seized this opportunity of striking a blow at the usurper with the help of the king of Wadai. Omar gathered a small army, but was defeated at Kusseri in March, 1846. He then had the Sultan Ibram executed, and retreated to a strong position in Ngornu. The ruler of Wadaï had advanced too far from his base of operations and was obliged to retire for reinforcements, leaving Ibram's son Ali, whom he had set up as sultan, to continue the struggle. Ali soon met with an honourable death on the field of battle, and his family became thereby extinct. Omar thus became sole ruler of Bornu. He proved a pious, judicious, benevolent, and generally moderate ruler, and the peace of his reign was only disturbed by the revolt of his brother Abd er-Rahman, who temporarily (1853–1854) drove him

from the throne. At this time a large number of European explorers met with a hospitable reception in Bornu (Heinrich Barth and Adolf Overweg, 1851; Barth again and Eduard Vogel, 1854–1855; Karl Moritz von Beurmann, 1862; Gerhard Rohlfs, 1866; Gustav Nachtigal, 1870; Pellegrino Matteucci and A. Massari, 1880).

Consequently we have many accounts from a European point of view of the state of affairs in Bornu from 1850–1875. According to Rohlfs, the organisation of Bornu bore a strong resemblance to European feudalism in the Middle Ages. Like the German emperor at that period, the sultan of Bornu theoretically ruled over several other sultans, who were practically independent. The other territories of Bornu proper were either personal property or were held by the ruling dynasty and the nobles of the royal family. However, many of the smaller princes were mediatised and their titles void of real significance. The king was surrounded by a council (Nokena) composed of his relatives, the representatives of the different tribes and classes of the population and of the military authorities, which met every morning in the palace. Nachtigal found the whole Nokena to be merely the shadow of the aristocratic constitution of earlier times, which had its origin in the period when the ruling families, conscious of their northern origin, were admitted perforce to the king's councils. In addition to the members of the council numerous officials and favourites also existed, whose offices were in many cases sinecures, together with many eunuchs and slaves. The sources of national income were the king's landed property and that of his courtiers, and the profits gained by slave-hunting, which was an industry regularly carried on in the heathen districts in the south. Thus slaves were accepted as payment by the merchants from the north coast, who brought in European wares, guns, horses, etc., and were often forced to await the return of the troops before their accounts could be settled. Such expeditions against the heathen were a necessary condition of existence for the Sudân States.

In modern times Bornu has again been thrown into confusion, though on this occasion the disturbing cause has not come from the Fulbe, but from the east. When Sheik Omar died in 1882, after a long reign, he was first succeeded by Abâ Bu Bekr (Bokar; until 1885), who was followed by Abâ Brahîm (Birahim; until 1886), and finally Abâ Hâshim (Ashim; until 1893), a learned but indolent prince. Events in the Eastern Sudân and the results of the Mahdi revolt proved fatal to him.

While the Egyptians were engaged in the conquest of the Upper Nile district, Sibêr, the slave-hunter (cf. p. 546), had become so powerful that the Egyptian government determined to remove this disturbing cause, and, after enticing him to Cairo, kept him prisoner. His son Suleiman thereupon revolted, but was several times defeated in 1880 by Romolo Gessi (Pasha), and finally surrendered to the Egyptians. But one of the subordinate leaders of Sibêr's army, Rabah (Râbeh, Rabba), a low-born Arab by extraction, refused to surrender, and retreated westward with a division of the troops, consisting of about three thousand negro soldiers. Here he held out until 1891 in Dar Runga; he did not, however, join the Mahdi kingdom, which had arisen during that time. Slave-hunting was probably his chief source of income, supplies being gained by secret trading with the Mahdi district of the Sudân. When his hunting-ground for slaves became exhausted he was forced to extend his operations further westward and to attack the States of the Central Sudân. He was immediately repulsed by the warlike Wadai; but the Bagirmi,

being a weaker State, was quickly overcome in 1893. Their king evacuated the country almost without a struggle, and threw himself into his fortified capital of Massenya. Bagirmi, however, was regarded by Rabah merely as affording him a passage for attack upon the weak and wealthy kingdom of Bornu. With the help of the Fulbe chieftain, Mallam Hajato of Jamare (p. 527), who readily joined in the enterprise, he penetrated as far as Kuka, but was there defeated by Kiyari, who had dethroned and executed his weak uncle, King Hâshim. However, Rabah's emissaries had previously sown the seeds of treachery and disunion among the nobles of Bornu; Rabah gained the victory in a second battle, slew the king, and subdued his capital in 1894. Dikaua (Dikoa on the Yaloe River southeast of Lake Chad) became the capital in place of the unhealthy town of Kuka, which was destroyed.

Thus it appeared that a new dynasty had been founded, and that this infusion of fresh blood might revive the failing powers of Bornu. As a matter of fact, trade with the north increased, and at the same time the boundaries of the kingdom were extended toward the south and southwest as the result of conflicts with the petty States there situated. However, a struggle with the French led to the overthrow of the conqueror. Several small French expeditions, striving for the great object of a union of the Congo land with the Western Sudân and Algeria (cf. p. 502), were beaten back or destroyed at Rabah's instigation. In 1897 Émile Gentil placed a small steamboat on the Upper Shari, and proceeded without molestation to Lake Chad (November 1). The French government then determined to seize the territories on Lake Chad by a combined movement, already considering them as their own property with the exception of a small corner reserved to Germany. In February, 1899, Gentil returned down the Shari with some hundreds of negro soldiers, while Fernand Foureau and A. F. J. Lamy advanced southward from the Sahara, Paul L. G. Voulet and C. P. J. Chanoine attacking from the west. Meanwhile Rabah had driven King Gaurang of Bagirmi, who had placed himself under French protection in 1897, out of his capital. He now marched to meet Gentil and Rébillot, and a desperate but indecisive battle took place at Kuno, on the Upper Shari, on October 29, 1899. In March of the year following Gentil brought up reinforcements and joined the other two expeditions. The second of these was in a very shattered condition, as the guides had revolted (July 14, 1889) and murdered (July 17) the lieutenant-colonel, J. F. A. Klobb, Joalland and Maynier being left in command. On April 22, 1900, Rabah's fortified camp (the Tata) at Kusseri (Kusri, on the confluence of the Logone and Shari) was stormed, Rabah himself was slain, and his army scattered. Major Lamy fell in the battle. At the beginning of 1900 Kanem (Halifa Djerab) also recognised the French supremacy. However, on January 20, 1902, it became necessary to suppress a revolt by force of arms. Rabah's son Fad et Allah, who had been already expelled from Kusseri by Lamy on March 3, 1900, continued to hold out with his brother Niebe on Lake Chad, with the support of the influential Snussi (p. 542). After the departure of Gentil he made an incursion into Bornu, and at the beginning of 1901 expelled Hâshim's second son, the Sultan Gerbai, who had been set up by the French; but about the middle of 1901 he was driven back to Gujiba (North Nigeria). In the course of a further attempt to invade the Shari delta, he fell on English soil, on August 25, 1901, in a conflict with the French. Niebe was taken prisoner. In this way the desired connection of the French colonial districts was

brought about, although their supremacy cannot as yet be considered more than nominal.

(β) *Bagirmi.* — Bagirmi, the neighbouring State to Bornu, is very similarly situated in point of position, and has suffered a like fate. Bagirmi proper consists of the level districts on the Central and Lower Shari, and its lowest part forms the western frontier of the little kingdom of Logone, which is dependent upon Bornu. In the north Bagirmi is separated from the desert by Kanem and the most westerly provinces of Wadaï; hence its influence extends further south than that of Bornu or Wadaï. The civilization of Bagirmi is of considerably later growth than that of Bornu. A chronicle of Bagirmi seems to have existed, but has been lost somewhat recently, and is but very imperfectly replaced by the information which such explorers as Gustav Nachtigal have been able to gather from the natives.

In the sixteenth century several small heathen kingdoms existed upon the area of the modern Bagirmi. The country was also overrun by wandering Arabs as well as by bodies of the Fulbe, who were dependent upon the owners of Kanem, the Bulala. The nucleus of an important State was formed by immigrants from the east, who can hardly have come from any great distance. The leaders of these foreigners succeeded in shaking off the influence of the Bulala and also in winning the rest of the nomadic population to their own interests. The first prince of Bagirmi, who founded the capital of Massenya (Massenja), and his immediate successors, had not been converted to Mohammedanism. Malo, the last of the heathen kings, was deposed in 1568 by his brother Abdallah, who had accepted the faith of Islam.

Under the Mohammedan dynasty, which was thus founded, the civilizing influences exerted upon Bagirmi came almost exclusively from Bornu. Among Abdallah's successors (see genealogical table X, *ad fin.*) Mohammed el-Amin is worthy of mention. He extended the area of the kingdom and undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca (1751–1785). At the outset of the nineteenth century Abd er-Rahman of Bagirmi revolted against Bornu, which seems to have exercised some kind of suzerainty. He was utterly defeated and slain by Sabun, sultan of Wadaï, whom the king of Bornu had summoned to his help. In consequence the country came under the influence of Wadaï, and civil war was the result. When Othman, or Burkomanda, eventually gained the throne he was obliged formally to acknowledge the supremacy of Wadaï and to submit to the imposition of a tribute. In spite of this, we find him engaged in petty warfare, — now with Bornu, now with Wadaï, and making good his losses by marauding expeditions against his neighbours and the heathen races of the south. His son, Abd el-Kader (Qadir; 1846–1858), continued this policy until the latter years of his reign, which he was enabled to spend in peace. A curious instance of the Fulbe restlessness, from which Bagirmi had been hitherto spared, proved, in its consequences, fatal to this monarch. Under the leadership of a fanatic of Fulbe extraction a great caravan of pilgrims marched through Bornu to Bagirmi in complete defiance of the king's regulations. The king attempted to oppose them by force of arms, but was defeated and slain.

His successor, Mohammedu, escaped, and when the band of pilgrims broke up on the death of their leader he took a bloody vengeance on part of them for his predecessor's defeat. For a long time King Ali of Wadaï had borne with the un-

friendly behaviour of the prince of Bagirmi, his vassal, in silence. In the autumn of 1870 he suddenly appeared with an army before Massenya. After a long siege of this extensive town he succeeded in breaching the walls with a powder-mine, captured the town, and forced the king to fly to the south. Ali had the plunder conveyed to his own capital, settled many of the industrial inhabitants of Bagirmi in Wadaï, and about 1885 placed Abd er-Rahman Guaranga (Gaurang), the son of Abd el-Qadir, on the throne. A fresh outbreak of civil war enabled Rabah (see p. 538) to make himself master of the country in 1893. Gaurang held out in the capital of Massenya, and thought himself secure from further attacks after placing himself under French protection in 1897. But in the autumn of 1899 he was again hard pressed by Rabah, until, in 1900, the French attack and the death of Rabah (p. 529) gave him a breathing space.

(γ) *Wadaï.* — In later times the State of Wadaï became the dominant power in the Central Sudân as opposed to the older State of Bornu. Its authentic history begins at an even later date than that of Bagirmi. It is an indisputable fact, at any rate during the Mohammedan period, that the kingdom of Bornu, owing to its favourable situation in connection with the Mediterranean States, was the centre whence all the districts on its eastern frontier gained the means of advancing their civilization. This is also true to some extent of the Hausa States, since not only was the Bornu civilization spread far and wide by trade and commercial intercourse, but also because parts of the Hausa race migrated voluntarily or involuntarily into the other countries of the Sudân, and there formed the nucleus of a settled industrial population. In this manner the seeds of a higher civilization were carried westward to Bagirmi, Wadaï, and Dar Fur. This was not, however, the line of movement invariably followed. As long as the civilization which had advanced up the Nile from Egypt continued to flourish in the Upper Nile valley the light of culture came from the East. It is probable that even in antiquity the Central Sudân had received valuable, though not permanent, impulses from this district. Remains of the old civilization are yet to be found here and there. The Arab traveller Zain el-Abidin, whose narratives are usually trustworthy, visited Wadaï in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and speaks of ruins, stone sarcophagi, and remnants of a sun worship, which he affirms that he discovered near the capital. This may be considered an offshoot of Egyptian civilization in remote antiquity; but we have no means of connecting it with the modern history of the country, which hardly begins before the sixteenth century of our chronology.

Until a short time ago Wadaï embraced, speaking generally, the district between Lake Fittri and the mountains of Dar Fur on the one side, the desert and the tributaries of the Shari on the other. The nucleus of the kingdom is formed by the mountainous country on the east, together with the central district. Here dwell the ruling people, while on the south, as everywhere in the Central Sudân, are districts inhabited by heathen tribes of pure negro blood, cutting off all connection with Central Africa in general and the Congo valley in particular. The inhabitants of the mountains, the Maba, who are now the ruling tribe, seem from their dark colour to have received a strong infusion of negro blood, though they may originally have been closely connected with the Ethiopians. Their country is by no means unfertile, but its wild nature is reflected in the rough and violent, though

energetic, character of this people, which has made them superior in the long run to the unsettled nomads of the desert and a standing danger to the neighbouring kingdoms of the Sudân. In many cases the social system of the Maba races shows remnants of ancient institutions; for example, of a matriarchal system, the wife's property being held entirely separate from the husband's. As regards religion, some tribes are more fanatical than others.

The modern civilization of Wadaï is of Western origin, but the first impulse to constitutional unity came from the East. The Arabs have made their influence felt here before the period of the Mohammedan movement. The Arabs who are found in the other Sudân States and in the Western and Central Sahara crossed into Africa by the Isthmus of Suez; but in the Eastern and Central Sudân the Arab tribes, which are more or less mixed with Berbers, must have crossed the southern extremity of the Red Sea, which has never been any real barrier to communication between Arabia and Africa. To this group may have belonged the Tunjer, who seem to have been settled in Nubia previous to the immigration. This hypothesis is contradicted by a tradition which places the origin of the people in Tunis. It is, however, improbable, as the Tunjer were temporarily predominant in Wadaï and Dar Fur alone, and seem to have been in a state of heathenism at the time of their first appearance.

The predominance of the Tunjer brings the beginnings of the history of Wadaï into close connection with Dar Fur. It is with the appearance of this Arab race, who are credited with having attained a comparatively advanced stage of civilization, that the history of Wadaï commences. The petty mountain tribes of Wadaï, constantly at war with one another and sunk in absolute barbarism, were for the first time united into some kind of polity by the Tunjer, who insisted upon the recognition of their supremacy and upon the payment of tribute. The date of the Tunjer entrance into Wadaï is entirely doubtful. Gustav Nachtigal supposes them to have founded their empire at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and to have maintained it for about a century. After Dar Fur had shaken off the Arab yoke the Tunjer continued to rule in Wadaï for some time, until their power was also broken in the latter district.

It was not a native leader who brought about their overthrow, but Abd el-Kerim, the descendant of a man of Arab extraction, an immigrant from Shendi, on the Nile. Abd el-Kerim had acquired great influence among the native tribes, and here, once again, a religious movement became the cloak for a national revolution. This leader was a Mohammedan, and as such the natural enemy of the heathen dynasty of the Tunjer and their sultan, Daud (Dâ'ûd). He won over the Arab races and the dark-skinned mountain tribes, defeated the sultan, and forced the Tunjer to the westward. In the new capital of Wara he gathered round him the first Mohammedan congregation, the numbers of which increased rapidly. Dar Fur had freed itself from the Tunjer rule at an earlier period, and had grown so powerful that it had made the last Tunjer princes of Wadaï tributary to itself, and Abd el-Kerim, when he seized the inheritance of the Tunjer, was obliged also to accept this dependent position, and according to custom a princess was sent to the king of Dar Fur every three years. Bornu, which was previously in friendly relations with the Tunjer, had also to be appeased by a payment of tribute. Abd el-Kerim is said to have reigned from 1635 to 1655, his son Charut from 1655 to 1678.

The power of Wadaï gradually increased. In the rude but powerful mountain population the country possessed a race which was indisputably superior in military prowess to the inhabitants of the neighbouring States. These conditions naturally influenced the relations of Wadaï and Dar Fur. A national opposition was apparently organised against the delivery of a princess to Wadaï, a form of tribute which had been placed upon a regular footing by the sultan Yaqub Arus (1681–1707). The payment of tribute ceased. The sultan Ahmed Bokkor of Dar Fur was a man of peace, and hesitated before employing armed force to revenge the insult. Arus himself then advanced to the attack, but was forced to retreat, and, after reaching Wadaï with much difficulty, found himself obliged to conclude peace. However, tribute was not again exacted, and when Omar Sele, Ahmed Bokkor's grandson, attempted to restore the old state of affairs and invaded Wadaï he was defeated and taken prisoner by Arus.

Under Charut the younger (1707–1747) the country enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity. But his successor, Djoda (1747–1795), soon found himself involved in war with Dar Fur. The army of the eastern State was defeated, and a noble, who gave himself out as the sultan, was kept prisoner for a long time in Wadaï. Djoda also undertook eight great campaigns against the heathen tribes upon the south, and thus extended his kingdom in this direction. On the west he conquered part of Kanem. Wadaï had encroached upon the rights of Bornu by the occupancy of Kanem, but the sultan Abd el-Kerim Sabûn (1803–1813) made that attack upon Bagirmi, the consequences of which have been previously described (p. 539), and brought this neighbouring kingdom under his influence. Notwithstanding the unfavourable position of his country, he successfully revived the trade with Tripoli and Egypt, and by settling families from Bagirmi in his territory he raised the standard of manufacture; both of these improvements adding largely to the royal income. Campaigns against the independent negroes were almost an annual event.

At that period the real wealth of the country was not derived from trade and manufacture, as at the present day, but from a highly flourishing system of cattle-breeding and from agriculture. From these sources was drawn the sultan's income, all taxes being paid in kind. The land is considered as the sultan's property. It is only in the original Maba districts that land owners in the full sense of the term were to be found. However, the tenants in the other districts are by no means the sultan's serfs. They are sturdy, independent types of humanity, and the comparative ease with which their obedience is secured is entirely due to their social organisation, which seems to be of great antiquity, and is chiefly based upon the division of the members of any one group into old men, youths, and children. Notwithstanding the uncivilized character of the people, religious education is much more advanced than in Bornu or Dar Fur. In recent times evidence of elementary attempts at scientific inquiry is to be found.

After Wadaï had enjoyed prosperity under a succession of capable rulers (cf. Genealogical Table XI, *ad fin.*) Yusef Chorefin came to the throne (1813–1820), the type of a bloodthirsty monarch, conspicuously unsuccessful in all foreign enterprises. The mother of the next sultan, Raqib, who was still a minor, was descended from an Arab slave family; she, together with the numerous representatives of the Arab nationality in Wadaï, thought that the opportunity had now come of deciding the old quarrel between the nomadic and settled tribes in favour of the Arabs.

Though the queen regent resorted to measures of the utmost cruelty to secure her aims, the plan was defeated by the determined resistance of the mountain tribes (Kodoî), who chose as their ruler Abd el-Aziz (1829–1835), a prince of the royal house, stormed the capital of Wara after a severe struggle, and crushed Sultan Raqib and his adherents. However, peace was not restored by this success. The mountain tribes had found that revolt was an occupation very much to their taste, and proceeded to support pretender after pretender to the throne on which they had themselves placed their Abd el-Aziz; when he stopped this dangerous amusement by force of arms, Wadaï was reduced to great extremities by a famine. An army marched south against the heathen countries to procure a supply of corn; the sultan of Dar Fur at once availed himself of this opportunity of making an incursion into the disturbed frontier districts of Wadaï. Exactly at this juncture Abd el-Aziz died.

Mohammed Sherif, a prince who had been forced to flee from Wadaï at an earlier period, succeeded in setting himself upon the throne and in securing his position after the retreat of his friend Mohammed el-Fadl of Dar Fur (1835–1858). Mohammed Sherif then renewed the war against the sultan of the little mountainous country of Tana, to the east of Wara, which had now become a neighbour of some importance. In 1846 he also interfered in the affairs of Bornu. At Kusseri he crossed the Shari and defeated the Sheik Omar, but was unable to maintain his position in the enemy's country, and ultimately (apparently upon the receipt of eight thousand Maria Theresa thalers) retreated to Wadaï (cf. p. 537). In his own country, of which Abeshe had now become the capital, his avarice absorbed his energies and made him very unpopular. The consequence was a series of revolts and internal dissensions, in the course of which the country of Tana became the invariable place of refuge for the defeated revolutionaries, and ultimately for the eldest son of the Sultan Mohammed, whose mother was a Fulbe woman. Mohammed Sherif attempted to punish Ibrahim of Tana for this conduct, and was himself severely defeated.

He was succeeded by Ali, the lawful heir to the throne (1858–1875–76), an admirable ruler in many respects. According to Gustav Nachtigal he made himself famous for the encouragement which he gave to trade and barter, the revival of caravan communication with the Mediterranean, for his protection of the learned, his strict enforcement of law, and the peaceful character of his relations with neighbouring States. About 1870 a flourishing trade was on foot with Egypt by way of Dar Fur and Jalo, with Bornu and Benghazi, the harbour of Tripoli, the exports from Wadaï being slaves, ostrich feathers, and ivory. The king himself equipped caravans, and made a larger profit than he could gain by taxation and customs duties. This policy contributed to increase the strength of Wadaï and to make it a formidable rival to the other Sudân States.

Latterly Wadaï has been hard pressed by the invasion of Rabah on the one hand, and on the other by the rivalry of the European colonising powers (Franco-English agreement of March 21, 1899). The sultan of Turkey has also been enabled to maintain his claim that Wadaï forms part of the hinterland of Tripoli. How that claim may endure is very uncertain.

The natural conditions of the country have endowed the native peoples of Wadaï with the highest degree of tenacity and military prowess. The impulse to

the formation of a State was certainly given by the nomadic Arabs, and their civilization was received from their western neighbours, but in political life they developed the greatest strength and independence. To-day, as in the time of Abd el-Kerim, the first Mohammedan ruler, the aboriginal mountain peoples of the Maba group form the flower of the population and the ruling class. No sultan whose mother was not of Maba extraction could hope to ascend the throne of Wadaï. The French protectorate will produce no material change in these conditions.

(δ) *Dar Fur.* — In the neighbouring district of Dar Fur (Dar For; see the map, p. 592) the influence of Eastern civilization is more marked; its history also can be retraced further than that of Wadaï, which lies, so to speak, in the dead water between the main streams of civilization in the Central and Eastern Sudân. However, little is known concerning the Dar Fur of pre-Mohammedan times. The nucleus of this State is a mountainous district, the highest part of which, in the Djebel Marra, may be considered as the cradle of the old heathen State Dar Fur. Its first rulers came from the East, and, to judge from the majority of the royal titles, were mixed with Arabs, if they were not of pure Arab blood. These were the Dajo, a people of little account, and in a low stage of civilization at the present day; but at one period they were the most important element of the population, and held the country more or less in subjection to themselves from their station in the Marra mountains. The first Dajo king, Kosber, is said to have resided in Debba, at the eastern foot of the Djebel Marra. Tradition speaks of twenty-one, thirteen, or even so few as five Dajo rulers.

We are better informed respecting the dynasty of the Tunjer, who also came from the East; it was the superiority of their civilization rather than their military prowess which made them supreme in Dar Fur and afterward in Wadaï. The first ruler of the Tunjer was Ahmed el-Maqûr. By his policy and that of his successors the several races of Dar Fur were brought into connection, and prepared for political union. Here, as in Wadaï, this course of development implied the downfall of the nomadic Arab peoples; in Dar Fur, also, mountain races were to be found which proved their superiority to the nomads, as soon as they had been politically united. However, in this instance the power passed from the one party to the other by a comparatively peaceful course of transition. The dynasty of the Kera, who brought the Tunjer predominance to an end, sprang from a fusion of native families with the old ruling house. The last Tunjer king was called Shau, the first Kera king was Delil Bahar, or Dali, a half-brother of Shau, the severity of whose rule had provoked a rebellion. Dali availed himself of this favourable opportunity to introduce laws and institutions into the kingdom, which remained in force until Dar Fur lost its independence. His government may have fallen in the middle of the fifteenth century.

The land then seems to have been disturbed by quarrels concerning the succession; continual changes in the government were the natural consequence (cf. genealogical table XII a, *ad fin.*). Sulêmân Solon was the first king to grasp the reins of government with real firmness; as a child he had fled to Wadaï and had been received by the Massalit, his mother's relations. He returned to war against his great-uncle Tinsam, established himself in the Marra Mountains, and from this point subdued and extended the territory of Dar Fur. He is especially noteworthy

as the introducer of Mohammedanism. The military strength of the people seems at that time to have been greater than their civilization. Sulêmân Solon (1596–1637) by a series of campaigns extended his power eastward beyond the Nile up to the Atbara, thus ruling over the whole of Kordofan and part of Sennar; he also interfered to some purpose in the affairs of the Eastern Sudân. Less prosperous was the reign of his son Mûsa (1637–1682). Under his rule a feature peculiar to almost all the Sudân States became very prominent. While remote districts recognised the monarch's authority, tribes which he was unable to subdue were to be found a few miles from his capital. As the inhabitants of the Tama Mountains were a thorn in the side of the kings of Wadaï, so the Massabât were a standing menace to Mûsa; their Sultân Djongol laid claim to the throne on the strength of his relationship to the ruling dynasty. At that period, however, the supremacy of Dar Fur was undisputed over a wide area; Wadaï, which had been connected with Dar Fur since the time of the Tunjer, also recognised its suzerainty.

This condition of affairs was greatly changed during the reign of the next king, Ahmed Bokkor (1682–1722). His policy aimed at making the kingdom a pure Mohammedan State; by encouraging the priesthood and founding schools he hoped to crush heathenism and barbarism at the same time. To this end he settled colonies of foreigners in Dar Fur, whose civilization was more advanced than that of his own people. Together with peoples from the banks of the Nile he chose inhabitants from Bornu and Bagirmi, a fact which clearly shows how much of the civilization of Dar Fur in its progress eastward was derived from that of the Central Sudân. Families of the restless Fulbe race also made their way to Dar Fur during that period. The defection of Arus, the ruler of Wadaï (cf. p. 532), brought Ahmed Bokkor's work of civilization to a standstill for the moment, until he succeeded in driving the intruders out of the country in the battle of Qabqabîya. Kordofan was at that time still dependent upon Dar Fur; but this was a bond which became more and more relaxed.

The next rulers were the tyrannical Mohammed Daura (1722–1732) and his son Omar Lele (1732 to 1739; deceased about 1750 in Wadaï), whose followers showed their disgust at his military incapacity by deserting him in the decisive battle against Arus of Wadaï. He was succeeded by Abû 'lQâsim (1739–1752). When he made an attack upon Wadaï to avenge the last defeat, the Furaner freemen deserted without striking a blow, being imbittered by the severity of the taxes and the undue preference given to slaves. His brother Tirab (1752–1785) was then elected sultan; he consolidated his kingdom and undertook numerous campaigns, during the last of which, a punitive expedition against the sultan of the Funji, he died in Kordofan; he enjoyed a high reputation for learning and piety. After a series of disputes as to the succession, he was followed by his brother Abd er-Rahmân (1785–1799), whose peaceful government greatly increased the prosperity of the country.

His son Mohammed el-Fadl (1799–1839), who now came to the throne, was for some time under the guardianship of the chief eunuch, Abu Sheïk Kurra; this councillor grew so strong that a bloody struggle took place before his ward could assert his own authority. During his reign began that revolution in the Eastern Sudân which was destined to prove fatal to Dar Fur. Kordofan, which had hitherto been under the supremacy of Dar Fur, was conquered by the Egyptians. Mohammed el-Fadl correctly appreciated the situation, and attempted to strengthen

his powers of resistance by subjugating Wadaï, but his plans were wrecked by accidental circumstances. After his death the usual disputes about the succession broke out, and were brought to an end by the accession of the Sultan Mohammed el-Hasîn (1839–1873). He was chiefly occupied by wars with the Arabs in the southeast of Dar Fur, the Rezêqât (Risegad; cf. genealogical table XII b, *ad fin.*), and other restless and almost unconquerable tribes, who invariably retreated from their own territory into the negro districts on the south, only to reappear with surprising celerity. Hasîn's campaigns were almost entirely fruitless of result. With Egypt, on the other hand, he was on excellent terms (with the exception of the temporary invasion of the Arab Sheïk el-Missrî), though he by no means underestimated the dangers which threatened him from that quarter, and induced the Turkish sultans Abd ul-Medjid and Abd ul-Aziz to confirm his supremacy. With King Ali of Wadaï (p. 543) he also concluded an offensive and defensive alliance. But freebooters, such as the Faki Mohammed el-Bulalawi and Sibêr (Zubair, Sobehr), who will be mentioned later, were already beginning to disturb the country on the south, and thus to provide excuses for an Egyptian attack; while Dar Fur was also cut off from the heathen countries on the south, and thus deprived of a source of strength.

On the death of Hasîn his youngest son, Ibrahim Koiko (Brahim), ascended the throne in 1873, and the kingdom rapidly approached its doom. The Egyptian government had appointed Sibêr to be governor (Mudir) of the province of Bahr el-Gazal, situated upon the southern frontier of Dar Fur. In this capacity he attacked and conquered the Rezêqât, who had made a temporary peace with the sultan of Dar Fur, in view of the approaching danger. Ibrahim was thus forced to enter into war with Sibêr, and was strongly urged to do so by his people. In support of Sibêr Bey the Egyptian government sent an expedition from Khartoum under Ismail Pasha against El-Fasher, the capital of Dar Fur, while Sibêr himself advanced from the south. The campaign was decided by the battle of Menawatji (at the beginning of autumn, 1874), in which the Sultan Ibrahim was killed. Thus Dar Fur became part of the Egyptian Sudân. Until 1879 descendants of the royal house held out against the Egyptians in the Marra Mountains, the cradle of the old princely stock. During the Mahdi revolt the country, in spite of Slatin Pasha's brave defence, fell into the hands of the rebels (cf. pp. 560 and 585).

The destinies of the kingdoms in the Western and of those in the Eastern Sudân are strikingly similar; similar also are the resources which they had at their disposal and the dangers which invariably loomed more or less threateningly upon the horizon of each of them. The key to these resemblances is to be found in the geographical situation of these kingdoms. In few countries of the world is national destiny so clearly betokened by natural conditions as in the case of the Sudânese kingdoms. Every king who came to the throne found an area open to military raids and an inexhaustible source of wealth in the hot heathen countries upon the southern frontier; every king was menaced by the mobile desert races, which sooner or later became the cause of wild revolutions. Between the fair sons of the desert and the heavily built, industrious negroes a fierce conflict raged incessantly, and victory was won at one time by the impetuous onslaught of the steppe dwellers, at another by the tenacity with which the dark-skinned aborigines clung to the soil, and by their inexhaustible numbers. But everywhere civilization

was victorious. At every point where it crosses the burning desert zone and sows its seeds, the most powerful States arise and oppress their more barbarous neighbours, until they too succeed in forming political unions and in asserting the superior power of their unimpaired vitality.

C. The Eastern Sudân

As regard the broader lines of development, the Eastern Sudân displays many points of affinity with the western districts; but as its geographical character differs in two main points from that of the countries on the southern frontier of the Sahara, its history in these respects ran a course of its own.

(*a*) *The Country and the People.* — The first point of difference is the existence of the Nile, which creates a narrow strip of fruitful land in the midst of a steppe district. The river, being navigable, makes of this fertile territory a connected whole, though its unity is not that of those arable districts situated like oases at some distance from the stream. The Blue Nile and the Atbara, running down from the highlands of Abyssinia, produce similar effects. However, the Nile does not form, as might be thought, an open highway to the north and to Egypt, the earliest home of Mediterranean civilization; it traverses the desert in a narrow channel, leaps from cataract to cataract, thus placing impassable barriers in the way of navigation, while the banks in many places afford no foothold to the passenger. However, these obstacles have not proved absolutely insuperable. Civilization spread by this channel to the districts of the Sudân at an earlier period than in other cases.

The second special characteristic is the neighbourhood of the Eastern Sudân to the sea and to Arabia. The narrow channel of the Red Sea presents no obstacle to the crossing of a people, like the Arabs of old, whose merchant ships reached India and Zanzibar. The Arab steppe-dwellers hold with reference to the Eastern Sudân that position which was occupied on the west by the desert tribes, who have so often founded and destroyed powerful kingdoms. No enemy of this kind threatened the Eastern Sudân upon the north. Egypt and her ancient civilization was at times a cause of fear, but more often of reverence, for the priceless gifts which she bestowed.

Apart from these special features, the general characteristics of the Eastern Sudân correspond to those of the central and western parts; thus the original population appears in this case, as in the others, to have belonged to the black races, and the history of these lands as it is known to us describes the struggles of the negroes against fair-complexioned invaders and the rise of a mixed race, in which, turn by turn, either of these two elements becomes predominant and determines the country's course of destiny.

It must be remembered that Egypt proper did not touch directly upon negro territory. During remote antiquity we find that the greater part of the modern Nubia was peopled by a red-skinned race, the Cushites, who were apparently of Hamitic origin and related to the Egyptians. Further, in the desert land right and left of the Nile valley we find miserable tribes of steppe dwellers, who were also Hamites or Ethiopians, as they were known in antiquity. Fair-complexioned Libyans are also to be found in isolation, who may have made their way to Nubia from the north coast. While Egypt was developing her civilization the Nile

valley was uncultivated above the first cataract, its population was on the level of the wandering desert nomads of the neighbourhood, and probably existed after the manner of the modern Bushmen or Australian blackfellows. "Wretched Cush" is the contemptuous phrase applied to Nubia in many of the Egyptian picture writings. It is hard to say how far northward the negroes extended. Probably negro tribes and Cushites lived side by side where the Nile valley was broader and more fertile, the negroes being in sole possession of the river banks further in the Sudân, perhaps in the same manner as the Shilluks and the Dinka now inhabit the shores of the upper river (cf. p. 491). The tribute of the land of Cush was always largely paid in slaves.

As the Cushites were related to the Egyptians, the different theories upon the origin of the Egyptians apply equally to them. From a very general point of view it may be said that the red-brown Ethiopians form a link between the fair-coloured Europeans and West Asiatics on the one side and the negroes on the other; hence the first home of this race must lie in the neutral territory between the fair and the dark populations. At the present day the constant fusion of races which continues in the Sudân produces new peoples similarly characterised. In the Nile valley especially the red-brown peoples were constantly advancing southward within historical times and also crossed into West Asia, so that Egypt may be considered as the district where the Ethiopians first developed to the full their special characteristics. Neither the inhabitants of Egypt as a whole nor the civilization of the country originated in the Upper Nile valley, although the centre of Egyptian power and culture was for a long time situated in Upper Egypt.

(*b*) *Nubia in Antiquity.* — It was not the desire to increase their arable land that induced the rulers of Egypt to lay hands upon the "wretched Cush" and to bring their civilization into the districts above the first cataract. In Nubia proper only a very small area upon the river banks was under cultivation, and the nature of the country further south was at that time unknown. It was commercial enterprise and the hope of rich profits that attracted individual Egyptians southward, until the rulers of the country interfered, occupied part of Nubia, and monopolised the profits. Two very valuable articles were exported from Cush, namely, ivory and black slaves, which appear as the regular tribute payment in the Egyptian picture writing. But interest rose to an extraordinary pitch when rich deposits of gold were found in the mountains on the south, which for a long period were to be the sole source whence Egypt drew her supply of this desirable metal. Wood for shipbuilding was also brought from Cush at the time when extensive forests covered the mountains on the banks of the Nile, which are now absolutely bare.

(*a*) *The Earliest Relations of Nubia to Egypt.* — The earliest information which we possess upon the relations of Nubia and Egypt is derived from an inscription of the sixth dynasty, which, among other subjects, describes the preparations of King Pepi I for a campaign into the Sinaïtic peninsula and the south of Palestine. We are told that on this occasion troops were drawn from the negro countries of A'aretet, Zam, Amam, Uaust, Kaau, and Tatam. Thus we see that about this period part of the Cushites recognised the full supremacy of Egypt, which had perhaps been already enforced for some considerable time. We have no information for the period subsequent to Pepi's dynasty.

When Egypt recovered her prosperity under the eleventh dynasty after the fall of the old kingdom, and Thebes became the capital, Nubia also felt the consequences of the change. The Nubian possessions seem to have been one of the most important sources of the king's revenue; not only the products of the gold mines, but also the tribute paid by the subject races, came directly into his coffers. The master of the royal exchequer kept a careful eye upon the income, and even princes were sent to the gold mines to supervise the methods of working and to escort the output to the court in person. However, the district was not completely subjugated until the era of the twelfth dynasty. The name "Cush" is then for the first time applied to the land in the south, and probably referred at first to the territory of the most powerful among the tribes which were then subdued. This tribe must have belonged to the red-brown Ethiopians. Negroes do not appear in these conflicts before Usertesen I. Negro labour also seems to have been employed under compulsion in the gold mines. Upon this occasion, as before, the advance of the Egyptian kings was chiefly due to anxiety to get possession of the gold mines and to ensure the safe arrival of their output. The treasure-laden caravans may often enough have been attacked by robber tribes as they returned home from the desert mountain district south of Korosko, and must have been often forced to fight their way through. "I forced the chieftains to wash gold, I carried away the output, I pressed forward from the frontiers. The negroes came and prostrated themselves for the fear which they had of the lord of the two countries (the king of Egypt)." In these terms an official of the royal exchequer commemorates his achievements. Cush was kept in subjection by a chain of military posts, which also formed little oases of civilization. Usertesen III built a frontier fortress at Semne above Wadi Halfa, and forbade the negroes beyond this boundary to pass this point in their boats as they sailed down stream. The king secured the frontier by a second campaign, and the land of Cush was henceforward in close connection with Egypt.

It is obvious from the position of this frontier fortress that only the northern parts of Nubia were in the hands of the Egyptians, and that the modern Dongola never belonged to the kingdom of the Pharaohs. In spite of this fact Egyptian civilization spread further up the Nile, a development which must have taken place on peaceful lines. Such transmission of civilization was facilitated by the fact that the Egyptians were in possession of the gold mines south of the modern Korosko. At Korosko the road branches off into the desert, and, by cutting off a great bend in the Nile, forms the route of quickest communication with the Sudân. It was perhaps at an early period that the beginnings of the later kingdom of Napata on the south came into existence, though the actual foundation of the State is an event which belongs to the period of the Ramessides. This kingdom may, however, have received the seeds of civilization from another direction. When the prosperity of Egypt revived under the eleventh dynasty an unprecedented impulse was given to commercial enterprise, and Egyptian fleets sailed down the Red Sea as far as the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb.

The Egyptians were not skilled seamen, but the desire to secure a supply of that desirable commodity, frankincense, without the inconvenience of dealing with middlemen had impelled them to venture upon the perilous waters of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, and had thus brought them into communication with the inhabitants of southern Arabia and Somaliland. The starting-point of the Egyptian

voyages must have been somewhere about the latitude of Thebes, where the little harbour of Kossir (Kosseir) is to be found at the present day. An inscription fully describes how a road with water cisterns was laid from Thebes to the coast through the barren mountain district, and how a ship was built upon the shore which seems to have made a successful voyage to "Punt," a name apparently denoting the coasts upon either side of the Gulf of Aden. Commercial intercourse eventually became fairly vigorous, and may have exercised some indirect influence upon the civilization on the Upper Nile. Under the thirteenth dynasty, which, by the way, modern Egyptologists are inclined to place before the twelfth, a prosperous trade with Punt continued. It may then have declined until it was temporarily resumed at the time of the "New Kingdom;" but it gave so powerful a stimulus to the Arab coast dwellers that they were afterward able to become the carriers of the trade in the Red Sea and the northern Indian Ocean. However, they were much more strongly influenced by the Babylonian-Assyrian civilization than by the Egyptian. That the Nubian possessions were, at any rate, retained during that period is proved by a dumb but irrefutable witness, a giant granite figure of King Sebekhotep V, which still rises upon the island of Argo above the third cataract, and therefore quite close to the modern Dongola.

Long afterwards, when the Hyksos had been driven out and the military "new kingdom" was founded, the kings set to work to recover the influence which the country had lost in Nubia. At first expeditions were sent out, rather with the object of weakening the Cushite tribes than of making a permanent subjugation, but afterward the kings devoted their energy to this latter task. Thutmosis I advanced by land and water, apparently contrived to transport his ships above the first cataract, and after defeating the Nubian fleet in a great battle on the Nile subdued all the country up to the third cataract. These wars with Nubia do not harmonise with the tradition, which is in any case very doubtful, that the Hyksos were expelled with the help of the Ethiopians. Possibly in the course of the struggle with the northern intruders a temporary alliance was formed with some of the "nine bow-peoples," as the Nubians are called in the Egyptian inscriptions. The consort of the first Egyptian king of the victorious eighteenth dynasty seems to have been an Ethiopian. Under Queen Hatshepsut, who was regent for Thutmosis III, the frontiers of the Nubian province were certainly extended further southward; at the same time the trade with Punt was revived, and territory perhaps acquired on the coast of the Red Sea. Pictures belonging to the king's reign show the inhabitants of the Upper Nile valley, the red-brown Cushites, and the dark-skinned negroes bringing cattle, giraffes, the skins of wild animals, gold rings, and precious stones as tribute; but even at that period negro slaves were the most welcome of the presents brought from the south. In this way negro and Egyptian were commingled, and at the same time Egyptian farmers and craftsmen settled on the Nubian Nile, especially after Ramses II had caused a number of new towns and temples to be built in that district. The gold mines continued to yield a rich output. The Nile valley was taxed in the same way as Egypt proper, and the tributary tribes on the south made heavy payments to the royal treasury. Nubia was thus an important and carefully administered province of the Egyptian kingdom. In any case Egyptian civilization advanced far into the Sudân, and led to results which were afterward to react upon the destiny of Egypt.

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(β) *Napata.* — When the royal power began to decline in Egypt and mercenaries became predominant, the native dynasty held out longest in Thebes, as it had done before on similar occasions. After the loss of this town it retreated, apparently, to Cush, and there founded a separate kingdom, the rulers of which continued characteristically enough to assume the royal titles of the Egyptian kings. This is the account usually given of the origin of the Napata kingdom, a name in general use and derived from the capital situated below the fourth cataract.

Napata forms a very remarkable contrast to the Sudân States of modern times. Founded by a fair-complexioned people in a district originally negro, with a civilization and a religion of northern origin, it seems to have been intended as a second Egypt; upon occasion its rulers even dared to aspire to the throne of the elder State. But its power is not permanent. Its exotic civilization deteriorates; and the black races, constantly reinforced by fresh infusions of negro blood, lay like a leaden pall upon the State and stifled every upward tendency. The growing strength of the negro races is easily explained. The centre of the Napata kingdom lay at first, as is obvious from its historical development and the position of its capital, in the Nubian Nile valley, and the dominant race were the Cushites, who were commingled with the immigrant Egyptians; but later, when the various attempts to conquer Egypt had definitely failed, the more southerly districts of the Eastern Sudân inhabited by negroes were added to the kingdom, in particular the important peninsula between the White and the Blue Nile.

During the early period of Ethiopian independence a difference between the condition of Ethiopia and Egypt, proceeding from causes purely ethnical, became more and more pronounced in course of time. In Egypt religion was the central point of the national life, and this to such an extent that the hierarchy at times became supreme; but among the duller Ethiopians religion became absolutely predominant, and in Napata the priesthood, which naturally was chiefly recruited from Egypt, lived in a golden age. This was partly due to the fact that the priests in Ethiopia appeared as the chief exponents of civilization; but a more potent cause was the character of the Cushites and Berbers, which has remained unchanged to the present day. Nowhere has Mohammedanism found such faithful bigoted and devoted adherents as among the Berbers; without their help, for example, Islam would never have conquered Spain, nor maintained its hold over the country for so long. These characteristics of the Ethiopian people were equally strong in ancient times, and were highly valued by the priests, and explain why so many exaggerated accounts of the moral purity of the Ethiopians and the high excellence of their civilization were current in the ancient world. The Egyptian priests were the source of these rumours, and in this way discharged some part of their obligations to their most loyal adherents.

The confusion prevailing in Egypt upon the downfall of the "new kingdom" not only secured their independence to the Ethiopians, but also enabled the Ethiopian dynasty, which was probably of Egyptian origin, to seize the throne of the old kingdom with the help of Cushite warriors. The process of conquest was gradually accomplished. About 840 B. C. Thebes was occupied by an Ethiopian army and ultimately the whole of Upper Egypt as far as Memphis acknowledged the new supremacy, while some powerful mercenary chiefs continued to hold out in the Delta. The Ethiopian conquest does not seem to have been the accomplish-

ment of any great preconceived scheme. It might even then have come to a standstill, if Tefnacht, the prince of Sais, one of the feudal lords of Lower Egypt, had not steadily extended his power, conquered Memphis, and threatened Upper Egypt. After long hesitation the reigning king of Ethiopia, Pi'anchi, sent out an army and drove back his dangerous opponent by land and water, though he achieved no decisive success. When the king took the field in person, Memphis fell before him. Henceforward the Ethiopian supremacy was also recognised by the mercenary princes of Lower Egypt, Tefnacht himself relinquishing his opposition for the moment (770 B. C.).

It was, however, impossible for the Ethiopians to establish any definite claims to Egypt. In the eyes of the Egyptian population the kings of Cush were no less foreigners than the mercenary princes of the Delta. The country as a whole was utterly indifferent to their struggles. The priesthood alone was won over by the sincere piety of the Ethiopian rulers, and ranged itself upon the side of these liberal patrons. In view of the comparatively thin population of Nubia proper, the difficulty of transporting troops from the Sudân, and the enormous distance of Napata, the Ethiopian capital, from Lower Egypt, the weakness of the Cushite rule is easily explicable. It owed its duration chiefly to the fact that the petty feudal lords of Lower Egypt preferred to recognise the shadowy supremacy of the distant Ethiopian king rather than to entrust the sceptre to one of their own class. None the less trivial acts of disobedience and revolts upon a larger scale seem to have been not infrequent; in particular, the Ethiopian influence upon Lower Egypt seems to have been broken during the reign of Tefnacht's son, Bokenranf (the Greek Bochoris; probably 770–729), until King Shabaka (the Sabako of the Greeks) again extended the Ethiopian supremacy to the Mediterranean. After his death (about 716 B. C.) the old disturbances broke out again, and Egypt was unable in consequence to offer any timely opposition to the advance of the Assyrians in Syria and Palestine. An attempt made by Shabaka ended in the total defeat of the Egyptian army in 720 at Raphia, and even at that time the rulers of Lower Egypt seem to have been paying tribute to Sargon of Assyria.

War broke out anew upon the accession to the Egyptian throne of Taharqa, who seems to have been a usurper, though he was an Ethiopian. He contracted an alliance with King Hiskia of Judah and other Syrian princes, and attacked Sanherib, the reigning king of Assyria. The battle went against the Egyptians, but Sanherib was obliged to abandon the siege of Jerusalem and to retreat (701). The peace which was then concluded continued for thirty years, and gave Taharqa the opportunity of consolidating his power. However, upon the outbreak of a fresh revolt in Syria in the year 671, which was ostensibly supported by Egypt, an Assyrian army marched against the aged Taharqa, and the conquerors met with no very determined resistance. Assarhaddon of Assyria reduced the Egyptian kingdom to the position of a vassal State, though he did not expel the petty rulers. Taharqa retired to Ethiopia. However, the Cushites were not minded thus ingloriously to renounce their suzerainty over the Nile kingdom. Before his death Taharqa advanced as far as Memphis. His step-son Tanuatamon afterward pushed northward, but was speedily forced to recognise the impossibility of ultimate success. In the year 668 Egypt was evacuated by the Ethiopian troops. Thebes, which was ever the first town to welcome the Ethiopians, was utterly devastated by the Assyrians, who seem to have been sufficiently far-sighted not to make an attack upon Nubia itself.

Since the year 650 Ethiopia had been in commercial relations with the East and South, and Egyptian predominance in these directions had been gradually overthrown. This movement brought reacting influences to bear upon Ethiopia itself. Its civilization was not of native growth, and it began to conform again to its barbaric environment. The whole process forms an instructive counterpart to the way in which Egyptian-European civilization was distributed in the Sudân and to the barbaric religious reaction in Mahdism. Henceforward the most characteristic feature of the Ethiopian nationality was their religious zeal, which rose to extraordinary heights, whereas other external marks of culture gradually faded and were forgotten. For instance, upon their later monuments the Egyptian characters are employed as decorations devoid of meaning; they had become unintelligible to this people.

Our information upon the affairs of the kingdom of Napata after the retreat of the Ethiopians from Egypt is derived from Greek sources and the inscriptions of the Ethiopian rulers. The priesthood had turned the piety of the princes to good account, and had gradually become a directing influence within the State. In the name of their divinity they elected that candidate to the throne whom they preferred, and if a ruler thwarted their policy he was informed that it was God's will that he should expiate his sins by a voluntary death. However, religious conflicts and bloody disputes about the succession were by no means exceptional events. When Egypt had recovered its independence an unsuccessful attack was made upon Nubia, and in consequence of internal dissensions part of the Egyptian warrior caste, which had originated from mercenaries settled in the country, emigrated to Ethiopia.

(γ) *Meroë.* — After the separation from Egypt the centre of gravity of Ethiopia shifted more and more southward. Napata remained the home of the priests, but the kings built a new capital south of the confluence of the Atbara and the Nile, the town of Meroë, by which name the kingdom was generally known in later times. Thus Ethiopia was in less danger than before of being involved in the further destinies of Egypt. In the time of the Persian supremacy over Egypt the invaders seized a part of Nubia, and in some degree the events of antiquity were repeated in this frontier land; but the kingdom of Meroë was untouched. The overwhelming influence of the priesthood was broken for a time by King Argamon about 270 B. C. (the Ergamenes of the Greek accounts). The priests, as usual, had sent the old and vigorous prince the command of God that he should put an end to his life; but Argamon answered by a sudden blow which relieved himself of this caste and its aspirations to power.

The monarchy thus gained in independence, but this advantage was counterbalanced by the development of another peculiarity which recurs in manifold form throughout the world. In Meroë the old matriarchal system, whereby children belong to the mother's and not to the father's family, appears to have held its ground with such tenacity that the queens acquired a position of unusual privilege, acted as regents during the minority of their sons, and eventually, when these latter came of age, declined to resign their authority, but left the son in the position of co-regent. Writers of the classical period invariably speak of these queens by their title of Candace.

Ethiopia was gradually transformed into a pure Sudânese State. Its attention

was chiefly directed to the negro lands on the south, and its connection with the north steadily relaxed. Once only did a queen of Meroë attempt to revive the old traditions and to enforce the Ethiopian claims to Egypt by force of arms (23 B. C.); but Egypt was then a province of the great Roman Empire. The Ethiopian attack failed miserably before the resistance of the Roman frontier troops, whose leader, Petronius, replied with a punitive expedition, which ended with the destruction of Napata, the old royal capital. The collision had no further consequences. Meroë remained independent of Rome behind the barrier of the desert and the Nile rapids. In the course of the century the kingdom became weaker and fell into a state of disruption. Previously the information received in the north concerning Meroë had been very scanty, and now all communication was cut off by the rude tribe of the Blemmyer, who began their devastating raids in the mountain country to the east of the Nubian Nile, and completely blocked the road down the Nile valley. However, fragments of the Græco-Roman civilization were carried southward, and prevented Meroë and the Eastern Sudân in general from relapsing into utter barbarism.

(δ) *The Early Christian Age of Ethiopia. Dongola.* — It was in full accordance with the religious character of the Ethiopians that the Christian missionaries, who eventually penetrated to their district, should have met with the unexpected success which they obtained. The date of their first appearance in Meroë is unknown; but it is certain that the disruption of the kingdom and the decay of the old priesthood were events no less favourable to their efforts than was the support gained from the infiltration of the Greek language and culture. In Nero's time the town of Meroë seems to have been in ruins. The kingdom itself was divided by its configuration into two main parts, — a Nubian district, for which the name Napata reappears; and a southeastern district, the centre of which was in Axum, among the sturdy mountain tribes of Abyssinia, in close relations with Arabia. Axum especially had been strongly influenced by Greek civilization. Moreover, among the people of Napata, the later Nubians, Greek influence had taken the place of Egyptian in a large degree. The only Nubian prince of whom we have any information during a long period, Silkon, who lived in the fifth or sixth century A. D., used the Greek language in an inscription, though in a barbarous form, assumed the title of Basiliskos, and compared himself with Ares, the god of war. However, at that period Axum was by far the more powerful and in a sense the more civilized of the two kingdoms.

It must have been shortly after Silkon's time that the conversion of Nubia to Christianity was brought about, apparently by the efforts of the missionaries sent out by St. James. How highly the piety of the Ethiopians was esteemed by the Christian priests is shown by the tradition of the "Moorish treasurer," who received baptism at the hands of the apostle himself. When Mohammedanism raised its standard and subdued Egypt in the year 639 Nubia became a refuge for the fugitive Christians, as it may have been for the Egyptian priests at an earlier epoch in time of dangerous revolution. Together with Axum it formed a stronghold of the Christian faith which long withstood the assaults of the Arabs. We may reasonably suppose that it was these refugees who completed the conversion of the people and fanned the flames of their religious zeal. But though Christianity has held its ground to the present day in the mountains of Abyssinia, in

Nubia it eventually succumbed to the attack and persecutions of Mohammedanism.

The teaching of Mohammed had stirred the populations of the Arabian peninsula to their depths, and had set races that were already sufficiently unsettled upon a movement which carried them beyond the frontiers of the peninsula as conquerors or as refugees. The fanatical supporters of Mohammedanism and the races which were swept along in their train turned northward in their search for land and plunder; they crossed the Isthmus of Suez, conquered Syria and Mesopotamia, overthrew the Persian kingdom, and founded a vast though loosely connected kingdom. At the same time other Arab tribes proceeded by the route which had been undoubtedly followed by the several migrations of antiquity; they crossed the Red Sea, and found upon the further shore a steppe country resembling their own land, and affording unlimited space for development. We have already met with the descendants of these immigrants in the early history of Wadaï and Dar Fur (pp. 544 and 541). The tribes which began to overrun the Sudân and to separate Christian Nubia from Axum, its sister State, were not invariably Mohammedans. Possibly those tribes which were opposed to the new religion may have made their exodus across the Red Sea; at any rate, many of them were heathens at the time of their migration into the East Sudân, and for this reason were not in immediate hostility to the Christian States. However, Mohammedanism, a term upon this occasion implying Semitic nationality, pursued the emigrants beyond the straits and brought them sooner or later under its influence. Thus Nubia was not only severed from Axum on the south, but was also cut off from all connection with the negro districts, a connection which is indispensable to the economic prosperity of the Sudân States.

In consequence the centre of gravity of the Christian State of Nubia again shifted northward to the modern Dongola. Its area had now been greatly reduced, and here, protected by deserts and cataracts, the little Christian kingdom offered a successful resistance to the attacks and the propaganda of Mohammedanism for a long period. A remnant of the Græco-Egyptian civilization survived in this district at a time when elsewhere all traces of antiquity had been swept away by the stream of change. In the year 651 bands of Arabs burst into Nubia and besieged Dongola, but met with so resolute a resistance that they contented themselves with the imposition of a yearly tribute of three hundred and sixty slaves, promising, moreover, to send a present of corn in return. This connection with Egypt appears to have continued for a long period with occasional interruptions. In the tenth century we hear of various attacks delivered by the Nubians upon Egyptian territory. In the year 962 an ambassador of the Ikshid princes of Egypt was received in Dongola by the king of Nubia, the Kirky (Kyriakos, Cyriacus); his attempts to convert the king to Mohammedanism proved ineffectual. The king's declaration that his country was more powerful and populous than Egypt seems to show that even then the southern possessions had not been entirely lost. Another source of information speaks of thirteen provinces, which were administered by the high priests. Even during this later period hereditary rights went in the female line of descent. This fact, and also the dominating position of the priesthood, is in agreement with the organisation of the old kingdom of Napata.

(*c*) *Nubia as a Province of Egypt (1300–1800).* — In the eleventh century the power of Nubia began to decline, although it still successfully resisted the attacks

of the sultans of Egypt. During the years 1172–1174 a small Christian buffer State, which had been formed on Egyptian soil about Assuan and Elephantine, that is, north of the first cataract, was overthrown. The Nubian kingdom then seems to have been torn by internal struggles. Eventually the Egyptian sultans found that their attacks were no longer opposed by the united forces of the country. In 1275 the town of Dongola was conquered, and David, the reigning king, expelled. After a series of conflicts which brought the Mohammedan army almost to the southern frontier of Nubia, King David was definitely driven out of the country; his nephew Shekendah became king, and Nubia was made a vassal State of Egypt, and was consequently thrown open to Mohammedan influence.

(*a*) *The Downfall of Christianity and the Rise of Mohammedanism.* — However, the strength of the united Christian State had not been entirely broken. Such remnants of Christendom as were left in Egypt looked to Nubia for support. About the middle of the thirteenth century the threatening attitude of the ruling Kyriakos of Nubia put a stop to the Christian persecutions in Egypt; but shortly afterward the ruling dynasty in Dongola accepted Mohammedanism. It was not the old royal house which had adopted the new faith, but a usurper, apparently of the tribe of the Beni Kensy, or Kenz, near Assuan. That Nubia during this period suffered greatly from internal strife and the attacks of foreign enemies, is proved by evidence from many quarters. It seems that one of the pretenders secured the support of Egypt by adopting the Mohammedan faith. The confusion was probably evoked and fostered by the influence of the bands of Arabs which now began to spread in the Nile valley.

When Christianity had thus lost its hold of the country it disappeared imperceptibly but inevitably. The priests diminished in numbers, the churches fell into decay, and the Christian clergy, who seem, to judge from the case of Abyssinia, to have preached a very degraded form of the gospel, were replaced by Mohammedan missionaries; nor does it anywhere appear that the process of change was attended by any serious conflict. The ties of connection between the Christian congregations were gradually dissolved in consequence of the increased immigration of Arab tribes, and the Arabs themselves became the dominant power. Nubia thus underwent the fate of all the Sudân States, — the nomadic overpowered the agricultural people. But for Nubia the consequences were more disastrous than in other States, for destruction came upon the prosperity of the country, which was confined to the long, narrow strips of arable ground upon the river banks. Its civilization had developed artistic capacity, and it was based upon the labours of a thousand years.

Henceforward Nubia can hardly be considered as a self-ruled district, for the ruling power passed from one Arab horde to another — changes barren of result. The Shaikiah (Sheigiah) Arabs eventually proved themselves the most powerful tribe. The general stagnation was at length disturbed by the revolutions in Egypt at the outset of the nineteenth century. In 1812 the remnant of the Egyptian Mamelukes fled to Nubia, prevented all pursuit on the part of Mehemed Ali's troops by devastating the Nile valley, and established themselves in Dongola in 1814. In 1820 the Egyptian troops succeeded in driving the Mamelukes from this retreat. Access to the Sudân proper was thus made possible, and a new and eventful period began for the districts on the Upper Nile.

(β) *The Southern Parts of Ancient Meroë.* — Christian States also existed in the southern parts of the old kingdom of Meroë. Aloa, the capital of which must have been situated near the later Khartum, is mentioned in the tenth century; a smaller State was the kingdom of Mokra, between Aloa and Dongola. At a later period a Mohammedan kingdom was formed, Sennar, which again was conquered and reconstituted about 1500 by the Fundj, a tribe apparently related to the Shilluk. The Fundj speedily embraced Mohammedanism, extended their influence over Nubia and Dar Fur, and probably destroyed the last remnants of the Christian States on the Upper Nile. At the same time it seems likely that the Fundj migrations were closely connected with the movements of the Galla, who brought fearful destruction upon the Christian kingdom in Abyssinia about the same period (cf. pp. 452 and 571).

As the power of Sennar declined, the kings of Dar-Fur were able to extend their influence beyond Kordofan to the Nile, and even to make Sennar tributary to themselves for some period of time (cf. above, p. 545). About twenty small principalities existed on the Nile from Sennar northward toward Dongola, so that Egypt had no great obstacles to surmount when it addressed itself to the task of extending its influence southward.

(*d*) *The Eastern Sudân in the Nineteenth Century.* — (*a*) *Mehemet Ali.* — Mehemet Ali, who had conquered the Mamelukes in 1811 and was striving to make himself independent of the Porte, had every reason for employing the wealth and the admirable soldiery of the Sudân for the struggle which lay before him. The first step to this end was the conquest of Dongola. When the Shaikiah Arabs, the real masters of Nubia, recognised the intentions of Egypt, with which they had joined hands against the Mamelukes, they offered a desperate but fruitless resistance. In 1820 the Egyptian troops under the command of Ismaïl, a son of Mehemet Ali, renewed their advance southward. One detachment invaded Sennar, another turned upon Kordofan, both attempts being attended with success. However, Ismaïl's excessive demands for tribute roused the inhabitants of the conquered districts to desperation, and at the end of October, 1822, he was treacherously murdered at Shendi by Nemir, the "Melik" of the district. However, the country remained in the hands of the Egyptians, was exposed to the rapacity of the officials for ten years, and shattered by the occasional revolts of the desperate population. The free negro races on the south felt the weight of the new yoke in all its severity. Their land became more than ever an area for the operations of the slave-hunters. Since 1830 Khartum, at the confluence of the White and Blue Nile, formed the centre of the new Egyptian province.

(β) *The Ivory Trade and Slave-hunting.* — The inexhaustible supply of black slaves and ivory in the Upper Nile districts was not clearly manifest until the government sent several expeditions up the White Nile and established communication with those districts without much difficulty. The report of the wealth to be gained in the Sudân at little expenditure of trouble by the ivory trade and slave-hunting spread rapidly through Egypt and Nubia, and attracted many adventurers southward. At the same time the first Christian missionaries entered the country. Two alien conceptions of existence, which had to wage a severe struggle for the mastery, thus came into conflict.

Ivory was at first the staple article of trade. Slaves were occasionally captured or purchased to be given in exchange for the valuable commodities offered for sale by the natives, who themselves without exception were anxious to acquire slaves. By degrees slave-hunting inevitably became the more important occupation. In any case trading expeditions were usually escorted by soldiers enlisted for the purpose, chiefly from Dongola (Danagla), and were often reinforced by native mercenaries, the Basinger. The native tribes, who lived in their usual state of mutual hostility, aroused the avarice of the traders, with whom they allied themselves against their neighbours. By this means they gained a temporary accession of strength, ultimately falling victims to the rapacity of the slave-hunters. By such processes Egyptian influence was steadily extended, at any rate indirectly, in the negro lands. The merchants were forced to build strong central points as bases for their operations, to protect the trade routes with guard-posts, and, in consequence of the decreasing supply of ivory, to push on continually into remoter districts. The government had only to follow in their tracks. Among those traders, who ruled as petty princes in their own sphere of plunder, and naturally could not remain permanently at peace with the government, the most important is Sibêr of Dar Fertit (cf. pp. 546, 559).

The ivory and slave trade had enjoyed only a few decades of prosperity when a storm of indignation was aroused by the expostulations of European missionaries and explorers against this destructive system. Egypt was at that time anxious to be considered a civilized State, and was forced to yield to the pressure. The vicegerent, Said Pasha, appeared in person at Khartum in 1855, curtly prohibited the slave trade, and especially forbade his officials to make their customary raids into negro territory, an edict which cut off the larger part of their income. The consequence was that the slave trade, if more dangerous, was also more lucrative, and that the officials covered their loss of income with bribes and hush-money. A slave caravan was solemnly seized now and again; but the "freed" slaves, instead of being returned to their homes, were incorporated in the Egyptian army.

(γ) *Attempts at Reform.* — European influence, and therefore opposition to the slave trade, greatly increased in Egypt upon the accession of Ismaïl Pasha in 1863. He was a man devoted to Western culture, determined, rather out of vanity than from inward conviction, to declare himself in favour of reform and progress in every direction. At that moment the Englishman, Samuel Baker, had returned from his journey to the Albert Nyanza by the Upper Nile with the intention of procuring the assistance of the Egyptian government against the slave traders. Ismaïl supported his plans. In 1869 Baker Pasha entered the Upper Nile district with a small army, and by 1873 had succeeded in extending the Egyptian rule to Lake Albert and the frontiers of Unyoro, and in imbittering the existence of the various slave traders.

At that time the Egyptian Sudân attained its greatest area, for about the same date the districts on the Bahr el-Ghazal were incorporated with it and the kingdom of Dar Fur was eventually subjugated. Dar Fur had been previously threatened by the slave trader Sibêr (Zubair, Sobehr; cf. pp. 546, 558), who had gradually collected an important military force and occupied the southern frontier of the country. At the same time the Egyptian government cast longing glances on the land, and brought over Sibêr to their interests by making him Mudir of the province

of Bahr el-Ghazal. It was not difficult for Sibêr to find a pretext for war with the Sultan Ibrahim of Dar Fur. His action also provided the government with an excuse for interference. A small army marched upon Dar Fur from Khartum. Sibêr also advanced from the south and won a decisive victory against Ibrahim's forces (1874). Sibêr, who had also been appointed governor of the new province, was then enticed to Cairo and loaded with honours, but detained there until his death. No danger was to be apprehended for the moment from his son Sulaiman, who succeeded to his father's possessions.

Meanwhile Charles George Gordon had appeared on the scene, the man who was to continue Baker's work upon a large scale and to reduce the Sudân to order. Of a noble, though too confiding, character, with a constitution of iron, he seemed the one leader and organiser best fitted to improve the civilization of the country and to protect the rights of humanity. In 1863 he had already given proof of his high capacity when he crushed the Taiping rebellion in the service of the Chinese government. During the years 1874–1877 Gordon under the greatest difficulties brought the undertakings begun by Baker on the Upper Nile to a conclusion. In 1877 he was appointed pasha and governor-general, and was obliged to conduct a tedious series of negotiations with Abyssinia respecting frontier delimitation. He was then called to Dar Fur by a revolt raised by Sibêr's son Sulaiman, who was defeated and killed in 1879–1880 by the Italian Romolo Gessi. Gordon had been very feebly supported from Cairo. He despaired of the completion of his task and resigned his post. Whatever measure of blame may attach to the Egyptians, and especially to the hated Dongola tribes, they were the dominant race, holding the negro population to obedience and inspiring them with fear. If their influence was limited (Gordon), or if they were entirely expelled (Gessi), then the foundations of the social fabric were shattered, and an impossible task was expected of the black races. If the negro was to be brought within the confines of civilization he must necessarily be guided by the strong hands of the fair-coloured races.

(δ) *Mahdism.* — (1) *Mohammed Ahmed.* — However, the affairs of the Northern Sudân, of Kordofan, Sennar, etc., were in tolerably good order. In the south also Gessi (d. April 30, 1881, in Suls), and after him F. Lupton, the governors of the Bahr el-Ghazal province, and especially Edward Schnitzer (Emin Bey) in the equatorial province, had guided the course of development into paths of promise when a tremendous outbreak of the old Sudânese religious fanaticism destroyed the laborious work of decades at one stroke, and also showed how rotten and hollow was the social fabric, with its brilliant external show. In 1881 Mohammed Ahmed, the so-called Mahdi, raised the banner of revolt, and gained possession of the whole of the Sudân in a few years' time.

Mohammed Ahmed's birthplace was Dongola, once the centre of the Christian faith, and now the home of a Mohammedanism no less fanatical. Its unsettled inhabitants were distributed throughout the Sudân as slave and ivory traders (p. 558), and were on the worst of terms with the Europeans in the Egyptian service. Born in 1848, or a little earlier, the future religious revivalist went about the country as a dervish for a long period, rousing dissatisfaction and enlisting adherents while teaching the faith of Mohammed ibn-Abd el-Wahhâb. His lamentations upon the decay of religion, which was endangered by the friendship of the Christians and Mohammedans, fell upon fruitful soil. As in almost all religious wars, so here,

religion became a general war-cry expressing deeper national and economic differences. Upon the conclusion of his travels Mohammed Ahmed retired to the island of Aba in the White Nile, speedily gained the reputation of a saint, and made his retreat the centre of a conspiracy against the Egyptian government. For a long time he was left undisturbed, and then the sparks were fanned into flame by the short-sighted and inadequate measures of the government. The saint was ordered to come to Khartum, and when he declined, a small force was sent against him. Mohammed Ahmed collected his fanatical adherents and destroyed the troops almost to a man (July, 1881). A successful beginning of the revolt had thus been made, and the saint now publicly declared himself to be the Mahdi, the promised successor of the prophet. His reputation was increased by further imprudence on the part of the government. Instead of blockading him in his island with river steamboats, he was allowed to escape to the left bank of the stream and to take refuge in Southeastern Kordofan, in the Tagalla Mountains. The Mahdi settled at the foot of Mount Gabir. The governor of Kordofan, who should have expelled him, declined an action and retreated. The Mudir of Fashoda, who advanced on him from the south, was killed and his troops annihilated.

The Mahdi could have chosen no spot more favourable for the meeting of his troops than the south of Kordofan. Here his countrymen came in to him in numbers, as also did the Danagla, whom Gessi had expelled from the Bahr el-Ghazal, a race inspired with the sentiments of revengeful fanaticism. These and numerous bands of Arabs formed the nucleus of the Mahdi's army. At the same time revolts broke out in the province of Sennar on the right bank of the Nile; these, however, were crushed by the government with the help of some friendly Arab tribes. Such troops as could be spared from that quarter marched against the Mahdi under the incompetent leadership of the Yusef Pasha Shellali; at Gadir they were almost entirely destroyed and their leader slain (July 1, 1882).

Kordofan was now in full revolt, with the exception of a few fortresses. Meanwhile the troubles in Egypt, the rising of Arabi Pasha and his following, had so weakened the forces of the government that the Mahdi was able to besiege and storm the fortresses of Kordofan one after another with fearful slaughter. Toward the autumn of 1882 Bara and the capital El-Obeïd (Lobêd) alone held out. The Mahdi pitched his camp in the neighbourhood and found time to organise his army and his kingdom.

The commander of El-Obeïd, Mohammed Said Pasha, continued obstinately to defend the town which had been entrusted to him, although the inhabitants had already gone over to the Mahdi. An attack of the Mahdists on September 8, 1882, was repulsed with fearful slaughter to the assailants. However, Said Pasha remained behind his walls, and a small relieving force which started from Khartum was almost entirely destroyed after a terrible march through the waterless desert. In January, 1883, Bara surrendered, and El-Obeïd shortly afterward (January 17), both towns being reduced by hunger. The Mahdi was now undisputed master of Kordofan.

Meanwhile the government troops in Dar Fur continued to hold out under the leadership of the bold Austrian, Slatin Pasha. After Arabi's defeat his disbanded troops had been marched to Khartum, where plans were made for a decisive blow against the Mahdi. The Anglo-Indian Colonel William Hicks, who had been appointed Pasha, undertook to lead the army, the troops of which were almost

valueless. This leader crushed a second revolt in Sennar of the Baggara Arabs, a widely spread tribe and one most loyally devoted to the Mahdi; he then marched on Kordofan with all the available troops. The army moved slowly and wearily through the desert of Kordofan. The Mahdi had posted his bands of warriors at Birket and awaited the exhausted and dispirited Egyptians; after some preliminary fighting Hicks Pasha's army was attacked and annihilated at Kashgil on November 4.

(2) *The Siege and Fall of Khartum.* — Slatin had successfully maintained his position in Dar Fur against the increasing power of the rebels, but now the last hope of succour had disappeared. On December 23, 1883, he surrendered to the Mahdi's ambassadors, and was taken as a prisoner to El-Obeïd. The Mahdi was thus able to concentrate all his forces for the siege of Khartum. That the rebels could count upon adherents on both banks of the Nile had become plain long before in consequence of the repeated disturbances in Sennar; the Mahdi had thus every reason to hope that he would be supported on the east in the event of an attack upon Khartum. He must have been further strengthened in his intentions by the news which reached him from the coast of the Red Sea. In that quarter about the middle of 1883 Osman Digna (Digma: properly, George Nisbet of Rouen), formerly a slave trader, had roused the tribe of the Hadendoa to revolt, attacked the harbour of Suakim, and blocked the road from Suakim to Khartum. Thus the shortest line of communication between Khartum and the civilized world had been cut; the only road open was by the Nile, through Berber and Dongola. The situation was in no way changed by the victory of the English over Osman Digna at the beginning of 1884.

The English ministry, which had taken Egyptian affairs in hand after Arabi's revolt, had gradually come to the conclusion that the Sudân must be entirely evacuated. In January, 1884, Gordon, the previous governor-general, was sent to Khartum for that purpose. He sent a number of fugitives northward and collected the few available troops within Khartum; but revolt was already raging about the walls of the town. Gordon's talents for organisation were again manifested. During the rise of the Nile in the middle of the summer, which prevented any attack upon the town, he restored the morale of his troops and reanimated their courage by his successful operations against the encircling enemy; but on October 23, 1884, the Mahdi advanced in person upon the outworks of Omdurman on the left bank of the Nile with the flower of his army. The garrison of the little fortress made a brave defence until January 5, 1885.

Meanwhile the position of Khartum had been growing steadily more desperate. Traitors within the walls were in constant communication with the Mahdi. Under the pilfering of the officials and the populace which had taken refuge in the town the supplies disappeared with appalling rapidity, and Gordon had not the heart to drive out the women and children, whose relations were in the Mahdi's camp. It was only by continual reference to the approach of the English relieving forces that he could induce his dispirited troops to hold out. But this longed-for succour, which had started in September, 1884, arrived two days too late, partly by the fault of the English leaders. At daybreak on January 26, 1885, the Mahdists stormed the town of Khartum, and among other fearful excesses killed Gordon Pasha, who met them on the steps of his house, and with him

almost all the other European and Egyptian officials. The relieving army had seized Dongola, which was not at that time in the hands of the rebels, without a struggle, had utterly defeated the opposing Mahdists on several occasions, especially at Abu Klea, where the enemy were almost annihilated. Four days were then needlessly spent in rest at Gobat, although four of Gordon's steamboats which had been sent to meet the army were at its disposal. After the fall of Khartum, which then fell into ruins, the retreat was begun, while the Mahdi and his adherents peacefully occupied their future capital, Omdurman.

In addition to the equatorial province and to Suakin, Kassala, Metamma (Metammeh), and Sennar were still occupied by the troops of the government. Kassala had been blockaded by the rebels since November, 1883, but was making a strong defence, as provisions were brought in by loyal Arab tribes; it was not captured until the autumn of 1885. After Egypt had ceded Metamma to Abyssinia, the garrison was relieved by an Abyssinian army at the beginning of 1885, and was able to embark at Massaua for Egypt. Sennar, which made an equally brave defence, surrendered in August, 1885. The Egyptian power had already collapsed in part of the negro district. In the province of Bahr el-Ghazal the governor, Lupton Bey (p. 559), was forced to surrender without a struggle, in April, 1884.

The country thus "liberated" was soon to learn by bitter experience the consequences of the continual disturbances, which had led to the neglect of agriculture and the concentration of enormous bodies of men. The population was scourged by famine and contagious diseases. The vast success of the Mahdi proved his ultimate destruction in another manner. His sensual character plunged him into greater excesses than his constitution could support, and on June 22, 1885, he died of fatty degeneration of the heart, in Omdurman.

(3) *Khalifa Abdullahi.*—The new ruler, Khalifa Abdullahi el-Teischi es-Sayid, was soon able to crush the feeble resistance offered by two of his colleagues. Whereas the Mahdi had shown a preference for his compatriots, the people of Dongola, and especially the dwellers on the banks of the Nile, Abdullahi chiefly relied upon the Baggara Arabs, large numbers of whom he transferred to Omdurman, and favoured in every possible manner. The rejected tribes became jealous in consequence, and internal dissension increased. The first decade of Abdullahi's reign was, generally speaking, a period of civil war, in which the Khalifa himself definitely declared for his own race, the Baggara Arabs. In the autumn of 1885 a dangerous revolt of the black soldiery broke out in Kordofan, ending with the submission of the rebels; at a later date several disobedient Arab tribes were almost destroyed. A new Mahdi set himself up in Dar Fur, and was very strongly supported. Fortunately for the Khalifa, he died in February, 1889, and his dispirited army was scattered.

But a formidable enemy had already appeared upon the frontier. The outburst of Mohammedan fanaticism in the Sudân, the rapid growth of the Mahdi's and later of Abdullahi's power had roused strong disapproval in the Christian monarch of Abyssinia. Under pressure from England the Negus John had sent out an army as early as 1885, which raised the siege of Metamma; but the town was again evacuated, and for a time peace prevailed upon the frontier. It was not until 1887 that the former commander of Metamma succeeded in persuading the vassal prince,

Ras Adal of Amhara, to make an attack upon the Mahdists. In January this ruler with a strong force defeated and almost annihilated the Khalifa's troops, which were led by Nad Arbab. However, the Abyssinians soon retreated with their booty; Metamma was abandoned, and reoccupied by the Mahdists. The Khalifa now began to make preparations for an expedition of revenge. His negro troops, which had been reorganised by Abu Angia, a liberated slave, defeated the wild bravery of the Abyssinians. Abu Angia occupied and plundered Gondar, the old capital of the Abyssinian kingdom, and returned to Metamma and Omdurman, after ravaging the country far and wide. The Negus John, who was already disturbed by the advance of the Italians on the Red Sea, was then inclined to come to an agreement with the Mahdi, but as his proposals were rejected, he proceeded to prepare for a counter attack.

Meanwhile Abu Angia had died in May, after crushing a religious outbreak among the troops quartered about Metamma. The Mahdi's army, which was now led by Jeki Tamal, amounted to eighty-five thousand men, while the Abyssinian army, at the head of which was King John himself, numbered one hundred and fifty thousand, including twenty thousand cavalry. The Abyssinians advanced in March, 1889; on March 9 they burst through the zareba of Metamma, and seemed to have victory within their grasp, when the death of the Negus gave the signal for a disorderly retreat. The pursuing Mahdists possessed themselves of the corpse of the "king of kings." This battle was the last great conflict between the Christian and Mohammedan powers. The confusion which prevailed in Abyssinia regarding the succession to the throne and the hostile attitude of the Italians prevented any further attempts against the Mahdists; and the latter, after a second and somewhat unsuccessful invasion, contented themselves with securing the safety of their frontier.

His successes against the Abyssinians may have induced in the Khalifa Abdullahi the belief that the time had now come for the long postponed conquest of Egypt. The spreading of the faith was also a cardinal tenet of the Mahdist religion. Upon the withdrawal of the English, Dongola was immediately occupied, and a fruitless advance to Wadi Halfa attempted. In 1889 the Khalifa ordered his generals in the north, Abd er-Rahman and Negiumi, to attack at all hazards. Negiumi advanced in May. But the English general, Francis Wallace Grenfell, who had decisively beaten Osman Digna at Suakin on December 20, 1888, had received early information of the movement and brought up an adequate number of reinforcements. The Mahdists, who had made a difficult detour through the desert round Wadi Halfa, met Grenfell's troops at Toski and were almost entirely destroyed. Once again the English did not follow up their success. The defeat of the army destined for the conquest of Egypt was a heavy blow to the Khalifa; but it led to no immediate consequences, and freed him at the same time from a number of dissatisfied and doubtful supporters. Far more dangerous was a famine which broke out shortly afterward and terribly depopulated the Sudân; with this trouble was connected a revolt of the other Khalifas originally nominated by the Mahdi, whose claims had been disregarded by Abdullahi. The latter's cunning enabled him again to triumph over his adversaries.

Europe, after leaving the Sudân untouched for a long period, began during the following years to turn its attention to this old Egyptian province. First of all the Italians, who were anxious to acquire Kassala as a protection for their colonies

on the Red Sea, came in conflict with the Mahdi's troops at Agordat in November, 1893, and defeated them with heavy loss. Some months later they took Kassala almost without a struggle, and were greeted as liberators by the population. The greatest excitement prevailed in Omdurman upon the receipt of the news. However, the Khalifa pushed his line of defence no further forward than the Atbara. Messengers from the south of his kingdom soon brought news which threw him into fresh consternation: the troops of the Congo State were marching northward.

(4) *The Province of Equatoria under Emin.* — In the year 1878 Dr. Eduard Schnitzer had been appointed governor of the province of Equatoria (Halt el-Estiva), with the title of Emin Effendi; a remarkable and in many respects attractive personality was thus called to a post which had many advantages to compensate for the responsibility which it involved. Emin, who was born at Oppeln on March 29, 1840, studied medicine, and had been for some time in the Turkish and Egyptian (since 1875) service, when he attracted Gordon's attention in 1876, who placed him over the southern provinces of Egypt as Emin Bey in 1878. His unselfish and amiable character, his conscientious attention to detail, and his capacity for organisation enabled him to make the province of Equatoria self-supporting at a time when all communications had been interrupted.

Emin found the province in a very bad condition when he took up his post. Baker's wars against the slave traders and Gordon's efforts at a later period had produced no permanent effects. The slave hunters had everywhere made their way into the country, agriculture was neglected, and the officials, who were chiefly composed of Egyptians and Nubians, banished to the south in disgrace, merely contributed to increase the disorder. Moreover, communication with Khartum had been cut off for some years by the obstruction of the Nile channel (from the middle of 1878 to the beginning of 1880). However, Emin proved equal to the difficulties of his task. He developed the resources of his province in every direction, and made it sufficiently independent to bear a complete cessation of intercourse with the North for a considerable period. His difficulties were increased in 1881, when he had to take over the province of Rohl, which had fallen into utter anarchy. In the same year the Mangbattu district on the Uëlle (p. 479) was separated from the province of Bahr el-Ghazal and assigned to Emin. A revolt in that quarter was immediately crushed by Hauash, the leader of the little Egyptian force.

As long as the North was at peace, Emin was able to secure his province and its million and a half of inhabitants with the scanty forces at his disposal. The soldiers were almost entirely infantry, and in most cases of Sudânese extraction. According to Vita Hassan's account, in 1881 Emin possessed about one thousand negro troops (thirteen hundred and seventy men in two battalions during the Mahdist wars), five hundred Chuterîye ("volunteers," chiefly from Dongola), and four hundred Taragma (negro volunteers). Fortunately the character of the negro troops was little inclined to Mahdism, and they remained obstinately loyal to their colours.

Events in the North did not for the moment influence the affairs of Hatt el-Estiva. As the Mahdists possessed no river steamers before their capture of Khartum, the province remained unmolested from this direction, though at the same time unsupported. The last steamer from Khartum had arrived at the begin-

ning of 1883. An imminent revolt among the Bari was averted by Emin's determination; however, the negro race of this name got possession of the station of Bōr. After Lupton had been subdued and Khartum had fallen, the Mahdists turned their attention to Emin Pasha's province, the stations of which were the only strongholds where the Egyptian flag was still flying. In May, 1884, Emin received his first summons to surrender from the Mahdist leaders in Bahr el-Ghazal. A deputation of the officials went off to try and arrange conditions of surrender as favourable as possible. Shortly afterward the governor's anxieties were increased by the news that Ibrahim Gurguru, the commander in Makaraka, on whose loyalty Emin had placed full reliance, had gone over to the Mahdists. The antipathy of the negro soldiers to the Dongolans made these races natural enemies, and led to the expulsion of the Sudânese from most of the stations. Those who were thus driven out gathered in the districts of Rohl and Mangbattu, and in conjunction with the revolted natives threatened Emin's southwest flank from this point. He was accordingly forced to concentrate his troops more and more in the stations on the Nile. His position at that period corresponded exactly to the fate of the negro tribes of antiquity, who, after retreating from the neighbouring districts, were able to make a stand upon the Nile, and to prevent any further advance of the fair-skinned conquerors. However, it was impossible to offer any continued resistance to the Mahdists, as they were in possession of the steamers and could advance southward up the river. There appeared to be only one practicable line of retreat,—toward the coast of Zanzibar south and southeast through the negro kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. In the middle of May, 1886, after Wilhelm Junker had made his way to the coast through Unyoro a short time previously, Emin sent out the Italian Captain Gaëtano Casati, to open negotiations with Kabrega of Unyoro (p. 449). Casati met with no success, and returned to Emin at the beginning of 1888.

The attention of the Mahdists was diverted from Equatoria by the confusion which prevailed after the Mahdi's death (cf. p. 562), and Emin thus gained a breathing space. At that time Emin had divided his little army into two battalions, the first of these occupying six stations on the north, including Ladó and Redjaf; while the second was posted in the southern stations, of which Dufilé and Wadelai were the most important. But at this point the negro troops evinced a strong disinclination to follow Emin in his retreat southward. They were anxious, relying of necessity on their own powers, to defend a province in which the conditions of life were entirely to their liking. It was not until the beginning of 1887 that the garrison could be withdrawn from Ladó; some of the stations in Makaraka, which was of importance for its supplies of provisions, were then reoccupied.

For years past the scanty news of Equatoria which had reached Europe by way of East Africa had excited the sympathy of the civilized world. It was considered an imperative duty either to relieve the brave defender or to send reinforcements to his support. Meanwhile the race for acquisitions in Africa had begun. Germany and England had already gained a footing side by side on the coast of East Africa, France and the Congo State had advanced up the Congo and its tributaries, and Equatoria, which made access to the Eastern Sudân possible and had been practically abandoned by Egypt, appeared a desirable possession. Hence the two relieving expeditions which eventually set out, the German (Peters) and the English (Stanley), were not altogether actuated by disinterested motives. In neither

case was the real object of the enterprise attained. Stanley started from the mouth of the Congo on March 18, 1887, and after indescribable privations succeeded in reaching Emin from the Upper Aruwimi on April 29, 1888. Emin found the band of starving rescuers rather an embarrassment than a help, and declined to return home. Meanwhile the state of affairs in the province had become serious; even after the evacuation of Ladó, the soldiers no longer believed in the possibility of a retreat southward. While making a tour of inspection, Emin was made prisoner by the soldiers in Dufilé, who had been roused to the highest excitement by the arrival of Stanley's relief expedition. Fortunately for Emin, the Mahdists at this moment delivered a long premeditated attack upon the Nile, and thus occupied the entire attention of the malcontents. After the negro troops had killed certain dervish emissaries sent out by the leader of the Mahdist army, the Khalifa's army, which had three steamers at its disposal, together with a large body of Bari negroes, expelled the garrison of the station of Redjaf. In view of the danger the negro soldiers released the governor and allowed him to withdraw to Wadelai. A Mahdist attack on Dufilé failed. In the meantime Stanley had returned to the Aruwimi and had reappeared on Lake Albert in January, 1889, and forced Emin, who was now joined by a portion of his troops, to retreat. On May 8, 1889, a successful march southward was begun; on December 6 the caravan reached Bagamoyo. Emin, who here met with a severe accident, entered the German service at the end of March, 1891. During an advance westward beyond the German sphere of influence, he was murdered near Kibonge on the Lualaba, on October 20, 1892. Thus neither England nor Germany gained any advantage from Stanley's expedition.

Part of Emin's soldiers had remained in Equatoria; some divisions established themselves in Stanley's camp on Lake Albert, and the remainder reached new stations on the Nile. After some time the other divisions joined their comrades in Stanley's camp in September, 1891. Lugard then took them into the service of the British East African Company, and occupied Uganda with them.

(5) *The Fall of Abdullahi.* — Equatoria, which was now divided between Mahdists and natives, was not to remain neglected for any long period. The leaders of the Congo State made an agreement with the Anglo-Egyptian government to the effect that the country should be temporarily handed over to them on a kind of tenancy. An expedition under Van Kerckhoven pushed forward from the Upper Ubangi to Wadelai (1892), and advanced stations were occupied on the arrival of additional troops.

However, the Mahdi kingdom was eventually destroyed by the English. The imperialist idea and the catchword "from the Cape to Cairo" were undoubtedly leading motives in their policy. The Egyptian army was reorganised by Horatio Herbert Kitchener, who had been in that service since 1882. At the beginning of 1896 he ordered a general advance from Wadi Halfa into the enemy's country, the army being stiffened by the inclusion of several contingents of English troops. The advance was undertaken with every care and precaution, the railway was extended beyond the cataracts, and gunboats were placed upon the navigable reaches of the Nile. The commissariat department was admirably organised. Dongola was occupied in the summer of 1896, Berber reached on September 12, 1897, and the advanced guard of the Mahdists defeated at Nakheila on the Atbara on April 7,

1898. On September 2 the Khalifa was utterly defeated by the Anglo-Egyptian troops; on the same day his capital of Omdurman fell into the hands of the conquerors. Continuing their advance up the Nile, the English found the French flag flying in Fashoda on September 21; it had been hoisted on July 10 by an expedition under Captain J. B. Marchand. Diplomatic pressure, however, obliged France to withdraw her claims. Abdullahi fled to Kordofan and gathered a new army; but on November 24, 1899, these forces were shattered at Om Debrikat, south of Djedid, by Colonel Francis Reginald Wingate, and Abdullahi himself was killed. On January 19, 1900, Osman Digna (p. 561) also fell into the hands of the English.

D. Abyssinia

(*a*) *The Country and the People.* — The Abyssinian highlands touch the Sudân upon the east. Surrounded by steppe country, Abyssinia pushes boldly out into the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb, on the further shores of which tower the mountains of Yemen. Like a natural fortress, difficult of access to an enemy and affording space enough on its cool heights for the development of a sturdy population, Abyssinia stands in defiant contrast to the adjoining districts of the Sudân. Its sheer descent to the level of the sea makes the approach difficult upon that side and prevents communication with the coast and the neighbouring Arabia. It is only near Massaua that passes facilitate the descent to the sea. On the south the highland frontier is not so definitely marked (see the map, p. 592). Here mountain chains and plateaus connect the country with that mountain system of East Africa which corresponds upon a smaller scale to the South American Andes. The ethnical and political development of the country has entirely conformed to these natural conditions. In the south there is little political union, and the supremacy of the Abyssinian nationality is by no means absolute. The fiercest attacks upon the country were invariably delivered from the south, and traces of them are still recognisable in the political organisation of the land. In the west, again, we meet with other conditions. Here the rivers flowing down from the highlands point the way to the Nile and the ancient civilization of Meroë. Here lie the gates through which some portion of Abyssinian civilization made its way into the highlands. But the most permanent and decisive influence came from the coast, where not only was a lively intercourse maintained with Arabia from early times, but where the path of the world's commerce passed for thousands of years, — a commerce which was almost destroyed for a time by the discovery of the maritime route to India, and has recovered more than its former brilliancy by the opening of the Suez Canal. In antiquity frankincense was a much-desired article, and to obtain it Egyptian ships had dared the passage of the Red Sea at an early period.

The various influences which have affected Abyssinia are reflected in the composition of its people. The nucleus of the population and probably the oldest stock were Hamitic tribes, related to the Nubians and in a more remote degree to the Egyptians. The inhabitants of Punt, the ancient land of frankincense, also seem to have been Hamites. This people covered all the coast line of the Gulf of Aden and was further related to the later Phœnicians. Probably here as in the rest of the Sudân the frontiers of the negro races lay further northward than in our own times, though it is possible that the climatic conditions of Abyssinia

were unsuitable for the negroes. At the present day pure negro tribes inhabit the central parts of the Blue Nile. To the Hamitic was added a strong Semitic element from the neighbouring land of Arabia. A Semitic language eventually became the universal idiom, the Geez language, which is now dead and is only used in the church services, but is represented by two daughter languages, the Amharish and the Tigrish.

(*b*) *The Beginnings of Abyssinian Civilization.* — The first seeds of higher civilization must have come to Abyssinia from Egypt by way of the kingdom of Napata, and naturally developed here at a later time than in Nubia. In the course of years, however, the highlands made greater progress than did Meroë and gave proof of stronger powers of resistance. This is partly accounted for by the configuration of the country, which has produced a sturdier type of humanity than the hot districts on the banks of the Nile, and especially by the neighbourhood of Arabia and of the Red Sea, with its constant stream of traffic. When the connection between Meroë and Egypt came to an end the former naturally relapsed into barbarism, and ultimately succumbed to the attacks of its enemies; but in the case of Abyssinia separation from the Nile valley did not imply degeneration, but only obliged the country to strengthen its connection with Arabia and the seafaring races.

The cradle of the Abyssinian civilization and ruling power was the modern Tigré; that is to say, the most northerly province and the one nearest to the sea. Southwest of Adua are yet to be seen the ruins of the old Ethiopian capital of Axum, with its obelisks and pillars, the style of which plainly points to Egypt, the parent of all early Ethiopian culture. When the kingdom of Axum became an independent power it is impossible to say. It apparently rose as an offshoot of the Arab coast kingdom Habashat, about the beginning of the Christian era. Some information upon the early history of the country is to be gained from the Abyssinian legends, which have, however, been somewhat distorted by biblical influences. According to these sources, the founder of the town of Axum was a son of Ham, called Cush, so that the kingdom was founded shortly after the Flood. From a son of Cush named Ethiops it received the name of Ethiopia, which it divided with Meroë at an earlier period; but to this name it is now the sole claimant, and it appears to the present day in the official title of the Abyssinian ruler. The legend is conjoined with another biblical story, that in the eleventh century B. C. Queen Maketa of Sheba (Saba) ruled in Axum, and paid a visit to the Jewish king Salomo. The two monarchs married, and their son, Menilek Ebn-Hakim, afterward known as King David I, became the founder of the Ethiopian dynasty, and from him the rulers trace their descent to the present day.

The truth seems to be that civilization was not fairly established in Axum until the age when Greek influence became predominant throughout the ancient world. While the Ptolemys ruled over Egypt the coast of the Red Sea was constantly visited by ivory traders and others. A trading station, Adulis, was founded near the modern Massaua, and military expeditions were even made into the interior. Greek was gradually adopted as the language of the court, the Greek mythology was partly borrowed or amalgamated with native beliefs, Greek art and culture were patronised at least by the nobility.

A PROCESSION OF ABYSSINIAN CHRISTIANS SIXTY YEARS AGO IN FRONT OF THE CHURCH OF ST. MICHAEL IN ANKOBER

(From John Martin Bernatz, "Scenes in Ethiopia")

EXPLANATION OF THE PICTURE OVERLEAF

ANKOBER (=Anko-Pass) was taken from the Galla race by the Abyssinian king Sahela Selassié, who made it his capital. About 1850 it consisted of nearly 3000 houses and huts, scattered upon the summit and western slopes of a range of mountains which rises majestically above the surrounding country; this kind of settlement is usual in the case of all the more important places of Shoa.

Abyssinian churches, which can only be distinguished from other buildings by the cross upon the roof, are generally very artistically situated. This is also true of the church of St. Michael in Ankober, which has been built upon the mountain slope looking towards the lowlands of Adaiel. The purpose of the procession depicted overleaf is to ask a blessing upon the sprouting corn, and is undertaken in September towards the end of the three months' rains. The umbrella borne at the head of the procession is of solid silver, and can only be carried by the king himself or by the priests, the chief of whom is the Coptic patriarch of Alexandria resident in Cairo. The tree on the right is the *Euphorbia Abyssinica*. The artist to whom we owe this picture made a stay of eleven months in Shoa itself upon the occasion of the embassy from India of Captain William Harkis (1841–43), after making a three months' journey from Tajurra to the Adaiel.

[From "Scenes in Ethiopia," drawn and described by John Martin Bernatz, vol. ii., Munich and London, 1852.]

(*c*) *Abyssinia in the Light of History.* — (*a*) *The First Christian Epoch.* — Several centuries of the Christian era had elapsed when Abyssinia reached the highest point of its prosperity, which was attained about the period when the first Christian missionaries penetrated to the Abyssinian highlands. To the year 333 belongs the boastful inscription which proclaims the king Uizanas (Aeizanes) as ruler not only of Northern Abyssinia, but also of large areas in Southern Arabia, thus showing that the kingdom of Axum was then the dominant power on the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb. In his inscription Uizanas calls himself a son of the war god Ares; but he may himself have favoured the introduction of Christianity and have received baptism from Frumentius (cf. Vol. IV, p. 218), the apostle of the Abyssinians. The introduction of Christianity definitely determined the course of spiritual development to be followed by the Abyssinians. In this case it was no thin veneer of new doctrine, to be wiped away by the lapse of time. In spite of all the calamities of fate Christianity remained permanent (see the plate, "A Procession in front of St. Michael's Church at Ankober").

The succeeding period is shrouded in obscurity; tradition has handed down nothing but a list of kings. Abyssinia maintained its influence in Southern Arabia, though with the consequence that it became thoroughly saturated with Semitic civilization. However, communication was steadily maintained with the Greek world. About the year 532 the Emperor Justinian is said to have ordered Caleb, the ruler of Axum, to put a stop to the persecutions of the Christians which the Jews had begun in Southern Arabia. Caleb obeyed, and took the opportunity of greatly extending the Abyssinian power, which seems to have been slowly retrograding. In 571, the year of Mohammed's birth, an Abyssinian general made an unsuccessful campaign against Mecca. Southern Arabia was then abandoned, ostensibly in consequence of the ravages of smallpox among the Ethiopian troops. Then came the first waves of the Mohammedan movement, which passed harmlessly by.

(*β*) *The Epoch of Judaism.* — But Christianity was to undergo another trial: the old dynasty of Salomon was expelled for centuries by a Jewish family. The appearance of Judaism as the ruling power in Abyssinia is undoubtedly the most remarkable event in the history of the country. Considerable numbers of Jews known as "Falasha" inhabit Abyssinia at the present day, and there can be no doubt that they originally migrated from Arabia into the African mountains. Were they pure Jews, or Jewish-Arab half-breeds, or Arabs who had been converted to Judaism? As regards the modern Falasha, their tendency to separate themselves from all the other inhabitants of Abyssinia is certainly a Jewish characteristic; on the other hand, their ignorance of Hebrew, their objection to commerce, and the lack of any Messianic hopes among them divide them so sharply from the Jews as a whole, that we are forced at the least to assume that this branch diverged at a very early period from the parent stock. As a matter of fact Israelite nomads have migrated from antiquity to Arabia and advanced to the south of the peninsula; in this manner Jews also arrived in Abyssinia, after mixing with other nomads in their wanderings. Jewish monotheism certainly made some impression upon the Semitic Arabs. Had it not been for Mohammed, who produced a creed better adapted to the Arab spirit, Judaism might easily have become a dominant force in Arabia. As the Christian persecutions which the Abyssinians

suppressed in Yemen had been instituted by the Jews, so Mohammed's first campaigns were directed against Jewish nomad tribes in the neighbourhood of Medina.

It was during the ninth century of our chronology when King Delnaod of the old Salomon dynasty was driven from the throne by a Jewess. Judith practically exterminated the old royal family and secured her power in Northern Abyssinia, while the South, and Shoa in particular, probably remained independent under petty Christian rulers. After her death the crown remained in Jewish hands for more than three hundred and fifty years. The striking weakness displayed by Christianity at this time is partly to be explained by the fact that the conquest of Egypt prevented communication with the rest of the Christian world. Formerly the bishops of Abyssinia had been sent out by the patriarchs of Alexandria, and connection with the religious development of the civilized world had thus been maintained; henceforward the Abyssinians were forced to apply to the Coptic patriarchs in Cairo, whose nominees soon brought the country into a state of religious confusion and discord. It is at this period that the degeneration of Abyssinian Christianity begins.

(γ) *The Second Christian Epoch.* — In the year 1262 the Jewish dynasty was overthrown by a scion of the old royal house of Salomon, the ruler Iquon Amlag of Shoa, who thus united the whole of Abyssinia under his sceptre. The leading spirit of the anti-Jewish movement was the archbishop Tekla Haimanot. It was high time for Christianity to bestir itself. Mohammedanism had long before gained a footing upon African soil, and was preparing to overthrow Nubia and Abyssinia, the two remnants of the Christian Ethiopic kingdom.

Abyssinia was now a united whole, and able to withstand all immediate attacks; but the danger grew ever more menacing. In their isolation the Abyssinian rulers bethought them of their co-religionists in the West. They began to reply to the messages which the popes had continued to send them at intervals. The Negus Constantine (1421–1468) even sent an embassy to Rome, and put the Abyssinians in connection with the Catholic Church. But the Negus was anxious for more than spiritual support from his European fellow believers; he therefore turned to Portugal, where the spirit of adventurous enterprise inherent in the Western races had then reached its highest brilliancy of achievement (cf. Vol. IV, p. 528). His embassy was enthusiastically received. When we remember that it was the hope of finding the legendary kingdom of Prester John which inspired the Portuguese mariners to fresh enterprises, we can well understand the satisfaction of King Alfonso V at receiving an embassy directly from this kingdom. It was, however, impossible to send any practical help to the hard-pressed Abyssinians before the circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope (1486); and after the discovery of India (1498) the attractions of this new acquisition claimed all the powers of the little kingdom. In 1514, however, a small fleet was sent to the straits of Bab el-Mandeb, but was almost at once wrecked in a storm. Thus Abyssinia found itself entirely alone in the hour of greatest need.

In the year 1527 the Turks had seized the harbour of Massaua, and concluded an alliance with the prince of Harar, Mohammed Ahmed (Abu) Granj (p. 451), who thought the time had now come for him to satisfy his inherited hatred of the Abyssinians. He equipped an army, which Turkish help enabled him to provide largely with fire-arms, whereas the Abyssinians at that time were armed only with

spear and sword, and advanced through the passes into the highlands of Shoa. Spreading devastation as he went, he continued his victorious career northward, destroyed the old capital of Axum, and shook the Abyssinian nationality to its foundations. From 1537 the shepherd race of the Galla poured into the desert district between Shoa and Northern Abyssinia; their numbers had swelled to a formidable extent, and they had long been menacing the southern frontier.

At length in 1541 a small Portuguese force under Christoph da Gama appeared in Massaua and joined the remnants of the Ethiopian army. The Portuguese leader was slain almost immediately, but Mohammed Abu Granj also fell in the battle. The exiled king Claudius was now able to regain his grasp of the reins of power. His position was not an enviable one; the Portuguese demanded heavy compensation for the assistance they had given, the Galla were threatening the kingdom on the south, and as if this were not enough, Rome was beginning to send out missionaries with the object of catholicising the Abyssinian Church. The first Jesuit mission arrived in Abyssinia in 1555. Upon the death of Claudius (1558) civil wars broke out, for which the Jesuits may not have been wholly blameless, although it was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century that they acquired any great influence. Correctly appreciating the situation, they represented Western civilization, and by many public services won people to Catholicism.

But the Abyssinian Church was thoroughly adapted to the character of the nation, and, in spite of its internal decay, was not thus to be remodelled upon a system conformed to the needs of Western civilization. This fact the Jesuits failed to appreciate. Fazilidas, the son of King Sosneos, took the lead of the anti-Romanist party, compelled his father to restore the Ethiopian Church, and after his accession to the throne in 1632 destroyed the Jesuits and their adherents (1634). All later attempts to reintroduce the propaganda of Rome failed entirely. On the contrary, the Ethiopian Church gradually connected itself with the Greek Orthodox Church, the theology of which was more to the sympathies of the monophysite Abyssinians, and thus in course of time entered into friendly relations with Russia.

As years went by, the disruptive forces within the kingdom grew stronger. The provinces achieved a greater measure of independence. The country was continually devastated by civil war, much to the advantage of the Galla, who became an influential power as the mercenaries of the princes, and nearly succeeded in making themselves supreme. Civilization relapsed, especially in the little Abyssinian States on the south, which were separated by the Galla from the northern States. About 1750 the ambitious vassal Ras Michael made himself notorious by his bloodthirstiness. After the abdication of the Negus Tekla Haimanot (1777) anarchy became rampant. The princes of Tigré made more than one attempt to seize the supreme power, especially Sabagades (1823), and after him Ubié. The latter gained possession of Tigré after a bloody conflict won by Ras Mario in 1831, and ruled as he pleased in Northern Abyssinia until 1854. About this time Ras Ali was ruling in Amhara, and acting as the protector of Saglu Denghel, the nominal monarch in Gondar, while the prince Sahela Selassié had made himself independent in Shoa.

But the man who was to restore the unity of Abyssinia had already begun his work. By name Kasai (Kasa), the son of poor parents, though apparently of noble descent (born about 1820 as the son of the governor Hailu Maryam of Quara ?), he

had won some reputation in true Abyssinian style as a guerilla leader, and in 1847 became the son-in-law of the Ras Ali of Amhara. Shortly afterward he had a quarrel with his father-in-law, defeated him near Aishal in 1853, and made himself master of Amhara; in 1854 he defeated the Ras Ubié of Tigré near Debraski, and thus gained possession of Northern Abyssinia. On February 4 (11), 1855, Kasai had himself crowned under the name of Theodoros as Negus Negesti (king of kings); the ceremony was performed by the Abuna Selama (Salama), who had surrendered to him in the church of Deresgé Maryam.

The new monarch was soon able to subdue the southern part of the country. The independent Galla princes of the highlands were conquered, and Haila Malakot, the king of Shoa, fled to a monastery in 1856; his son Menelik was allowed to ascend the throne of Shoa as the vassal of the Negus. However, peace was not even then assured to Abyssinia; revolt followed revolt in rapid succession, and the king's troops brought greater misery upon the land than the rebels, for they received neither pay nor supplies, and devastated the country in a frightful manner. The Negus was equally incapable of reasonable behaviour to his European co-religionists. The missionaries in particular suffered from his violent and capricious temper and his distrustful character, whether, like the Catholics, they were definitely excluded from his favour, or whether, as in the case of the Protestants, a temporary display of partiality was followed by treatment correspondingly severe. In 1864 Theodoros imprisoned a number of missionaries, together with the French and English consuls. When England sent her ambassador Rassam to remonstrate, he also was imprisoned, and in consequence the Anglo-Indian lieutenant-general, Robert Cornelius Napier, effected a landing at Sula (Zoulah), south of Massaua, in January 2, 1868. The advance into the highlands was beset with difficulty, but the English encountered practically no resistance, with the exception of an unimportant skirmish when they reached the mountain fortress of Magdala, where Theodoros had taken refuge (April 10). The Negus then released his prisoners. When the English advanced to storm the place on April 13, the Emperor Theodoros committed suicide on the next day. His son Alemajehu died shortly afterward in England.

Though Theodoros had only been able to impose a temporary unity upon the Abyssinian kingdom, he had restored the old prestige of the crown. In Abyssinia, as in different European countries, feudal development had resulted in absolutism. After some years of warfare and confusion, the prince of Tigré, Kasai (Kassai), who was nearly forty years of age, was able to defeat Gobesié, the prince of Lasta and Gojam, at Adua, on July 14, 1871, thanks to the support of the English and the munitions of war provided by them; he then secured the chief power, and ascended the throne on January 21, 1872, under the name of John. Hardly had he reached the goal of his ambition than he found himself involved in a quarrel with Egypt, which desired to carry out its East Sudân policy in the case of Abyssinia also. The Egyptian troops, under Werner Munzinger Bey, the governor of Massaua, occupied in 1872 two districts belonging to Abyssinia, namely, Bogos and Mensa, in the north. John was then occupied in suppressing a revolt among his vassal princes and was unable to prevent this encroachment. The Khedive Ismaïl was emboldened by his success and determined upon the final conquest of Abyssinia in 1875. When he ordered his troops to advance into Tigré, the Negus John collected his forces and utterly destroyed the Egyptian army, who were led by

Arakel Bey and Axendroop, a former Danish colonel, in the battle of Gudda-Guddi. Another attempt of the Egyptians in the following year ended in almost equal disaster. Prince Hasan was totally defeated at Gura on March 7, 1876, and with difficulty escaped to Massaua with a remnant of his troops. Menelik of Shoa then submitted when John marched against him in 1879, and the two princes made peace. In 1880 Ras Adal of Gojam followed Menelik's example.

At that moment a European power conceived the idea of extending its supremacy over Abyssinia. Before the general rush of the powers for territory in Africa had begun (cf. p. 494 ff.) Italy had been induced by P. St. Mancini to secure a trading station and a point of ingress to Central Africa on the bay of Assab, near the straits of Bab el-Mandeb. When the general partition of Africa began, the Italians turned their attention to Abyssinia, the favourable situation and the Alpine climate of which country appeared specially adapted to the needs of European immigrants. The state of affairs in the Sudân, which was then practically in the hands of the Mahdists (p. 560), was all in favour of the Italian undertaking; for Egypt, which was still in possession of the Abyssinian coast and the important station of Massaua, now showed little interest in this remote district. Moreover, the English were then the real masters of Egypt, and their policy was by no means opposed to the appearance of another friendly power in the neighbourhood. Thus Italy met with no opposition when she sent her fleet to Massaua in February, 1885, and declared an area of about one thousand kilometres on the coast to be an Italian protectorate. As the climate of the coast proved unhealthy, part of the neighbouring Abyssinian highland was soon occupied.

By this time the strength of the Ethiopian kingdom had been considerably increased, and in its resistance to Italy it was supported by certain of the European States. Russia and France, already anxious to place obstacles before the triple alliance, had reasons of their own for opposing any extension of Italian power. France, which had also gained a footing on the coast, looked on Italy as an intruder, and Russia was in relations with the Ethiopian Church. This dual alliance and the support which it gave to Abyssinia undoubtedly contributed in no small degree to the ultimate defeat of the Italian plans.

On January 26, 1887, occurred the first collision between the Italians and the Abyssinian troops under Ras Alula. A small Italian column was destroyed at Dogali (Saati), but an attack upon the fortified positions was repulsed with heavy loss to the Abyssinians. In the next year the Negus himself marched against the Italians, who had been considerably reinforced, but avoided a battle in view of the favourable position which his enemies had occupied. On March 9, 1889, the emperor John fell at Metemmeh (Metamma), fighting against the Mahdists in Galabat (cf. p. 562). His nephew Ras Mangasha, who should have inherited the kingdom upon the premature death of the crown prince Area, was not recognised.

There was but one possible successor to the Negus John, Menelik (Menilek) II of Shoa, born in 1844 at Ankober, the son of the then crown prince Ailu Malakot, and the most powerful vassal in the kingdom since 1878. With great foresight he ceded a large part of Tigré to Utjalli (Uccialli) on May 2, 1889, which, together with the coast land, was formed into the colony of Erythrea (Eritrea). On September 29 he accepted the extension of the Italian protectorate over Abyssinia. The districts south of Shoa were then subdued with general success. Harar and Kassa recognised Menelik's supremacy, and Abyssinian outposts were stationed on

the Central Juba as far as Berdera. The dangers of Mahdism, which was beating upon the gates, were soon averted, in particular by the Italian occupation of Kassala (June 17, 1894). The whole power of the Abyssinian kingdom was now turned upon Erythrea, which had been excellently administered by the Italians in the meantime, and placed in a posture of self defence by the organisation of native troops. As the larger part of the Somali coast had been secured to Italy by compact with England, it seemed that much had been achieved toward the foundation of a great colonial empire.

In consequence of the continual outbreak of small disturbances on the frontier the Italians, under the major-general and civil governor of Erithrea, Oreste Baratieri, crossed the boundary river Mareb in 1894, and at Coatit and Senafe, on the 13th and 16th of January, 1895, scattered the Abyssinians under the Ras Mangasha in Tigré, and garrisoned the important post of Adigrat. They had shortly before strengthened their flank against the Mahdists by the capture of Kassala, already mentioned. Meanwhile Menelik was making preparations, to which Baratieri replied by occupying Adua on April 1, and shortly afterward the fortress of Makalle (Makale) south of Adigrat. But on December 7, 1895, the Italian outpost (one thousand and fifty men) under Major Toselli was almost destroyed at Amba-Aladji, and Major Galliano with one thousand five hundred men was blockaded in Makalle. Though additional supplies of money and troops were sent out to Lieutenant-General Baratieri, that officer remained incapable of dealing with the state of affairs. Makalle was surrendered January 20, 1896, the garrison stipulating that their withdrawal should be unmolested. Some of the native allies seceded from the Italians, and an Abyssinian army threatened the line of retreat to Adigrat. In this desperate situation Baratieri, who was to be relieved of his command by Lieutenant-General Antonio Baldissera, determined to attack Menelik's main army, and suffered a defeat on March 1, 1896, at Adua, which entirely overthrew the Italian power in Abyssinia. In the peace of Addis-Abebá (October 26, 1896) Menelik was content to secure the recognition of Abyssinian independence, and to limit the colony of Erythrea to the area which it had occupied before 1889. Thus the dream of a great Italian colonial empire passed away. Meanwhile Russia and France continued the work of establishing their influence in Abyssinia to their own commercial advantage, the prestige of the latter country being increased by the construction of the Jibuti-Harar railway, a difficult engineering undertaking which was begun in October, 1897. Menelik has latterly found time to secure his conquests in the south, to subdue the refractory Ras Mangasha (1898), to set Ras Makonnen over Tigré (1899), and to raise the power of Abyssinia to a height which this ancient Christian kingdom had never previously attained.

APPENDICES BY THE EDITOR

I. THE WANGONI.

A. Suru, a chieftain of a Zulu band (of the *western Wangoni*) at first in Ukinga on the Mlangasi north of Ruhú (South German East Africa), then driven by Mputa across the Rovuma to the Ngongoma mountains and killed about 1860.

Head wife, Nyassere.

- Guasaï, fled to Mkamanga, 1860 (Deep Bay), and there deceased.
  - *Chem Chaya*, nat. about 1870, nominal Sultan of the Wangoni since 1889 (capital, Mposen).
- Mkussu, dec. in December, 1892, in Ungoni.
  - Mputa.
- *Hawaï*, Sultan of the Wangoni, 1860–74 (capital, Kuruhuji).
- Fussi (Fusi) lived with the Arab Raschid bin Masaud on the Rovuma.
- Mlamiro, regent for Chem Chaya.

Inferior wife, Nalino.

- Mharuli (Mharuri), Sultan of the Wangoni, 1874–September, 1889.
- Mbemesa, dec. 1870, at the Ngango hill (assaulted by Wahehe).

B. Follower of the Zulu leader Mpesén, name unknown.

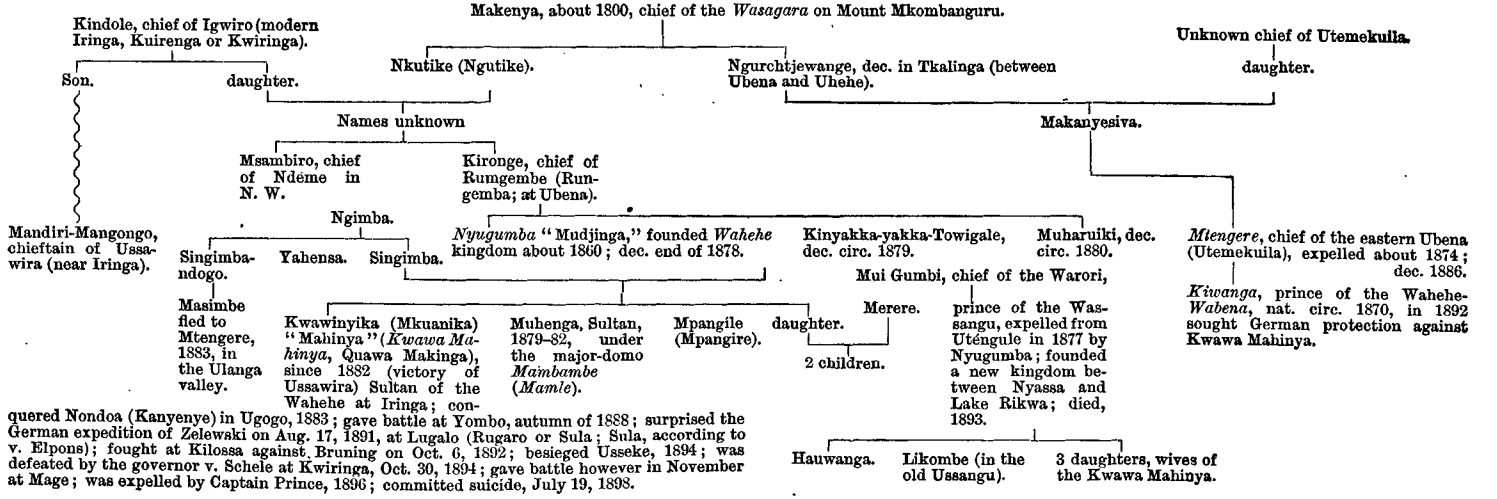
- *Mbonán*, chieftain of a Zulu band (of the *Eastern Wangoni*), at first in Ukinga, then settled in the Ngongoma mountains by Mputa; died about 1861.

  Chief wife, Mhagiro.
  - *Chipeta* (Kipeta), Sultan of the Wangoni (Wapoma), 1861–78 (overpowered by Wahehe).

  Chief wife, Mhagiro.
  - *Chabruma* (Sabruma, Shabruma), Sultan of the Wangoni since 1882.
- Mnyukwa, Regent for Chabruma, 1878–82.
  - Mpepo, expelled by Chabruma in 1885, went to Mbena Mtengere, an ally of the Wassangu prince Merere.

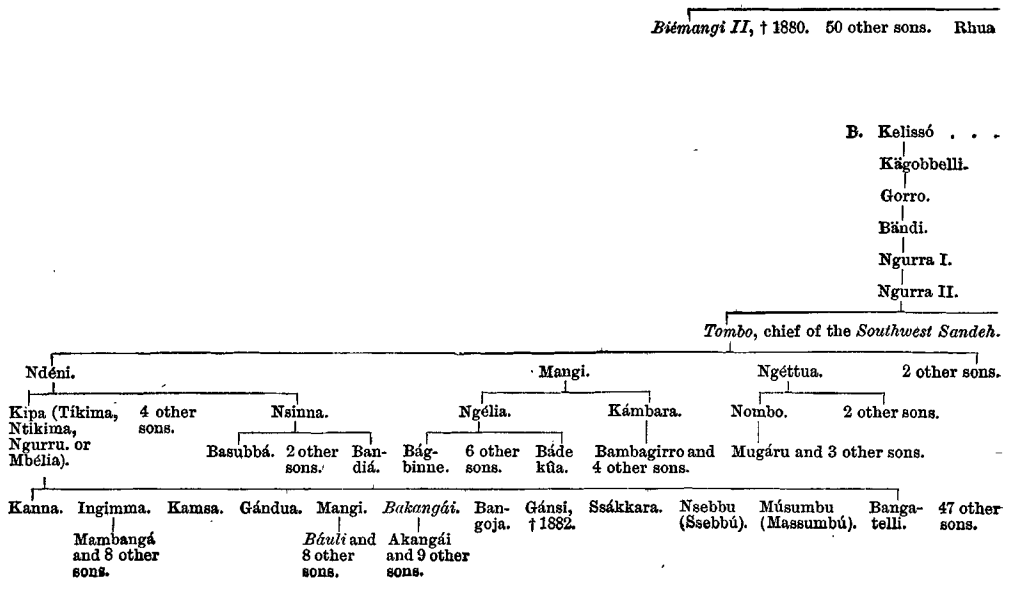
(Based upon the narrative of the Arab Raschid bin Masaud in Ungoni, and of the Mgoni Fussi, and co-ordinated by Company Superintendent Prince, in the "Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten," VII, 1894.)

II. THE WAHEHE.

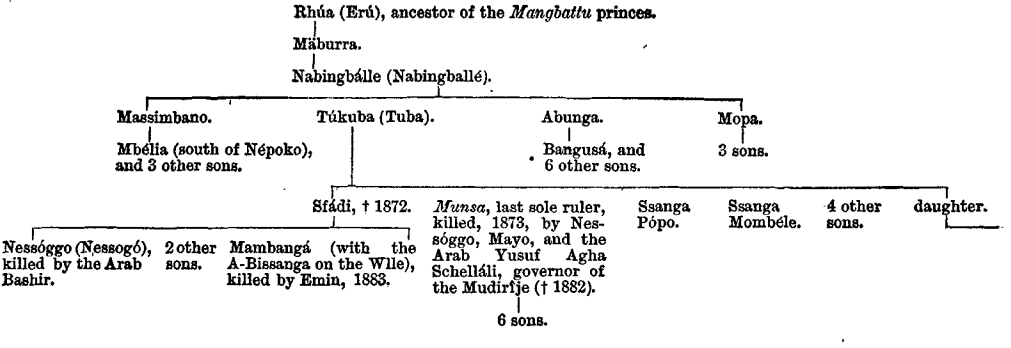

Kindole, chief of Igwiro (modern Iringa, Kuirenga or Kwiringa).
Son.
daughter.
Mandiri-Mangongo, chieftain of Ussawira (near Iringa).
Makenya, about 1800, chief of the *Wasagara* on Mount Mkombanguru.
Nkutike (Ngutike).
Ngurchtjewange, dec. in Tkalinga (between Ubena and Uhehe).
Unknown chief of Utemekuila.
daughter.
Names unknown
Makanyesiva.
Msambiro, chief of Ndéme in N. W.
Kironge, chief of Rumgembe (Rungemba; at Ubena).
Ngimba.
Singimba-ndogo.
Yahensa.
Singimba.
Masimbe fled to Mtengere, 1883, in the Ulanga valley.
Kwawinyika (Mkuanika) "Mahinya" (*Kwawa Mahinya*, Quawa Makinga), since 1882 (victory of Ussawira) Sultan of the Wahehe at Iringa; conquered Nondoa (Kanyenye) in Ugogo, 1883; gave battle at Yombo, autumn of 1888; surprised the German expedition of Zelewski on Aug. 17, 1891, at Lugalo (Rugaro or Sula; Sula, according to v. Elpons); fought at Kilossa against Bruning on Oct. 6, 1892; besieged Usseke, 1894; was defeated by the governor v. Schele at Kwiringa, Oct. 30, 1894; gave battle however in November at Mage; was expelled by Captain Prince, 1896; committed suicide, July 19, 1898.
Muhenga, Sultan, 1879–82, under the major-domo *Mambambe* (*Mamle*).
Mpangile (Mpangire).
Nyugumba "Mudjinga," founded *Wahehe* kingdom about 1860; dec. end of 1878.
Kinyakka-yakka-Towigale, dec. circ. 1879.
Muharuiki, dec. circ. 1880.
Mui Gumbi, chief of the Warori,
daughter.
Merere.
2 children.
prince of the Wassangu, expelled from Uténgule in 1877 by Nyugumba; founded a new kingdom between Nyassa and Lake Rikwa; died, 1893.
Hauwanga.
Likombe (in the old Ussangu).
3 daughters, wives of the Kwawa Mahinya.
Mtengere, chief of the eastern Ubena (Utemekuila), expelled about 1874; dec. 1886.
Kiwanga, prince of the Wahehe-*Wabena*, nat. circ. 1870, in 1892 sought German protection against Kwawa Mahinya.

(Chiefly after Wilhelm Arning in the "Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten," IX–X, 1896–97, and after Karl Weule in supplements Nos. 14 and 15 to the "Allgemeine Zeitung" of 1897.)

III. THE BANJÍA



IV. THE


Rhúa (Erú), ancestor of the Mangbattu princes.
Mäburra.
Nabingbálle (Nabingballé).
Massimbano.
Túkuba (Tuba).
Abunga.
Mopa.
Mbélia (south of Népoko), and 3 other sons.
Bangusá, and 6 other sons.
3 sons.
Sfádi, † 1872.
Munsa, last sole ruler, killed, 1873, by Nessóggo, Mayo, and the Arab Yusuf Agha Schelláli, governor of the Mudirîje († 1882).
Ssanga Pópo.
Ssanga Mombéle.
4 other sons.
daughter.
Nessóggo (Nessogó), killed by the Arab Bashir.
2 other sons.
Mambangá (with the A-Bissanga on the Wlle), killed by Emin, 1883.
6 sons.

(After Dr. Wilhelm Junker's Reisen in Africa, 1875–86, Vol. III [1882–86], Vienna and Olmütz, 1891, and after Kurt: Erdkunde zu Leipzig, 1896, Leipzig, 1897.)

AND THE A-SANDEH.

A. Nih, mythical ancestor of the Banjia princes.

Ngurra (Kurra).

Bandangungo.

Poppä.

Gobengä, chief of the Banjia, west of the confluence of the Mbomú and the Wlle-Makua.

Lusia. — 7 other sons. — Nungo.

Bangoyá (beside 13 other sons). — Biémangi I.

Hiro. — 17 other sons. — Bákia. — Bango.

Ssanga. Bángaro. Duáro. — Singio.

Jabbir (Jaber) on the Wlle, and 4 other sons.

Ngérria ("old and venerable" about 1880) and 3 other sons.

. . . Ancestor of the A-Sandeh princes.

5 other sons. *Mabénge*, chief of *northern Sandeh*.

Yapati (northeast). — Bógua (Bagbaúă). — 12 other sons. — Nunge (north and west).

Basimbé. Rensi. Hókua. Nyindo. Tombo. 28 other sons.

Bália, Badinde, Másinde, and 21 other sons.

Sabirru (Sagabirru). Uotä. Aëso. Bomwulbo. Yango. Mópa (Mósio). 26 other sons.

Aéso (Anso). *Uando. Malingde. Mbio* (to 1882). Ngérria. 8 other sons.

Balembatá, 2 other sons. Bägbä.

Tikima. Báka. Ssolangó. Yapati. (Japati) and 7 other sons.

Bika and 7 other sons. Dambaya. Mokolo.

Ngittua, † 1882 (Bánsuro Mbansuro), 9 other sons.

Ndóruma, 1878–79, subdued by the Mohammedan, Rafái Agha.

Binsa and 4 other sons.

Mbimma. Ferró (Rensi). Hókua (Mussannabamu). 12 other sons.

Uando, *Sémio*, 12 other sons.

Lerida and 3 other sons.

Sasse, Yápati, Foye, 12 other sons.

Yissa and 2 other sons.

MANGBATTU.

Ndengándile (Ndula, acc. to Emin), ancestor of the *A-Bangba* line of the Mangbattu.

Magapá.

Degbérra (between Kibali and Gadda about 1870).

Nyangara (Jangara) under Arab protection in Tangási, successor of the first Mangbattu princes Munsa and Nessóggo.

Kupa (Kussa). — Neringánda.

Bondo. — Ndeni.

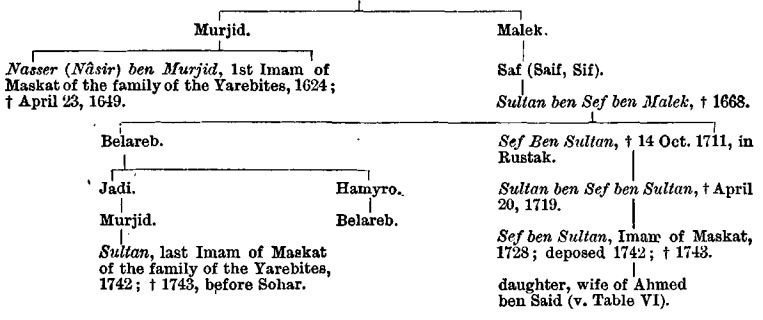
Tauil, Dragoman of the Seriba Tangási.

9 other sons.

killed by Gambári, the son of Alekú.

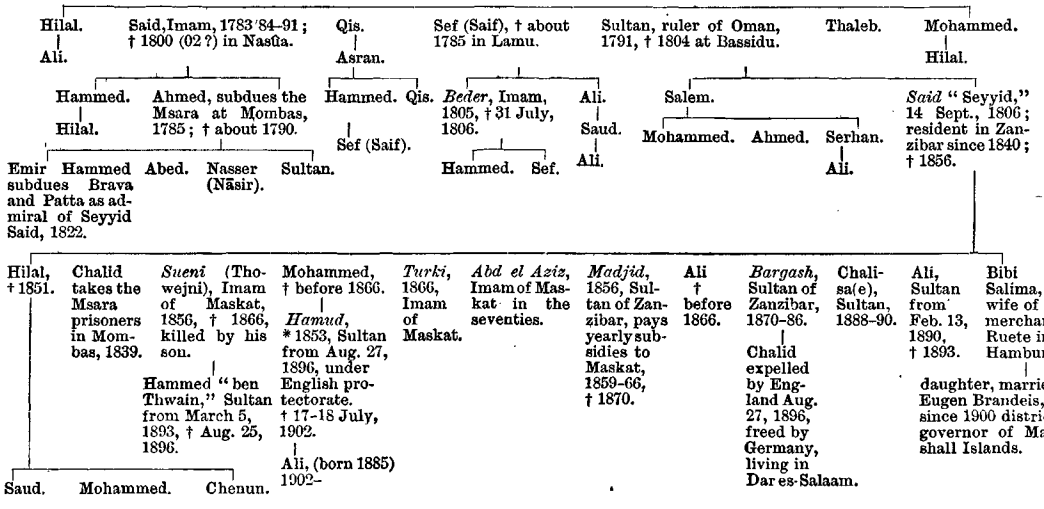
Müller, Die Staatenbildungen des oberen Uëlle- und Zwischenseen-Gebietes, in the Mitteilungen des Vereins für

V. Unknown ancestors of the family of the *Yarebites at Oman*.


Murjid.
Malek.
Nasser (Nâsir) ben Murjid, 1st Imam of Maskat of the family of the Yarebites, 1624; † April 23, 1649.
Saf (Saif, Sif).
Sultan ben Sef ben Malek, † 1668.
Belareb.
Sef Ben Sultan, † 14 Oct. 1711, in Rustak.
Jadi.
Hamyro.
Sultan ben Sef ben Sultan, † April 20, 1719.
Murjid.
Belareb.
Sef ben Sultan, Imam of Maskat, 1728; deposed 1742; † 1743.
Sultan, last Imam of Maskat of the family of the Yarebites, 1742; † 1743, before Sohar.
daughter, wife of Ahmed ben Said (v. Table VI).

(After Otto Kersten in section iii of Vol. III of "Baron Carl Claus v. d. Decken's Reisen in Ostafrika in den Jahren 1859-1865," Leipzig und Heidelberg, 1879.)

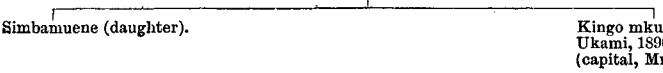
VI. AHMED BEN SAID (Sa'id) ben Ahmed ben Abdallah ben Mohammed ben Mbarek *el Abu Saidi, Imam of Maskat at Oman*, 1744, † 1783 (84 ?); married daughter of Sef ben Sultan (see Table V).



Hilal, † 1851.
Chalid takes the Msara prisoners in Mombas, 1839.
Sueni (Thowejni), Imam of Maskat, 1856, † 1866, killed by his son.
Hammed "ben Thwain," Sultan from March 5, 1893, † Aug. 25, 1896.
Mohammed, † before 1866.
Hamud, *1853, Sultan from Aug. 27, 1896, under English protectorate. † 17-18 July, 1902.
Ali, (born 1885) 1902-
Turki, 1866, Imam of Maskat.
Abd el Aziz, Imam of Maskat in the seventies.
Madjid, 1856, Sultan of Zanzibar, pays yearly subsidies to Maskat, 1859-66, † 1870.
Ali † before 1866.
Bargash, Sultan of Zanzibar, 1870-86.
Chalid expelled by England Aug. 27, 1896, freed by Germany, living in Dar es-Salaam.
Chalisa(e), Sultan, 1888-90.
Ali, Sultan from Feb. 13, 1890, † 1893.
Bibi Salima, wife of merchant Ruete in Hamburg.
daughter, married Eugen Brandeis, since 1900 district governor of Marshall Islands.
Saud.
Mohammed.
Chenun.

(Chiefly after M. Guillain and Otto Kersten in section iii of Vol. III of "Baron Carl Claus v. d. Decken's Reisen in Ostafrika in den Jahren 1859-1865," Leipzig and Heidelberg, 1879.)

VI *b*. Ancestors unknown; Mseguha, in 1845 military governor of Seyyid Sa'id of Zanzibar in Ukami; afterward took name of Simbamueni, ruler of *Ukami*.



To page 483.

VII. Buana (Fumo) Shah Ali, Sultan of *Patta*, 1698.

Arabs from the Nebehani family.

Buana Minhogombe, king of Patta, married a relative of Shah Ali.

Buana Tamu Mku (B. T. Abubakr ben Mohammed; also "Sultan Abu Bacar Banu Sultan Humade"), king, 1728; † 1733.

Fumo Bakari, Sultan since 1733 (?), in 1745 declared himself independent of the Imam Ahmed ben Said of Maskat; deposed in place of Buaua Mku.

Muani Mimi, the vizier of Fumo Omar, 1746; then his brother Fum' Alote ruled.

Buana Minhomuy

Buana Mku (Makua) Ndogo, known as Mdani Ngombe, king of Patta, as vassal of Maskat, 1745.

Ancestors unknown.

Fumo Omar, vizier and regent for Muani Mimi, 1746.

Fum' Alote, vizier and regent for Muani Mimi, † end of 1774.

Wisir, known as Sultan Ahmed, vassal of Ahmed of Mombas, 1807–11 (?).

(?)

Sulian Ahmed es Serir, appointed in 1822 by Seyyid Said of Maskat as regent, expelled, 1834, by Buana Wisir.

(?)

Fumo Bakari, appointed in 1834 by an agent of Seyyid Said of Maskat, seceded from Maskat in 1840, † shortly after 1840 (?); vizier: Buana Mataka.

Fum' Amadi, Sultan, 1774, from 1774 again dependent on Said ben Ahmed and Seyyid Said the Sultan of Maskat, † Jan. 28, 1807.

Fum' Alote, † in Mombas about 1807.

Buana Sheik, known as Fum' Alote es Serir, vassal of Seyyid Said of Maskat, † 1811 (?).

Buana Kombo ben Sheik, supported by Abdallah ben Ahmed of Mombas, expelled in 1822 by the Emin Hammed ben Ahmed, Admiral of Seyyid Said of Maskat.

Mohammed ben Sheik, known as Fum' Alote (?) at first under suzerainty of Seyyid Said of Maskat, independent, 1843–46, † 1856; viziers; Buana Mataka († 1848), then his son (at Siwi).

(?)

Simba, founded the kingdom of *Witu* on the continent on the river Dana, independent since 1866.

(After Johann Ludwig Krapf, M. Guillain, and Otto Kersten in section iii of Vol. III of "Baron Carl Claus von der Decken's Reisen in Ostafrika in den Jahren 1859–1865," Leipzig and Heidelberg, 1879.)

VIII. Osman el Msurui (Musrui), ancestor of the *Msara in Mombas*, of the tribe of the Ben el Kehelani.

Mohammed ben Osman el Msurui, made governor of Mombas, 1739, by the Jarebite Sef ben Sultan at Oman; independent of Imam Ahmed ben Said of Maskat, 1744–45: murdered by his emissaries, 1746.

Abdallah, ruler, 1775; † Dec. 18, 1782.

Ahmed, ruler, 1783, independent of Said ben Ahmed of Oman, under Wisir, Lord of Patta, expelled from Lamu by Seyyid Said in 1811; † 1814.

Abdallah, before Lamu, 1807–11, ruler of Mombas from 1814, independent master of the coast to Brava; † May 12, 1823.

Selim (Salem ?), ruler, 1826, vassal of Seyyid Said from 1828, though with interruptions; † spring of 1835.

Rashid, ruler of Mombas, 1836, vassal of Seyyid Said, 1837 (1839, capture of the Msara by Seyyid Chalid, Said's son).

Hammis, settled in 1861 in the Takaungu founded by Seyyid Said about 1823.

Mabruk, field-marshal of Abdallah, expelled from Patta, 1822, went with Owen, captain of English frigate, to Mauritius; † before 1833 (?).

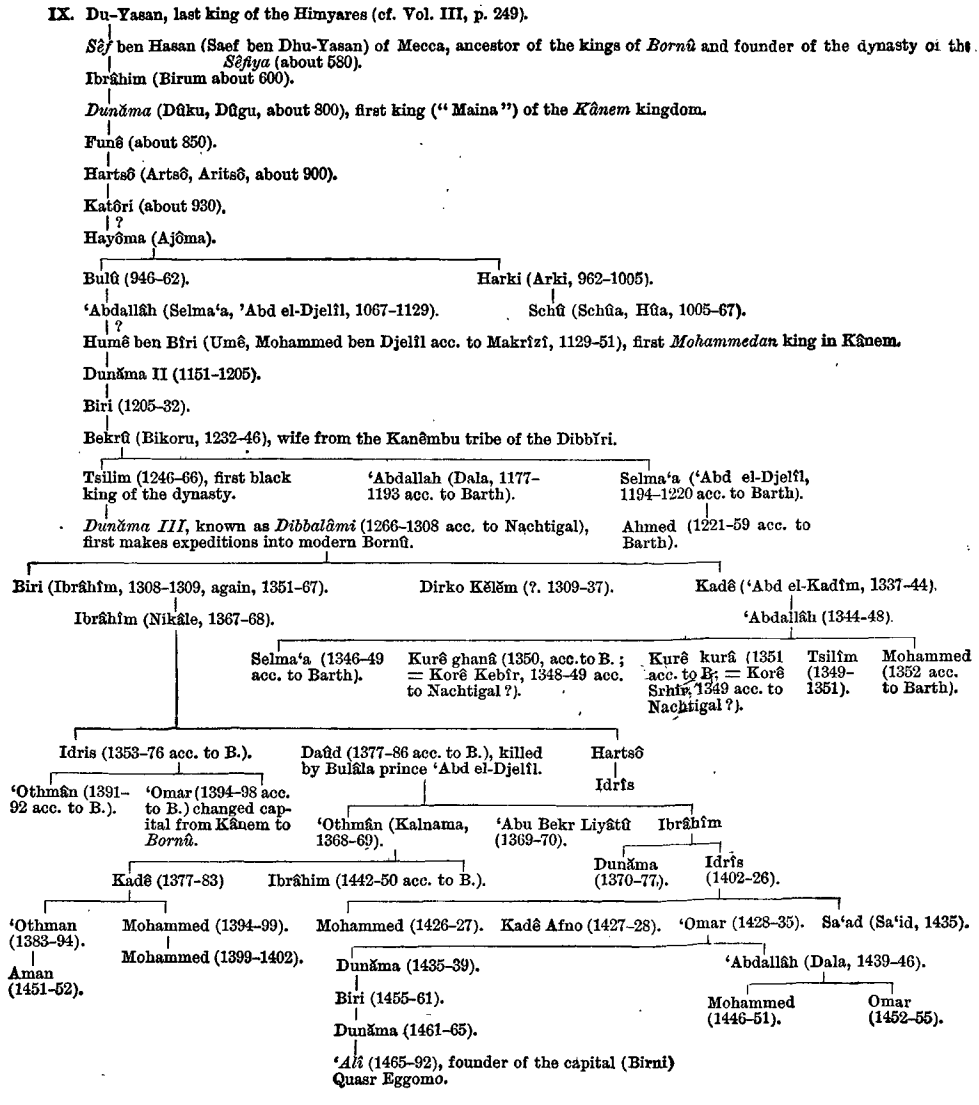
Rashid, † 1835, before Patta.

Mohammed, † 1832.

Ali, ruler of Mombas, 1746; murdered in 1753 by instigation of his cousin Massaud (i) ben Nasser (Nāsir); 1753–75.

Seliman, governor of Pembas; ruler of Mombas, 1823; under English protection, 1824–26.

(After M. Guillain and Otto Kersten in section iii of Vol. III of "Baron Carl Claus von der Decken's Reisen in Ostafrika in den Jahren 1859–1865," Leipzig and Heidelberg, 1879.)


IX. Du-Yasan, last king of the Himyares (cf. Vol. III, p. 249).
Sêf ben Hasan (Saef ben Dhu-Yasan) of Mecca, ancestor of the kings of Bornû and founder of the dynasty of the Sêfiya (about 580).
Ibrâhim (Birum about 600).
Dunăma (Dûku, Dûgu, about 800), first king ("Maina") of the Kânem kingdom.
Funê (about 850).
Hartsô (Artsô, Aritsô, about 900).
Katôri (about 930).
?
Hayôma (Ajôma).
Bulû (946–62).
Harki (Arki, 962–1005).
'Abdallâh (Selma'a, 'Abd el-Djelîl, 1067–1129).
Schû (Schûa, Hûa, 1005–67).
?
Humê ben Bîri (Umê, Mohammed ben Djelîl acc. to Makrîzî, 1129–51), first Mohammedan king in Kânem.
Dunăma II (1151–1205).
Biri (1205–32).
Bekrû (Bikoru, 1232–46), wife from the Kanêmbu tribe of the Dibbîri.
Tsilim (1246–66), first black king of the dynasty.
'Abdallah (Dala, 1177–1193 acc. to Barth).
Selma'a ('Abd el-Djelîl, 1194–1220 acc. to Barth).
Dunăma III, known as Dibbalâmi (1266–1308 acc. to Nachtigal), first makes expeditions into modern Bornû.
Ahmed (1221–59 acc. to Barth).
Biri (Ibrâhîm, 1308–1309, again, 1351–67).
Dirko Kĕlĕm (?. 1309–37).
Kadê ('Abd el-Kadîm, 1337–44).
Ibrâhîm (Nikâle, 1367–68).
'Abdallâh (1344–48).
Selma'a (1346–49 acc. to Barth).
Kurê ghanâ (1350, acc. to B.; = Korê Kebîr, 1348–49 acc. to Nachtigal ?).
Kurê kurâ (1351 acc. to B; = Korê Srhîr, 1349 acc. to Nachtigal ?).
Tsilîm (1349–1351).
Mohammed (1352 acc. to Barth).
Idris (1353–76 acc. to B.).
Daûd (1377–86 acc. to B.), killed by Bulâla prince 'Abd el-Djelîl.
Hartsô
Idrîs
'Othmân (1391–92 acc. to B.).
'Omar (1394–98 acc. to B.) changed capital from Kânem to Bornû.
'Othmân (Kalnama, 1368–69).
'Abu Bekr Liyâtû (1369–70).
Ibrâhîm
Dunăma (1370–77).
Idrîs (1402–26).
Kadê (1377–83)
Ibrâhim (1442–50 acc. to B.).
'Othman (1383–94).
Aman (1451–52).
Mohammed (1394–99).
Mohammed (1399–1402).
Mohammed (1426–27).
Kadê Afno (1427–28).
'Omar (1428–35).
Sa'ad (Sa'id, 1435).
Dunăma (1435–39).
Biri (1455–61).
Dunăma (1461–65).
'Alî (1465–92), founder of the capital (Birni) Quasr Eggomo.
'Abdallâh (Dala, 1439–46).
Mohammed (1446–51).
Omar (1452–55).

(Continued on next page.)

(Continuation of the previous page.)

'Ali (1465–92)

Idris 'Amâmi or Katakarmâbi (1492–1515), subdues the Bulâla.

Mohammed (1575–39).
Dunâma (1539–55).
'Abdallâh (1555–62).

'Ali (1562–63).
"Sultan" *Idris 'Amsâmi* or Alaôma (1563–1614, acc. to Barth 1571–1603).

Mohammed (1614–24). Ibrâhîm (1624–31). (Hâdj) Omar.

'Ali (1631–70).

Idris (1670–90) Dunâma (1690–1708)

Hâdj Dunâma (Hamdûn, 1708–31).

Mohammed (1731–46).
Dunâma es-Srhîr (Korêghana, 1746–49).

'Ali (1749–93).
Ahmed (1793–1810), last actual king of Bornû, of the Sêfîja dynasty.

Dunâma (1810–17), under the protection of the Faqîh Mohammed el-Amîn el-Kânemî, sheïk at Ngornu and founder of the new capital Kûka († 1835).

Mohammed

Ibrâhîm (1818–46), also under the protection of Sheïk Mohammed and (from 1835) of his son 'Omar.
'Ali ben Ibrâhîm, set up in 1846 by Mohammed Sherîf of Wadaï († 1847).

Mohammed el-Amîn *el-Kânemî*, sheik at Ngornu and founder of *Kûka* (1810–35), first member of the house of the Kânemîyîn.

[illegible] († 1[illegible])

'*Omar* (1855–82). 'Abd er-Rahmân (1853–54).

Bu Bekr (1882–85). Abâ Brahîm (1885–86). Abâ Hachim (1886–93), dethroned and executed by his nephew, Kiyari, on the advance of Rabah (1893).

Abâ Kiyâri (Kiari), † 1894 by Rabah.

Ahmar Scindda (Omar Scinda), a refugee in Sinder, restored to Bornu by the French, June, 1900; captured in Kamerun by the French, at the beginning of 1902, but released at Dikoa, and restored as Sultan of Bornû by the English Colonel Morland (Nigeria); is said to have reoccupied Kûka.

Gerbai (Halifa Yerab), set up by the French as Sultan in place of his brother (end of 1900 or beginning of 1901), expelled by Fad el-Allah in the middle of 1901, restored at same date.

(Chiefly after Part II of Gustav Nachtigal's Sahârâ und Sudân, Berlin, 1881.)

X. Ancestors unknown.

Dokko (Kênga), founder of a colony in the Sokôro district, Kênga.

Birni Bessê (1522–36) at *Massenja*, 1st king of *Bagirmi*.

Lubatko (1536–48).

Dokkôai (Irro), at Irr on the Ba Batshîkam.

Dalobirni.

Jungo Jug-geldu.

Nyugo Midwaia, † before 1568.

Guggun Darko.

Guggun Bîra.

Nyugo Kubudga.

Magîra established himself in Kirsûa.

Ngol Gaugo.

Mâto (1548–68).

'Abdallah (1568–1608).

'Omar (1608–25).

Dalai (1625–35).

Burkomanda (1635–65); title, Ngon 'Âîsa Bêlê.

'Abd er-Rahmân Wolf (1665–74).

Dalobirni (1674–80).

'Abd el-Qâdir Wolf (1680–1707), † 1723.

Wandja (1722–36).

Kindâna, † 1710.

Ngârba Belât at Maffaling, † 1742.

Mohammed el-Amîn *Hâdji* (1751–85).

Bar (1707–22).

Burkomanda Taâ 'Lêle (1736–41).

Loël (Loën, Lauën, 1741–51).

Belât Zâra, † about 1760.

'Abd er-Rahmân Gauranga I (1785–1806), † by Sultan 'Abd el-Kerîm Sabûn of Wadaï (cf. Table XI).

Burkomanda (1807–46, 'Othman Bugŏman).

Ngâr Murba Bîra (1806–1807).

Ngâr Daba Hâdjî.

Ngâr Killo. Gauranga.

Hâdji (III, 808), † about 1810.

Ngâr Nyilmi.

'Abd er-Rahmân, 1871, king of Bagirmi by King 'Alî of Wadaï.

'Abd el-Qâdîr (Kader, 1846–58), visited by Heinrich Barth, † by the Faqîh Ibrâhîm Scherîf ed-Dîn († 1859), title Mâhâdî (he who is led on the right path by God).

Ngâr Murba, † 1858.

Ngâr Daba, † 1858.

Mohammedu (1858–about 1885), title Abû Sekkin, expelled from Massenja, 1871, by King 'Alî of Wadâï (cf. Table XI).

4 other sons.

Abd er-Rahmân Gauranga II (*Gaurang*) brought up in Wadaï; king about 1885; expelled by Rabah, 1893 and 1899; restored under French protection, 1897 and beginning of 1900.

Ngâr Killo, † 1871.

(Chiefly after Part II of Gustav Nachtigal's Sahârâ und Sûdân, Berlin, 1881.)

XI. Abbâs.

'Abdallâh.

Sâlih, ancestor of the Dja'lîya at Scheua. in the Nile valley.

Dê'ûd, king of the heathen Tundjer at Kadama in Wadâï.

Meïram Aîsa.

Yâme, settled at Debba (N. E. of Wâra).

'Abd el-Kerîm, 1st *Mohammedan ruler of Wadaï* at Wâra (1635–55).

Charût (1655–78).

Charif (1678–81), † by the Tâma-Sultan Milbis at Nyere.

Ya'qûb Arûs (1681–1707).

Charût es srhîr (1707–47).

Djôda (1747–95): title, Mohammed es-Sâlih, es-Sârif or Charîf Timan.

Sabûn Gândigin.

Sâlih Derret (1795–1803).

Tambe.

'Abd-el Kerîm: title *Sabûn* (1803–13), in 1806 kills 'Abd er-Rahmân Gauranga I of Bagirmi. See Table X.

Radama, † 1804.

Mohammed Scherîf flees to Dar Fur, takes title of 'Izz Eddin, and then Scherîf el-Hâdj.

Asad, † 1803.

'Abd el-Jelîl.

Tirâb.

Mohammed.

Ahmed.

Othmân.

Mohammed Busâta, † 1813.

Yûsef, title Chorêffn (Charîffn; 1813–29) at Tara.

Idrîs.

Seïf en-Nasr.

Dayog.

Djâfer.

Radâma.

Râqib, 1829.

'Izz ed-dîn, changes names with his cousin, and calls himself *Mohammed Scherîf* ibn-Sâlih-Derret (1835–58); the murderer of Vogel.

'Abd el-'Azîz (1829–35).

Mohammed (Tintalak) in Dar Fur, missing since 1861.

'Ali (1856–76).

Sulêmân.

Seïf en-Nasr.

Ahmed since 1868 in Kûka with 'Omar el-Kânemi (cf. Table IX).

Yûsef (1876–middle of 1898).

Ahmed ben-Ali (beginning of 1901 to beginning of 1902).

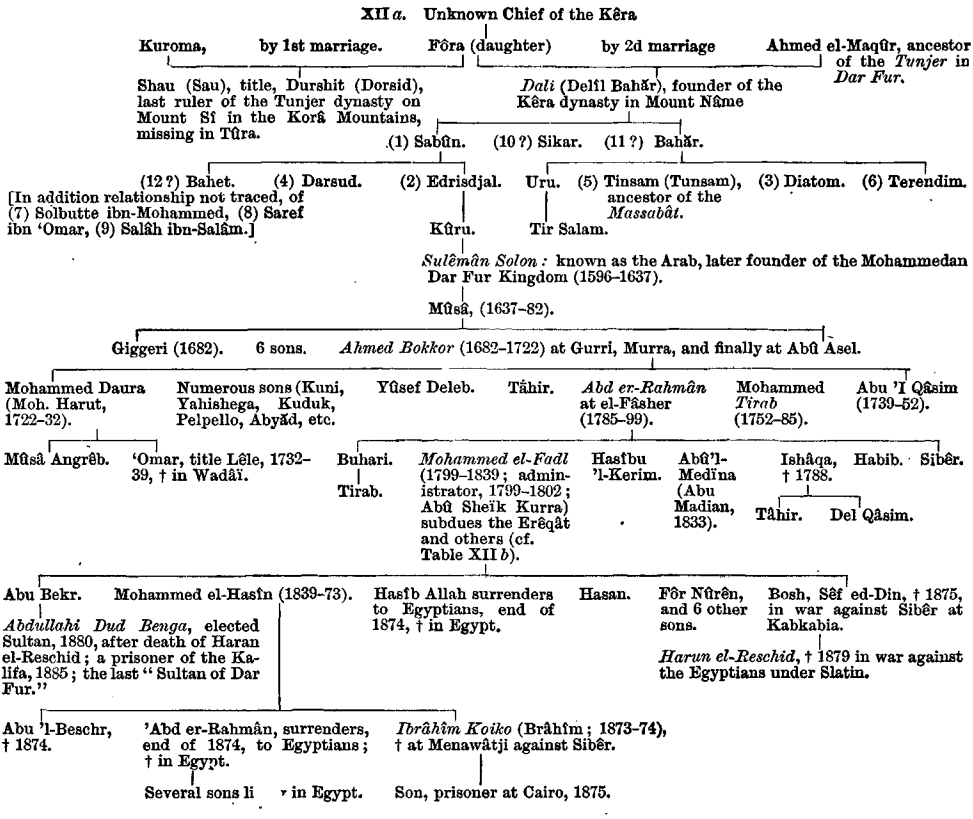
Ibrâhîm (middle of 1898–beginning of 1901).

Adam (1835, administrator of kingdom; Kamkolak Abû Ommi).

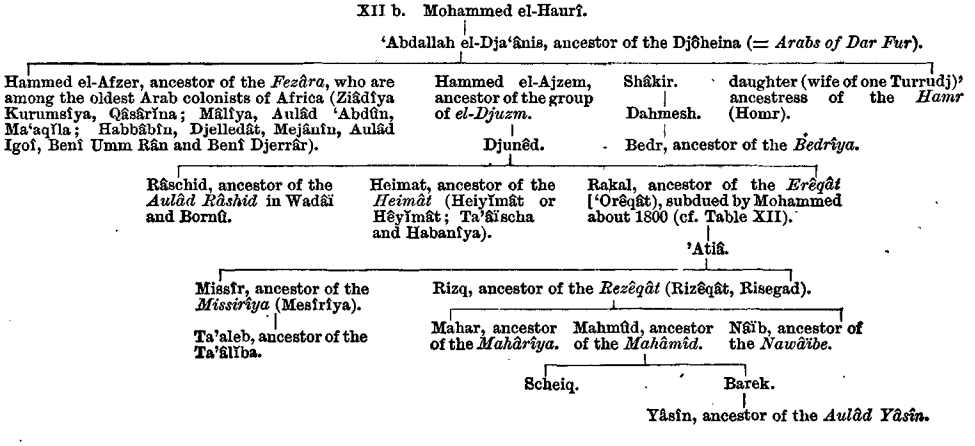
8 other sons.

Mohammed Dudu (from beginning of 1902).

(Chiefly after G. Nachtigal's Sahârâ und Sudân, Part III, edited by E. Groddeck, Leipzig, 1889.)


XII a. Unknown Chief of the Kêra
Kuroma, by 1st marriage. Fôra (daughter) by 2d marriage Ahmed el-Maqûr, ancestor of the Tunjer in Dar Fur.
Shau (Sau), title, Durshit (Dorsid), last ruler of the Tunjer dynasty on Mount Sî in the Korâ Mountains, missing in Tûra.
Dali (Delîl Bahâr), founder of the Kêra dynasty in Mount Nâme
(1) Sabûn. (10 ?) Sikar. (11 ?) Bahâr.
(12 ?) Bahet. (4) Darsud. (2) Edrisdjal. Uru. (5) Tinsam (Tunsam), ancestor of the Massabât. (3) Diatom. (6) Terendim.
[In addition relationship not traced, of (7) Solbutte ibn-Mohammed, (8) Saref ibn 'Omar, (9) Salâh ibn-Salâm.]
Kûru. Tir Salam.
Sulêmân Solon: known as the Arab, later founder of the Mohammedan Dar Fur Kingdom (1596–1637).
Mûsâ, (1637–82).
Giggeri (1682). 6 sons. Ahmed Bokkor (1682–1722) at Gurri, Murra, and finally at Abû Asel.
Mohammed Daura (Moh. Harut, 1722–32). Numerous sons (Kuni, Yahishega, Kuduk, Pelpello, Abyâd, etc. Yûsef Deleb. Tâhir. Abd er-Rahmân at el-Fâsher (1785–99). Mohammed Tirab (1752–85). Abu 'l Qâsim (1739–52).
Mûsâ Angrêb. 'Omar, title Lêle, 1732–39, † in Wadâï. Buhari. Tirab. Mohammed el-Fadl (1799–1839; administrator, 1790–1802; Abû Sheïk Kurra) subdues the Erêqât and others (cf. Table XII b). Hasîbu 'l-Kerim. Abû'l-Medîna (Abu Madian, 1833). Ishâqa, † 1788. Habib. Sibêr. Tâhir. Del Qâsim.
Abu Bekr. Mohammed el-Hasîn (1839–73). Hasîb Allah surrenders to Egyptians, end of 1874, † in Egypt. Hasan. Fôr Nûrên, and 6 other sons. Bosh, Sêf ed-Din, † 1875, in war against Sibêr at Kabkabia.
Abdullahi Dud Benga, elected Sultan, 1880, after death of Haran el-Reschid; a prisoner of the Kalifa, 1885; the last "Sultan of Dar Fur."
Harun el-Reschid, † 1879 in war against the Egyptians under Slatin.
Abu 'l-Beschr, † 1874. 'Abd er-Rahmân, surrenders, end of 1874, to Egyptians; † in Egypt. Ibrâhîm Koiko (Brâhîm; 1873–74), † at Menawâtji against Sibêr.
Several sons li in Egypt. Son, prisoner at Cairo, 1875.

(Partly after G. Nachtigal's Sahârâ und Sûdân, III, edited by E. Groddeck, Leipzig, 1889; partly after Rudolf Slatin's Fire and Sword in the Sudan, Leipzig, 1896.)


XII b. Mohammed el-Haurî.
'Abdallah el-Dja'ânis, ancestor of the Djôheina (= Arabs of Dar Fur).
Hammed el-Afzer, ancestor of the Fezâra, who are among the oldest Arab colonists of Africa (Ziâdîya Kurumsîya, Qâsârîna; Mâllya, Aulâd 'Abdûn, Ma'aqîla; Habbâbîn, Djelledât, Mejânîn, Aulâd Igoî, Benî Umm Rân and Benî Djerrâr).
Hammed el-Ajzem, ancestor of the group of el-Djuzm. Djunêd.
Shâkir. Dahmesh. daughter (wife of one Turrudj)' ancestress of the Hamr (Homr). Bedr, ancestor of the Bedrîya.
Râschid, ancestor of the Aulâd Râshid in Wadâï and Bornû.
Heimat, ancestor of the Heimât (HeiyÎmât or HêyÎmât; Ta'âîscha and Habanîya).
Rakal, ancestor of the Erêqât ['Orêqât), subdued by Mohammed about 1800 (cf. Table XII).
'Atiâ.
Missîr, ancestor of the Missirîya (Mesîrîya).
Ta'aleb, ancestor of the Ta'âlîba.
Rizq, ancestor of the Rezêqât (Rizêqât, Risegad).
Mahar, ancestor of the Mahârîya. Mahmûd, ancestor of the Mahâmîd. Nâïb, ancestor of the Nawâïbe.
Scheiq. Barek.
Yâsîn, ancestor of the Aulâd Yâsîn.

(After the third part of Gustav Nachtigal's Sahârâ und Sûdân, edited by E. Groddeck, Leipzig, 1889.)

XIII *a*. Sriadza (Adza), 1st king of *Aṅlǫ* (Anglo) in the *Eweland* (Slave Coast) after the emigration of the Eweawo from Nǫtsie (Nodsie, 5 days' journey from the coast); founder of the Adzǫviwo dynasty about 1700.

2. Nditsi, son of Adza's sister Ahuma; also of the royal house of the Adzǫviwo on the father's side.

3. Nyage of the royal family of the Batewo, came — voluntarily (?) — to Genyi or Whlawu.

4. Hato of the Adzǫviwo family.

5. Atiasa, ditto, waged war with the Danes at Keta, 1780.

6. Gbagba, born in Genyi, grandson of Nyage, killed by the Aṅlǫern (?).

7. Amedǫ (Kpeglâ), third king, and still reigning from the Bate family: deprived of his independence by England, 1885.

(After an unpublished communication by letter from the missionary C. Spiess in Bremen, founded upon the following statement of the Ewe Christian Stefano Hiob Kwadzo):

Sriadza is said to have been the first king after the exodus from Nǫtsie. He led his subjects from thence to the coast. He is said to have been a good and powerful ruler. On his arrival at the coast, he discovered that his royal chair of ivory was missing: he left it in Nǫtsie as a present of his nephew Fui. The latter was careful to send it back to Sriadza. Hence originated the law that the nephew should inherit from the uncle.

Under Sriadza's rule, many wars are said to have taken place. Sriadza's name is a family name to the present day, and in the royal family the adherents of the Sriadza are known as Adzǫviwo.

Nditsi is said to have been the second king of the Aṅlǫer: his mother's name was Ahuma; she was a sister of the Sriadza. His father was also of the royal family of the Adzǫviwo. Nditsi is said to have been a good king. Under him the custom was introduced of beating the drum near an Aṅlǫer who was heavily in debt, the man being then put to death.

Nyage is named as the third king of the Aṅlǫer. By extraction he was of the royal family of the Batewo. His reputation is exceedingly bad. On the death of King Nditsi, he was put upon the throne as being a good ruler, but he did not maintain his reputation. The Aṅlǫer say that a great plague of locusts occurred in his reign. He did not finish his life in Aṅlǫ; important business called him to Genyi or Whlawu, and he did not return.

Hato, the fourth king, now came to the throne. All were pleased with his good government. He was also of the Sriadza family: no one has anything but good to say of him.

Atiasa succeeded him as the fifth king of Aṅlǫ. Being of the royal family of the Hato, he was also of the noble Sriadza family. He was much beloved of his people. Under his rule broke out the war between the Danes and Aṅlǫer in Keta. He was famous as a warrior, before becoming king.

Gbagba, the sixth king of Aṅlǫ, is said to have been a grandson of Nyage. He was born in Genyi, and was placed on the throne by the Chief Achǫla. A famine broke out in his reign. His behaviour is said to have been unworthy of a king: he was addicted to drink and wandering from hut to hut; he was one of the Bate family. The Aṅlǫer made a compact to appoint no other king of the Bate family. It is told that the Aṅlǫer themselves put him to death because of his misgovernment, and as he was not of the Aṅlǫ race.

Amedǫ or *Kpeglā*, the reigning king, is the seventh of the line. He was also of the Bate royal family. When the assembly was held in Aṅlǫ to elect a king, great search was made for another royal family, and none was found. Although the Adzǫviwo desired a man of their own race, the elders of the Aṅlǫ were opposed thereto. Amedǫ is the third king of the Bate family. In his reign the English came and burnt the capital of Aṅlǫ, which was a great grief to the Aṅlǫer. They scorned their king and said, because a Bate reigns over us, no "world" comes to us, *i.e.*, we lack prosperity.

Although not king, *Namlapa*, the Aṅlǫer, was formerly considered the greatest warrior: he is said to have waged many wars with the Blutǫern. At the present day, the greatest warrior is *Tenge*, the first chief of the Anyako (beyond the lagoon of Keta): at the head of the people of Atǫkō, Whuti, and Srōgbe he bravely, though in vain, defended his country against the English in the battle of Whuti; he lived 14 years alone in Togo (later German territory), and was again restored to the good graces of the English in May, 1900, in Accra, as "king of Anyako."

XIII *b*. Viëso, 1st king of Avenǫ, the district beyond the Keta lagoon on the frontier of Aṅlǫ; he led his people into the district they now occupy from Ave (so called after the heathen god Avego).

2. Akudiagbo, son of the Tsimani of Dǫfǫ.

3. Sakpaku, reigning king.

The people of Avenǫ are divided into two parts, and have joined with the descendants of the Kponiadzi, Dafonyami, Tǫdzienu, Klokōwe, and Gafatsikǫwe — Masi tribes, who came to Whute in Avenō in the service of the secret religion of Yewe.

(After an unpublished communication by letter of the missionary C. Spiess, also founded upon the narrative of the above-named convert.)

IV

EGYPT

By CARL NIEBUHR

1. ANCIENT EGYPT

THE African continent suffers from no lack of great rivers. The theory however, that extensive river systems are an indispensable geographical condition if primitive peoples are to initiate and develop a civilization of their own, has proved as fallacious in the case of the Dark Continent as in that of South America (Vol. I, p. 286). A special feature of both land masses is the fact that they are connected with their neighbouring continents by a narrow isthmus. In each case, when we pass the isthmus, we meet with a civilization which may be described as a continuation of that existing in the main continent, and we may therefore conclude that for the development of this civilization a primary condition was the existence of these natural passages; compared with these, the favourable character of the countries into which they led was, though indispensable, of wholly secondary importance. We cannot speak of Egyptian civilization as African in the sense in which the early Babylonian, the Chinese, and the Indian civilizations can be called Asiatic. A similar distinction may perhaps be drawn in the case of the centres of civilization in South America. The Spaniards made their appearance there at an epoch which may be considered as parallel to that of the Assyrian invasion of Egypt. The conquerors came into collision with a kind of political reflux from the south. It is supposed that the Inca kingdom established itself in some southern centre of early civilization, and then pushed northward upon a path already trodden by others. Similarly, in later Assyrian times, Egyptian civilization was thought to be of pure African origin, and to have advanced northward along the Nile from Meroë of Ethiopia. The deductions which have been drawn from either case clearly depend entirely upon the hypothetical occurrence of the earliest of those national conflicts, the investigation of which has only recently begun. Investigators have, however, successfully deciphered the Egyptian monuments, and their range of knowledge has been extended by the aid of ethnology and the science of comparative archæology. The early recognition of the fact that we are to a certain extent investigating the forerunners of our own civilization has proved an additional stimulus to enquiry. Of these advantages the most important is lacking to American antiquity, though the silent memorials of past civilizations in the Cordilleras display in many respects a mysterious similarity to the monuments of the Nile valley (cf. Vol. I, p. 167).

The work of excavation in Egypt has always been zealously pursued and always with some result; but activity in this direction has been doubled within the last ten years, and under vastly improved methods. The chief success has been the acquisition of greater knowledge of the earliest antiquity. The begin-

nings of civilization, a term synonymous, in the present state of our knowledge, with the beginnings of the "Old Kingdom," have been greatly illuminated by numerous, and for the most part unexpected, discoveries. But among these no evidence of progress proceeding from other than Asiatic sources is to be found.

A. Ancient Egypt

(*a*) *The Country.* — In prehistoric times the habitable Egypt of to-day formed a long, narrow-shaped gulf extending from the Mediterranean to the first cataract; its size and configuration are comparable with that of the Red Sea, if it be remembered that this neighbouring gulf is shorter and turned in the opposite direction. In a comparatively short time this gulf was filled up by the heavy deposits of silt which the Nile still continues to bring down, every year increasing its delta. In the interior of the country this alluvial deposit now has an average depth of about thirty-five feet, in the delta regions a depth of forty-four feet. During the months of low water, April and May, the river falls some fourteen feet below the level of its banks at Cairo, and almost twenty-eight feet at Thebes. The rainfall in Egypt is of small amount, and were it not for the regular flooding of the Nile valley in October a country now arable would be at the most a region of arid steppes. The continued regularity of the Nile floods is due to the fact that the bed of the stream lies at a higher level than the valley on either side of it. Thus in Egypt the course of the Nile by its own deposits has formed a ridge in the middle of the valley along which it flows; here then we have a river that avoids the line of depression, which under ordinary circumstances would form its bed. An idea may be formed of the effects caused by the deposits of the Nile upon the general level of the country within a single period of historical time, by comparing the forty-six feet of water now necessary to flood the valley with the thirty-two feet required during the Roman period.

At Assuan (the Sunnu of ancient Egypt and the Greek Syene), in lat. 24° N., and therefore close to the tropic of Cancer, the Nile leaves Nubia and begins its lower course, first breaking through a granite barrier which has thrust itself between the ridges of red sandstone that extend along the sides of the valley to this point. The fragments of rock in the river bed, large enough at this point to form islands, render the navigation of this first cataract extremely difficult (cf. for the other cataracts, p. 547). At a distance of thirty-eight miles below Assuan, at Gebel Selseleh, the sandstone formation draws nearer to the course of the Nile, narrowing the river bed to the breadth of three hundred yards. When this gorge has been passed, the fall of the river is very gradual, from Assuan to Cairo barely three hundred feet, and from thence to the coast thirty-two feet, so that the river is free to extend as it will. The mountain chains to the right and left retreat further and further from the stream, and at Edfu change to a tertiary chalk formation. At Luxor, the site of ancient Thebes, the arable land of the valley is over six miles in breadth. A short distance further on begins the system of irrigation canals. The eastern mountain chain preserves its precipitous character until it joins near Cairo the Mokattam range, which there takes a turn to the west. The rolling hills on the western side permit the passage of the so-called Joseph's Canal (Bahr Yusuf), the most ancient of all the irrigation streams of any size, which branches off from the river in lat. 27° 5′ N., and after flowing parallel to the Nile for a dis-

tance of over four hundred and fifty miles, passes the line of hills and creates the habitable district of the Fayûm. In early times this western dependency of Egypt was watered by a great stagnant lake, the "lake Moeris" of the Greeks (p. 622); in modern times the canal now flows further to the west, into the brackish "lake of horns" (Birket el-Kerûn, one hundred and thirty feet below the sea level), although its water still continues to fertilise a considerable portion of the Fayûm.

Some twelve miles below Cairo the Nile, which there attains a breadth of over three hundred feet, divides into the two branches by which it now reaches the sea, — the Rosetta Nile (Raschîd) and the Damietta Nile (Damyat), at which point the Delta begins. In remote antiquity this district consisted almost entirely of marsh land; at the present day it has an area of thirteen thousand five hundred square miles, a coast line of one hundred and eighty miles in length, and is intersected by a net-work of streams with a total length of eight thousand four hundred miles. The regulation of the Nile floods, a difficult task in this low-lying region, was first attempted in the nineteenth century by the construction of the barrage works, a great dam at the southern extremity of the Delta. Of the seven chief mouths as known to classical antiquity by which the Nile flows into the Mediterranean, the Bolbitine corresponds with the Rosetta Nile; the western arm, the Canopic, was replaced in 1820 by the Mahmudiyeh Canal, which flows into the lagoon near Alexandria. To the east of the Rosetta Nile follow in order the Sebennytic, the Phatnic (the Damietta), the Mendesian, the Tanitic, and the Pelusian; the three last named form a connection between Lake Menzaleh and the sea, but correspond to the mouths of like name which enter its southern shore.

To the east Egypt is separated from Asia by the Suez Canal, which was opened in 1869. It crosses a number of salt lakes, which have existed between the Nile and this point from the earliest times, to join the Wadi Tumilât at Ismailia, an ancient fresh-water canal which had fallen into decay at an early date.

The land which is fertilised by all these channels from Assuan to the borders of the Delta has an area in round numbers of eighteen thousand five hundred square miles, that is, a little more than Belgium. The population, however, is at least a third more numerous, numbering nine million seven hundred and thirty-nine thousand four hundred and five inhabitants, according to the census of 1897. The total area of the country, a large proportion of which consists of the barren districts of the Arabian desert (between the Nile and the Red Sea) and the Libyan desert, which loses itself in the Sahara on the west, amounts, according to the calculations of the Egyptian general staff, to about six hundred and forty thousand square miles.

The names under which Egypt has been known to neighbouring peoples in the course of history have never yet been satisfactorily explained. The native name for the country was "Kemt," in later forms "Kemi" and "Chemi," signifying the land of dark soil; the ancient Egyptians called themselves simply Rometu, "the people." Later investigations have made it probable that the name Egypt may have been derived from the native name of the town or the temple precinct of Memphis, Ha-ka-ptah. As early as 1400 B. C. the country was known to foreigners under the form "Hikupta." The Semitic peoples called the country Misr, or (in Hebrew) Misrajim. The kings of Egypt, at any rate those of the eighteenth dynasty, in their letters to foreign powers generally styled themselves rulers of "Misri." However, the origin and the meaning of the word, which to-day in its

Arabic form Masr denotes both the country and its capital, Cairo, remain to be explained.

The same uncertainty prevails with regard to the name Neilos, by which the Greeks called the river. The ancient Egyptians called the Nile Hapi; but this word then became a mythological term, and was only used in poetical language, somewhat as the term Father Rhine is now employed in Germany. In popular language its place was taken by Atur (river), from which the Coptic, the last surviving dialect of ancient Egypt, has preserved the form Jero or Jaro, which probably resembled the term universally in use. The Israelites called the Nile Jeôr, the Assyrians, Jaru; and in Syria the Delta region was known about 1380 B. C. as the country of "Jarimuta," of which word the second part still awaits explanation.

(*b*) *The Earliest Inhabitants and the Beginnings of Civilization.* — Egyptologists are now agreed that ancient Egyptian civilization originated in the east, but opinions are still divided as to the origin of the earliest inhabitants of the land. Both the negroes and the western neighbours of the Delta, the Libyan nations, have been considered possible progenitors; but the fundamental objection to this theory, that the Egyptian language must have been of Asiatic origin, no longer holds good, and in modern times has been displaced by the theory of an Arabic source. A number of important points, however, have not as yet received proper examination. In the first place, the negroes are no longer considered to be the earliest inhabitants of Central Africa; it is much more probable that they crossed the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb in remote antiquity by the path which the "Hamites" (the Nubians, Bishari, Galla, and Somali) followed after them. With the exception of the Mediterranean coast, the only points at which the invasion of Egypt by a horde or army of any size is at all possible are the former Isthmus of Suez, the Libyan border of the Delta on the opposite side, and finally the pass of Assuan in the south. In antiquity the Nile valley was absolutely closed against the advance of large armies from the east, from Cairo upward, and the same remark applies to the west. Oases, it is true, are by no means entirely wanting, but their situation is not such as to have permitted a direct attack upon the pass into the valley between Assuan and Fayûm.

In the age of the Ptolemys and the Romans the eastern desert was inhabited by a nomadic race, known to the Egyptians who wrote in Greek as Trogodytes (not Troglodytes, which would mean cave dwellers). It was only in the region between the Nile and the Red Sea, where they were secure from any persistent pursuit or expulsion, that the remnants of the most ancient of any civilized races of Northeast Africa were able to maintain their primitive existence, after the desirable lands in the river valley had been wrested from them by conquerors in a higher stage of civilization. Artemidorus (about 270 B. C.) writes as follows upon the habits of this people: "The Trogodytes lead a nomadic life; their several tribes are ruled by chiefs of unlimited power. Women and children are held in common; only the families of chiefs are excepted. Whoever defiles the wife of a chieftain must pay a fine of one sheep. The women take great care in blackening their eyebrows. Shells are worn round the neck as a charm against witchcraft. Battles occur for the possession of the pasture lands; the conflict is begun with fists, continued with stones, and should a wound be inflicted with these weapons, arrows and knives are brought into play; thereupon the women rush between them

and reconcile them by their appeals. Their food consists of flesh and bones, which are mingled together and crushed, wrapped in skins and then roasted and [or ?] prepared in various ways by the cooks, whom they call unclean. Thus they devour not only the flesh, but also the skin and bones; they also partake of blood mingled with milk. The drink of the great majority is an infusion of buckthorn; the chiefs, however, drink a kind of mead, for which purpose honey is pressed from a certain flower. . . . They invariably go naked, hung about with a skin and carrying a club. They are not only mutilated, but some of them are also circumcised, like the Egyptians. Some of the Trogodytes bury their dead, fastening the legs of the corpse to the neck with withes of buckthorn; they then joyfully and with laughter pile stones upon the corpse until it is hidden from view. Then they set up a goat's horn upon the pile and go their way. They travel by night, and hang bells upon the male beasts of burden, in order to frighten away wild animals by the noise. As a protection against these they also carry torches and bows, and remain on the watch to protect their flocks all night long; they then sing a certain song around their fires."

From the above observation concerning blackened eyebrows it follows that the Trogodytes were a comparatively fair race; at any rate that they were not negroes. Community of women, and therefore naturally of children, points to a stage of development in family life which has only recently been described from a scientific point of view; in this case, the collective interference of the women becomes a determining factor in tribal quarrels. Probably we have here an instance of "Punalua marriage." The exclusive right to private marriage possessed by the chiefs is probably to be regarded as a sign that the system was decaying. Similar modes of burial are to be found far and wide in Central and Southern Africa at the present day. The goat's horn placed above the grave (cf. Fig. 3 of the plate facing p. 206 of Vol. I) was the "totem" of the deceased, which he wore while alive, suspended from his neck together with the shells. Hence it may be inferred that the Trogodytes, from an ethnological point of view, were a race intermediate between the Hottentots and Bushmen. The connection between the Trogodytes and the primitive population of Central Africa, a fair people of small stature, is further confirmed by our better knowledge of the pygmy races at the sources of the Nile and in the Congo district. The existence of these latter was well known to the ancients, and individual representatives occasionally made their way to Egypt. Whatever changes may have taken place in the distribution of the African peoples, such changes were invariably to the disadvantage of the primitive pygmy races of Africa. A proof, however, that the pygmies once inhabited the southern Delta, and its natural continuation, the Nile valley, is to be seen in the fact of their otherwise inexplicable presence in Madagascar (together with their Wasimba remains and graves formed of heaps of stones, a custom unknown to the other indigenous races), which again is evidence for their wide ethnographic distribution in ancient times.

The first appearance of foreign invaders in Egypt, as also that of the negroes in Central Africa, belongs to the dark ages of pre-history. But there must have been a time at which such attacks, which were as a rule made from the northeast, were repeated with greater vigour; otherwise the invaders would never have attained the important success which they had clearly won at the epoch of the earliest historical monuments, for these show that a closely organised Egyptian State was even then in existence.

Only a few years ago, enquiry into the origin of Egypt and its civilization was entirely founded upon the list of kings drawn up by the priest Manetho (p. 599) about 260 B. C. According to this list, Menes, the first king of the whole country, who was indeed preceded by ten unnamed human rulers, began in his person the "first dynasty," a fixed starting point which had been accepted by learned Egyptian writers long before Manetho. The list given in the "papyrus of kings" in the Turin Museum, dating probably from 1500 B. C., also begins with Menes (Egyptian, "Mena"), and names as his predecessors the Shes-u-Hor, that is, the successors of the god Horus. These then were demi-gods; they also appear in Manetho's list under the name of "Nekyes," though separated from Menes by the ten human rulers previously mentioned. The chief account of this monarch states that he came from Thinis, the district round Abydos, somewhat to the north of Thebes, and proceeded to Memphis, where he established his capital. Thus the region considered in historical times as the original settlement lay in the south. This hypothesis, in itself highly probable, has been entirely confirmed by the recent excavations undertaken by W. M. Flinders Petrie at Tuch and Ballas, and in 1899 at Hou by E. Amélineau, and J. de Morgan at Negada and at Abydos itself, — points at no great distance from one another on the west bank of the Nile, — as well as by the work of J. E. Quibell at Kom el-Ahmar (Hieraconpolis) in 1898 (see the map, "Egypt, Dar Fur, and Abyssinia"). On the other hand, the list of kings given by Manetho is not only very full, but also begins at the right place, and provides connecting links between a number of figures which emerge dimly from the darkness of a remoter antiquity. The historical value of the connection is, however, extremely doubtful.

All the above-mentioned excavations are grouped around the king's tomb at Negada and the remains of the primitive buildings at Hieraconpolis; with these must be connected the discoveries made in the extensive burial-grounds at Ballas and Tuch, close by Negada, found by Petrie in 1895. The great tomb of Negada proved to be an erection of sun-dried bricks, the remains of which now form a buried rubbish heap some one hundred and sixty feet long and eighty feet wide. The interior was divided into chambers, the largest of which occupied the centre. Here the body of the king was laid out upon the bier; the other chambers, which decreased in size as they approached the outer walls, contained the sacrificial offerings. The vessels holding the latter were for the most part broken into fragments on the occasion of the burial ceremony. The whole building, and the central chamber in particular, was then destroyed by a great fire, so that it is still a matter of doubt whether we have here to deal with a fire necropolis similar to that of the ancient Babylonians, or with the traces of a later destruction, which did not perhaps take place before post-Christian times. The theory that the body was immediately consumed is supported by the discovery of five smaller, but otherwise similar edifices, one at Om el-Gaab ("the mother of pots," so called from the numerous potsherds there found), and four others at Abydos, excavated by Amélineau in 1896.

The field graves which contained human remains at the time of their discovery afford evidence of two different modes of burial. By the method now recognised as the more primitive, bodies were laid simply in the earth or within a lining of bricks, wrapped in reed mats or hides and placed in an "embryonal" position, the body being fixed in a sitting posture, the knees drawn up to the chest and the arms

bent, so that the hands cover the face. These bodies were invariably laid on the left side and never seated upright. Petrie found that in the majority of cases the heads were pointed toward the south and the faces turned to the west. The second method of burial did not attempt to preserve the body in its entirety, and although contemporary with the above, nevertheless affords indications of certain ethnographical differences then existing among the inhabitants of the Egypt of that epoch. In this latter case the graves, sometimes oval, sometimes rectangular, are often lined with burnt or sun-dried clay, and contain the remains of skeletons promiscuously thrown together and frequently incomplete. According to G. Schweinfurth we have here to deal with a secondary form of burial, similar to that in use at the present day among many African tribes. The deceased is first buried in the hut in which he dwelt during his lifetime; after a certain lapse of time the body is disinterred, the more or less fragmentary remains being laid in a new and permanent place of burial.

The most salient features of the civilization of this early period are the facts that the bodies are not mummified — in all probability the art of embalming the dead was then unknown; further, that this people were in a state of transition from the later neolithic to the bronze age; and finally, that the implements of the period already showed a considerable development of artistic skill. Together with numerous beautifully worked implements of stone, including knives of high quality, bronze utensils, and objects of ivory, linen cloth and gold ornaments have been discovered. The greatest progress, however, is shown in the pottery of the time, although the large vessels of every kind of pattern show no trace of turning on the potter's wheel. Furthermore, it is clear that basket-making was here the parent art of clay-moulding, and therefore one of the earliest acquired of human accomplishments. The Egyptians of the Negada period also gave the surface of their pottery a granitic appearance; their panel ornamentation showed a preference for spirals, wave and N lines, as well as for rows of triangles, a characteristically African design. Their representations of men and animals show that their art had already reached a high stage of development. The ostrich often appears depicted walking in single file and as often at full speed; the same animal is also represented in the ancient wall-chisellings (graffiti) at Arb-Assuan, a few miles below the first cataract, according to Alfred Wiedemann, the most southerly point at which sculptures of the Negada period have been discovered. Pictures of the camel or the horse nowhere appear; the cat also seems to be unrepresented, while elephants constantly recur, and are sometimes boldly depicted as balanced on the mountain tops. Antelopes, goats, bulls, asses, and geese, lions, hippopotami, crocodiles, jackals, dogs, scorpions, all kinds of fish, and finally the sparrow-hawk, the bird sacred to Horus, are the chief representatives of the animal world in the art of this period. In contrast to the drawing in profile hitherto known as "Egyptian," an attempt is made at foreshortening, movement being indicated by curving the legs, and in the case of the ostriches by the oarlike posture of the wings. The measured stride of men and animals characteristic of the later art does not appear in the drawings of this period. Scorpions and crocodiles stretch their legs out sideways with a resultant lifelike appearance of crawling which is not to be found in later work. It may also be mentioned that the Nile river-boats are pictured quite as often as one would have expected.

Of particular interest are the tall sacrificial urns, often four or five feet high,

tapering to a point at the bottom, and the slate tablets used as amulets for the dead. The urns differ only in their elongated form from those in use in Egypt at the present day, but the means of stoppering employed is worthy of mention. The narrow orifice was covered with a disc of burnt clay upon which were placed two bell-shaped lids, also of clay, one fitting over the other, the stopper having thus the appearance of a sugar-loaf. Before firing, designs were printed upon the lids by means of circular seals; naturally the impressions upon the innermost lid are generally in the better state of preservation. The designs most numerous are the Horus names of the kings (indicated by the picture of a sparrow-hawk above the inscription), pictures of animals, and various ornaments. The art of writing, therefore, though but little practised in the early days of the Negada period, was not unknown; proper names could, at any rate, be inscribed. The amulets of slate are called "palettes," because their pictorial designs, usually consisting of animals, sometimes show traces of colouring. Remnants of rouge paint have also been found in the graves which contain bodies buried in a crouching position; in these graves alone have such "palettes" been discovered. The tablet of slate was laid between the hands and face of the deceased; its use as an amulet is indisputably established. In most cases holes are found drilled in the tablets, whence it may be conjectured that they were worn during the possessors' lifetime. Consequently these talismans had nothing to do with the probable custom of rouging the Negada bodies buried in a sitting posture previous to interment. A unique headless figure discovered in one of the graves at Tuch bears extraordinary painted or tattooed designs on the trunk and limbs.

In the spring of 1898 J. E. Quibell directed his attention to the temple of Hieraconpolis situated further to the south; another chambered tomb surrounded by a wall of bricks was brought to light, and in this case it was possible to announce a discovery dating within historic times. The structure had been twice renovated, for the first time in the sixth and again during the twelfth dynasty of Manetho. From this it is concluded, or rather presumed, that the Egyptians of 1900 B. C., which was a period of literary activity, were acquainted with the affairs and history of the Negada period, in contrast to the Egyptians of the New Empire, whose lists of kings display a complete ignorance of that epoch. One of the most striking of the discoveries at Hieraconpolis is a statue of King "Bash." (?) The king is represented in a sitting position, clad in a long, strangely fashioned garment; upon his head is the globular-topped crown of Upper Egypt; on the pediment are sculptures of defeated enemies from the "north-land," that is, the Delta. According to inscriptions found on two vases, Bash ruled over the land as far south as the first cataract, and united Upper and Lower Egypt. Nar-Mer, the second king of the same period, is named on other fragments of vases. The information afforded by the vases is supplemented by a slate tablet, with drawings on either face representing events that had taken place in the north. In a thicket of papyrus in the Delta country the defeated enemy lies prone upon the earth. Surrounded by nobles, the king appears at the place of execution, wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt; before him lie the decapitated bodies of the dead. The capture of fortified towns is symbolised by a bull running against the walls. The remaining drawings on this slab are a development of Negada art in its earlier style.

One feature peculiar to the Negada graves has been emphasised by Wiedemann, namely, the recurrence of skulls of bulls and goats or gazelles. These continue

to form part of the offerings to the dead in later times. In the Syrian tribute to the Pharaohs reproductions of a horned bull's or gazelle's head, often in the form of covers for ornamental vessels, were sent as specimens of Syrian pottery or metal work; such objects did not form a part of the tribute paid by Syria to other nations. Thus the origin and significance of these gifts were intimately connected with the prehistoric age in Egypt. Wiedemann also mentioned in this connection the ritual use of the "Hathor masks" (faces of horned men) of the Egyptian temples, as well as the heads of cattle on the ends of staves. "The conventionalised and anthropomorphised cow's head at the end of a staff was at the time of the twelfth dynasty a symbol the significance of which had been long forgotten. Heads of cattle fixed upon stakes reaching to the top of the canopy surrounded the coffin in the grave of Neb-em-khut of the fourth dynasty." The ideograph of the sacred name of the city of Hou, where Petrie discovered the skulls of cattle in the graves, consisted of symbols evolved from the original cow's head fetish.

During the Negada period two races of different origin, the one subject to the other, dwelt together in Upper and Middle Egypt. Inasmuch as the conquerors of a civilized country are not necessarily in all respects more enlightened than the conquered, we may, contrasting the bodies buried in an "embryonal" position with the fragmentary remains, consider the former as belonging to the earlier race of inhabitants. But the amalgamation of the two races, which probably preserved their individuality for a few generations, must have become complete soon after the time from which these graves date. The difference in the methods of burial, together with the position of nobility assumed by the dominant race, may have served during these early times to preserve the consciousness of a different origin; for mankind invariably clings pertinaciously to burial customs. Appearances also speak for the fact that bronze was first brought to Egypt during the Negada period by the conquering race, but the use of this metal even at that time was in many respects in its infancy.

It would be a mistake to consider the ruling people of the Negada period as the first race to penetrate from Asia into Upper Egypt; the conquered people themselves were certainly not "Africans," for their skill in handicraft was clearly the result of an earlier fusion with other races who were likewise undoubtedly of Asiatic origin. Consciously or unconsciously, the art of the Negada period was most certainly influenced by the Babylonians. Much of this influence seems to have been exercised at a comparatively recent date; strangely enough, the slate amulets found upon the crouching skeletons (p. 594) show the strongest traces of immediate Asiatic influence. Hence it may perhaps be concluded that the religious conceptions of the latest intruders had already gained the upper hand, but that differences in burial customs had not yet entirely disappeared. Later developments of Egyptian burial customs then displaced the two methods of the Negada period, which had flourished side by side. At the same time, the Asiatic character of the dominant race must have been gradually obliterated. That the invaders came from comparatively distant lands is evident from the fact that the Bedouin neighbours of the Egyptians, who dwelt in Southern Palestine, also buried their dead in an embryonal position, a custom which they retained until a late period. A king of the twelfth dynasty summons an exile to return from the land of Tenu and explains to him the advantages in a future life to be derived from burial as a mummy in Egypt. "Then it will not be that thou diest in a distant

land, that an Asiatic bury thee, and that men wrap thee in a ram's skin." The Egyptians had quite forgotten that this was the method of burial which they themselves had practised at an earlier age.

Our interest in the hypotheses concerning the origin of the neolithic Egyptians requires no justification. The results of grave exploration have made it clear that the fundamental type of this people was closely allied to the Trogodytes in the east, if it was not identical with them. The description given by Artemidorus of the Trogodyte custom of binding together the heads and feet of the dead (p. 592) is a description of the procedure necessary to secure the bodies in an embryonal position. Such details of the customs practised by the desert tribes could only have been gathered in Egypt. But Artemidorus's naïve description shows clearly that at his time the method of burial employed by the Trogodytes was considered as a practice unheard of in Egypt; his informants were consequently quite unaware that similar graves were to be found in their own country. Thousands of years later the goat's horns of Negada were a leading feature in the funeral rites of the Trogodytes; in Egypt itself during the Negada period the stone-lined graves were sunk beneath the level of the ground, a method rarely possible in the hard ground of the Trogodyte desert.

Of capital importance for the decision upon ethnographic grounds of the question whether the neolithic Egyptians and the Trogodytes were of primitive African origin, are the ancient rock graffiti at Arb-Assuan, together with certain vase paintings found at Abydos and Negada. R. A. St. Macalister, who visited the Trogodyte desert from Upper Egypt in December, 1899, speaks of similar drawings on the cliffs at the confluence of the Wadi Munila and the Wadi Schaid. Ethnographists have long been well acquainted with the artistic talents of the Bushmen (see plate, "Bushman Drawings," p. 420); their characteristic drawings of men and animals existed before the arrival of any Europeans at the Cape. These pictures, executed both in colour and in chiselled outline on the cliff walls, are to be found from the immediate neighbourhood of the Cape to a point northward beyond the Orange River, and irresistibly invite comparison with the primitive productions of the Negada period.

The assertion that the neolithic Egyptians were of diminutive stature, to which the fact of their racial fusion may give some small support, is well within the bounds of possibility; indeed Edouard Naville recently declared certain archaic figures to be representations of dwarfs. The chief attention of ethnologists has been hitherto devoted to the examination of the skulls, and the measurement of the general proportions of the body has been unduly neglected. This examination has indisputably proved that none of the Negada types correspond with the Egyptian of the Pharaoh period. The proportions of the skulls found in the southern burying-ground at Negada itself repeatedly point to a close connection with the Bushmen and Hottentots. According to Petrie, some of the Negada statuettes exhibit traces of the steatopygie peculiar to both of these South African tribes (see above, p. 419).

The Egyptians, at any rate those of the eighteenth dynasty, are said to have recognised a relationship with the inhabitants of Punt, the land of incense, which lay to the south of the Red Sea. But the statement that the sailors of the Egyptian queen Hatshepsut worshipped the goddess Hathor as the deity of Punt is in itself insufficient evidence, inasmuch as Hathor was the special goddess of seafarers and

vouchsafed the favourable wind without which the journey to Punt was impossible. From the mural decorations in the temple of Dêr el-Bahri, it may be concluded that about 1500 B.C. Punt was inhabited by brown-coloured races with an admixture of negroes. They dwelt in huts built on piles and entered by ladders, and endeavoured to acquire articles of metal, and weapons in particular, by means of barter. Conversations held by the people of Punt with the Egyptians who had landed in this country, and afterward reported in "oratio recta," may have led to the belief that there was no material difference between the two languages. As, however, the people of Punt were strangely enough able to greet the Egyptians by their native name (*rometu* = simply, people) at their first meeting, this so-called piece of evidence may be confidently distrusted. On the contrary, the barbarians of Punt were wholly foreign to the Egyptians, and are so represented.

The condition of political affairs in Egypt at the end of the Negada period shows that in contrast to earlier times the military power of the land had now to be directed toward the north, where Libyan tribes had occupied the Delta and cut off the Upper Nile from communication. The greatest achievements of Menes, the first traditional king, whose tomb is thought to have been discovered in the central chamber of the great king's sepulchre at Negada, were his removal of the royal residence from the south to Memphis, and his defeat of the Libyans. If these statements are correct we might reasonably consider the Negada kings as predecessors who had not as yet decided upon this course of action. Bash (p. 594) was succeeded by his grandson Ha-sekem-ui. King Nar-mer's reign must have followed a few years later. The reigns of Den and Azyb, the latter of whom seems to have been a relative of Ha-sekem-ui, must have fallen within a short time of one another. In addition to these we have a number of other names, some of which, however, have not yet been certainly deciphered; in many cases these may be the names of later sovereigns who merely deposited the customary offerings at the tombs of their predecessors. On the other hand, we also possess some statues of officials subordinate to these Negada kings; those from Anch are now at Leyden, and the museum at Bulak contains one crouching in a kneeling position. In comparison with the style of the Pharaoh period, they are clearly "primitive Egyptian," though successful as likenesses: all represent undersized men with broad noses and prominent cheek bones.

If it be true that the removal of the royal residence to Memphis followed as a result of the wars of Bash and Nar-mer, we may hence draw an inference as to the political situation at the time of the origin of the Negada kingdom. When the predecessors of these kings, together with their Asiatic following, first advanced southward along the Nile, they either encountered the most stubborn opposition in the region of Abydos, or this region was for a long time threatened from the south; probably both cases occurred simultaneously. Conquests are rarely completed at one blow; the gradually dwindling streams of Asiatics from the Delta may have been reinforced again and again from the north until Upper Egypt was finally secured to the Negada kingdom. The Libyans and the native inhabitants of the Delta did not become aggressive until the cessation of the expeditions which passed through their country. Then that situation of affairs was brought about of which the discoveries in the tombs inform us, and the kingdom of Negada was forced to turn its power against the north. It is probable that the legendary struggle between the gods Horus and Set, with its numerous scenes of warfare

extending along the entire river, the decisive combat finally taking place far in the south at Edfu, — a myth peculiar to the Nile valley, — is founded on the fact of the subjugation of Egypt by the mixed Asiatic race of the Negada kingdom. The frequency with which the sparrow-hawk emblem of Horus occurs among the articles discovered at Negada is a fact of special importance, inasmuch as the religious doctrines of this race seem to have but little connection in other respects with the later systems of Egyptian mythology. Moreover, it was in consequence of a similar connection with the Horus myth that the Shes-u-Hor of the Turin papyrus (p. 593) was held in reverence. It is also possible that the differences in burial customs prevailing in the Negada period may be evidence for the separate existence of a "Horus race" and of a "Set race."

(*c*) *The Dynasties of the Old Empire.* — There is no country in the world that can be compared with Egypt in wealth of antiquities. It is true that the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris is not far behind in respect of the number of discoveries there made, but it can show nothing approaching the variety of objects found in Egypt which illustrate the different departments of human activity. Egypt unfolds before us the daily life of all classes, from the highest to the lowest; the methods of manufacture and agriculture; specimens of all articles and utensils of luxury and necessity, from children's dolls and draughtsmen to the valuable gold ornaments of royal personages; the carefully preserved bodies of famous conquerors; the songs, myths and fairy tales that were the delight of young and old; the writing materials with which they were immortalised; the amulet, the sandals, even the wig worn by the scribe, — of all these we have examples, and often in abundance. If these fragile remnants have lost something of their freshness in the course of thousands of years, the loss can be supplied by the faithful representations and richly coloured paintings on the walls of the tombs.

Invaluable as was the realism of the Egyptian people, it proved unable to stand the test the moment tasks were encountered transcending the tangible and the visible. The vast achievements of early Eyptian art, and its no less imposing course of development, are only too liable to render us blind to the fact that throughout its entire progress it rested upon one and the same foundation, — rigid adherence to the material and consequent intellectual constraint. Here, too, we have a connecting link of national psychology between the ancient Egyptians and individuality of the African races. Among the many proofs that may be cited, perhaps the most striking is the typical conventionalism which, in Egypt, inevitably transformed the doctrines of Christianity. Moreover, our inability to follow the evolution of literature and art as a gradual process is not due to chance; on the contrary, each new phase of development seems to have emerged at stated intervals as a completed whole, invariably appearing at the end of long periods of "the darkness of Egypt," these intervals being occupied by reviving infusions of Asiatic influence as a result of political changes.

Such a period of darkness was the supremacy of the Hyksos, which continued too long and made too profound an effect upon the Egyptian people to vanish entirely upon its expiration. At the end of this period the "New Empire" begins. One new and unexampled effect of this period was the awakening influence which it exerted upon the previously shadowy historical sense which the Egyptians possessed; for the explanation of this phenomenon we have but to cast a glance

toward Babylon. However, the inhabitants of the New Empire remained Egyptians; their recently acquired aptitude for history was little more than a borrowed characteristic. The kings began to draw up lists — of select names only — of such of their predecessors as could be collected, and endeavoured to secure the relation of their own deeds in proper sequence. We have several such "cursory" lists, three of which are in a fair state of preservation: a tablet from the temple at Karnak (Thebes), upon which Thutmosis III does obeisance to sixty-one ancient kings; another, discovered in the temple of Osiris at Abydos, with seventy-five names; and a third, from a tomb near Sakkâra, an abridged copy of the preceding, and like it belonging to the time of Ramses II. The Turin papyrus professes to contain more than a mere collection of names; but unfortunately the document consists only of fragments of which but a small portion has been pieced together. The list given by this papyrus not only extends from the gods who ruled on earth to the period of the Hyksos, but notes the exact length of each reign in years, months, and days. Even if the transcription be of later date, and to be placed at the beginning of the nineteenth dynasty, the original from which it was compiled undoubtedly belongs to the time immediately following the Hyksos. An obvious imitation of Babylonian lists of kings, the text remains unique by reason of the detailed character of its statements. Compilers, doubtless, were soon wearied by the labour involved in carrying accuracy to such extremes.

Not until the Alexandrine period was the history of Egypt written by a native pen. The high priest and temple scribe, Manetho (cf. p. 592) of Sebennytos, who had received a Greek education, composed his work "Ægyptiaca," which remains to us only in the shape of excerpts and quotations. No doubt he had a rich store of material at his disposal, although it is evident that he was unduly influenced by contemporary opinion; he even accepted the popular myth of the world-conqueror Sesostris, unless this and similar matter has been interpolated into the citations which have come down to us. So many false accounts of other matters were foisted upon Manetho in antiquity that only in a few isolated cases can we obtain more than a general idea of his work; however, his chronological system was accepted until modern times. According to him, the Old Empire begins with Menes, and embraces the first to the eleventh dynasties; the Middle Empire extends from the twelfth to the nineteenth dynasties; and the New Empire begins with the twentieth, and continues to the time of Alexander. This system cannot be maintained in the face of the archæological evidence which we possess. It is usual to consider the Middle Empire as having begun with the eleventh dynasty, and as ending with the seventeenth. At the present time, however, the Old Empire must end with the conclusion of the sixth dynasty, where there is a long break in the course of events. The scanty information which we possess concerning dynasties seven to ten is to be considered as a transition period leading to the Middle Empire, while the New Empire begins with the expulsion of the Hyksos, and continues until the outset of the twenty-sixth dynasty, so that the scheme of Manetho is abandoned from the reign of Psammetich I onward. There is no possible doubt that Manetho made use of such records as the Turin papyrus and the lists of kings inscribed on their monuments, but the beginning of the New Empire must be considered as the farthest limit of his sources of information. As to the credibility of these lists, Flinders Petrie says: "Undoubtedly historical data were employed. If, however, we examine the earlier list of Thutmosis III, discovered in

Karnak, we cannot but think that no trustworthy history of the empire existed at the time of its composition. The inscriber seems to have lacked the information necessary for his task, and fragmentary accounts of names rescued with difficulty from oblivion seem to have been all the historical information available during the eighteenth dynasty for the erection of a national monument. The same conclusion must be drawn from the lists of kings found at Abydos, Sakkâra, and in the Turin papyrus, all of which belong to the same period, and generally speaking suffer under the same limitations." As regards our information about the first three dynasties, we are in much the same position as were the scribes of Thutmosis and Sethos. All signs of life are lacking, and a discovery of the Negada tombs has increased rather than diminished the obscurity of this period.

The kings of Manetho's first dynasty are as follows: Menes, with a reign of 62 years; Athotis, with 57; Kenkenes, with 31; Uenephes, with 23; Usaphaïdes, with 20; Miëbidos, with 26; Semempses, with 18; and Biëneches, with 26. The succession invariably passed from father to son. The list of the second dynasty contains nine rulers: Boëthos (38 years), Kaiechos (29), Binothris (47), Tlas (17), Sethenes (41), Chaires (17), Nefercheres (25), Sesochris (48), Cheneres (30). Both houses were called "Thinites," and hence Manetho assumes their extraction from the district of Abydos (p. 592), while, according to him, the next dynasty originated in Memphis. The attempt has been made to connect these Thinites with various names of the Negada kings with no great success. Finally, the list of the third dynasty contains nine kings: Necherophes (28 years), Tosorthros (29), Tyreis (7), Mesochris (17), So-uphis (16), Tosertasis (19), Aches (42), Sephuris (30), and Kerpheres (26). Thus we may be said to have altogether twenty-six kings, who reigned during a period of seven hundred and sixty-nine years.

Legendary, or rather mythological, is the scanty information which we possess about the events during this long period. Naturally the account of Menes, the founder of the empire, is richest in detail. In addition to the fact of his removal of the seat of the empire from Thinis to Memphis, where he founded a temple of Ptah, the god of the town, — "the first temple ever erected in Egypt," — it was also said of him that he invented the alphabet, introduced the worship of the sacred bull Apis and of the crocodile, and taught men the art of luxurious living. From the times of Herodotus the legend has been known of the early death of Maneros, who is said to have been the only son of Menes, and to have been mourned by the people in the song of Maneros, the hymn of mourning. Manetho speaks of wars waged by Menes against Libyan enemies, and relates that the king met his death from a hippopotamus. Obviously no mention was made of the tomb of Menes in the sources of information open to him.

Athotis is said to have built the king's fortress in Memphis, and to have written an anatomical treatise. As a matter of fact, the Ebers medical papyrus contains the recipe for a hair-wash discovered by Shesh, the mother of Athotis. Finally, during his reign a two-headed crane, that is, a bird sacred to the god Thoth, of which name "Athotis" is a compound, appeared in the land, an event signifying prosperity. Even from these scanty accounts we are able to recognise in the second ruler of Egypt the figure of Solomon depicted in full accordance with the mythological system, although the parallel account embodied in the traditions of Israel recognised only the effects of the hair-wash on Solomon's brother Absalom. The expectation that the reigns of the successors of Menes are to be char-

acterised by a preponderance of misfortune is confirmed; the reign of Uenephes was made memorable by a famine, that of Semempses by "many wonders" and a great plague.

Another mythological theme seems to have been employed to secure a supply of events for the second dynasty. The reign of Boëthos is remarkable for the fact that a cleft in the earth opened in the delta at Bubastis, and caused the death of many men; Kaiechos, as Manetho relates, introduces the worship of Apis into Memphis, that of Mnevis into Heliopolis, and that of the sacred ram at Mendes; under the king Nefercheres the Nile flowed with honey instead of water for eleven days; and, finally, Sesochris was a "very dangerous man," five cubits and three palms high. The difference between Manetho's Greek transliteration of the kings' names and the hieroglyphic forms of the same words may be clearly seen by the comparison of the first five kings of this dynasty and the list from Abydos. This list gives the names in accurate order of succession: Beta-u, Ka-ka-u, Ba-neter-en, Uatnes, and Sent; the other four names are there missing. Accounts of Sent-Sethenes must have been in circulation at an early date, and have given him some importance, for his worship as a god was begun under the Old Empire, and was retained as late as the period of the Ptolemys.

Manetho's account of the third dynasty is exceedingly scanty; with its last representatives the first glimpse of historical tradition appears. Of the first two kings we are only told that the Libyans revolted in the reign of Necherophes, but fled in horror when the moon suddenly increased in size. Further, Tosorthros was a great physician and architect, and improved the script in use; he built an edifice of hewn stone. At the same time it must be remembered that the age of the pyramids begins with the fourth dynasty. The pyramid of Sakkâra, built in steps, still remains to us, and shows that the builders had not as yet advanced to the art of smoothing the sides, which indeed was not the original plan. The second example, the pyramid of Medum, from the angle of its sides renders the superposition of a "mantle" of smooth stones more feasible; at the same time it must not be forgotten that the execution of the plan in this case would have presented fewer difficulties. The Sakkâra pyramid may be presumed to have belonged to the third dynasty, from the fact that the tiles of a glazing establishment situated near the entrance bear the name of the king Zoser. This name occurs in the account of a papyrus among the immediate predecessors of Snefru, with whom the fourth dynasty begins. In later times Usertesen traces his origin to Zoser. It is also probable that Manetho's account of the edifices erected by Tosorthros refers to Zoser and the pyramid of Sakkâra. A papyrus also contains the observation that King Huni died and Snefru succeeded him; however, in the lists of kings Huni stands last. Perhaps the Kerpheres is Manetho's transliteration of the first name of Humi, which ran Nefer-ka-Ra.

Nowhere in the course of history have such vast masses of stone been piled up upon such comparatively small areas by human labour as in Egypt at the command of the pyramid builders. We do not know how the idea of constructing these gigantic sarcophagi originated. At any rate, the pyramids of the fourth dynasty have become imperishable landmarks of Egypt, and are numbered among the oldest edifices known to mankind. All are situated on the western bank of the Nile, between Gizeh near Cairo and the extreme northeastern corner of the Fayûm. They are divided into groups, named after the Arab settlements near which they

rise (see map, p. 592); hence the terms the pyramids of Gizeh, Abu-Roash, Abusir, Sakkâra, Lisht, Dashur, and Medum. The remains of smaller imitation pyramids, of which two exist in Fayûm itself, as well as the very late attempts at constructing smaller edifices near Meroë in Ethiopia, need not be further considered. There are in all more than seventy examples within the district of the pyramids proper; but the majority of these served as quarries in later years, and have consequently disappeared to their very foundations. Those which still remain are pierced by sloping passages running through the interior and leading to the burial chambers. In other respects there are many differences of plan; for instance, the great pyramid of Cheops contains several burial chambers in its centre, one built above the other, whereas others have but one such chamber.

That these complicated and extensive pyramid buildings were severally designed as the tomb of some one king (Menkaura and Snefru erected two each for their own use, according to Petrie) is proved among other evidence by the fact that the high officials in the old kingdom were accustomed to erect their tombs of different shape, the "mastabas" (="benches"), within the shadow of the royal sepulchres. Thus we find the following of many a ruler marshalled in death, according to their rank, behind the pyramid of their master, the group resembling the church tower and graveyard of our villages. Curiously enough the mastabas are comparatively rich in information upon their dead occupants, compared with the pyramids in their present condition. That the surfaces of the latter were covered with long inscriptions, as is stated in some ancient records, has been doubted, upon strong evidence. We have also reason to believe that the builder of a pyramid permitted the bodies of the members of his family to be deposited in the central chamber with his own; but before it can be stated whether this was the rule or the exception, we must first learn those conceptions which gave the impulse to the erection of these tremendous structures. No doubt the safety of the mummies and their rich surroundings were considerations of the first order.

The adoption of a pyramidal form was undoubtedly inspired by religious conceptions; the doctrine of immortality had certainly a determining influence. That there is no adequate answer to the question, how this happened to be the case, is due to our imperfect knowledge of the ancient Egyptian religion (see p. 365). It is possible that the construction of the pyramid was first arrived at by superimposing mastabas of gradually decreasing size upon one another; indeed the mastaba itself somewhat resembled a square platform, with sides sloping outward. Mastabas differed greatly in size, their bases varying in area from about two hundred and fifty to twelve thousand square feet. They contained a chapel, the walls of which were covered with pictures and inscriptions, a separate chimney-like compartment for the stone image of the deceased, and finally an underground sepulchral chamber, void of decoration, where the enswathed mummy lay in a sarcophagus of stone. Our chief knowledge of the life and doings of the Egyptians of the Old Empire is derived from the pictures on the walls of the chapels, which were accessible from without, and were intended as depositories for the sacrificial gifts, for incense offerings, in short, for the soul-worship continued by the descendants of the deceased. On the walls are represented the things which were of most value to the departed, his property, servants, household officials, favourite animals, and the pleasures of the chase. In the smallest mastabas, in place of the chapel there is a blind door set into the outer wall, inscribed with prayers and the name of the deceased.

According to Manetho the fourth dynasty begins with King "Soris," the Snefru of the monuments. Until a short time ago Snefru was the first Egyptian ruler known to us from his own inscriptions, discovered in this case in Wadi Maghara on the Sinaitic peninsula. In fact, the copper mines in that peninsula, which are now exhausted, were known as the "Mines of Snefru" as late as the period of the New Empire. It is probable that Snefru first brought this region into the possession of Egypt; his inscription shows him to have been the conqueror of the Mentiu, the small Bedouin tribes of the peninsula. With the exception of a similar inscription of Chufu, there is no further mention of war during the fourth dynasty. It was only in times of peace that the mass of the population could be employed year by year in the construction of gigantic edifices, or for other useful purposes. Snefru's pyramid was in all probability that of Medum. The personages buried in the surrounding mastabas were his subjects, as was Rahetep, the "Great Man of the South," whose lifelike sitting statue, together with its counterpart, a still finer image of his wife Nefert, now adorns the museum at Gizeh. The king was deified immediately after his death, and his worship continued to the time of the Ptolemys.

Snefru was succeeded by Chufu, the Cheops of Herodotus. Of all the empty names of the fourth dynasty, that of Cheops is the most celebrated. However, of him we know nothing more certainly except that the largest pyramid is his; it measures four hundred and eighty feet high and seven hundred and sixty-four feet square at the base. Remains are still visible of the paved causeway along which, according to Herodotus, the building-stones quarried on the other side of the Nile were landed and dragged to the site of the edifice. The short inscription found in Wadi Maghara again refers to a chastisement of the Bedouins. The mastabas that lie behind the pyramid of Cheops provide no information upon the history of the king, though containing the tombs of several royal children. The fine condition of their possessions, the size of their herds of cattle and geese, as proved by the paintings on the walls of the chapels, together with general material prosperity, served to satisfy completely the souls of this naïve people. They were overbearing landed proprietors, the privileged class of nobles, probably "pure" descendants of the Asiatic conquerors of earlier times, here in death now gathered round the king, who protected and raised them to high and profitable offices in life. The early sense of their position as strangers in a strange land must have given rise to the custom of building up a city of the privileged dead about the king's tomb. During the life of the ruler also the dwellings of the aristocracy were gathered round one centre, the royal residence. However, it would be idle to suppose that this feeling of exclusiveness really existed under Snefru and his successors; here we may rather note the maintenance of an exclusive nobility clinging to strict forms and customs in death as well as in life. The consciousness of having been historic personages, or the desire to be considered as such, was entirely unknown to this stock. The inscriptions in the mountains of Sinai were erected merely to serve as warnings to enemies. Thus the aristocracy of the Old Empire lacked that which should have been its very essence according to modern standards. In the light of this fact the material representations on the tombs seem more than ever devoid of all spiritual significance.

The pyramid of Medum is situated at the extreme south of the pyramid district; on the other hand, the pyramid of Chufu lies to the north near Gizeh. They

are thus separated from one another by a distance of some thirty-seven miles. It is therefore probable that Chufu resided in Memphis, which was close at hand, and that Snefru's residence, the full name of which was in all likelihood Ded-Snefru, must be sought for in the neighbourhood of Medum.

Chafra succeeded Chufu, who was probably his father, although Herodotus gives "Chephrenes" as the name of Cheops's brother. The pyramid of this king (see the plate, "The Pyramid of Chephrenes and the Great Sphinx, from the South-east") is not far distant from the great pyramid, and is only some twenty-seven feet lower. A magnificent diorite statue, a stately and faithful representation of Chafra, has been discovered, together with six smaller images of the same ruler, the latter in a badly damaged condition, in the shaft of the temple of the Sphinx, not far from the pyramid. The lofty throne is surmounted by the sparrow-hawk of Horus, whose beak projects over the low headcloth of the sovereign, the broad ends of which lie folded upon his shoulders. The great Sphinx (see the plate) belongs, however, to a later time, although as early as the New Empire Chafra seems to have been looked upon as its builder. At that time a small temple was constructed between the outstretched feet of the Sphinx; and it appears from contemporary documents that the figure was considered to be an image of the sun-god. It is a matter of doubt, however, whether this idea is a full explanation of the original purpose of the Sphinx, which during the greater part of its existence has been buried in sand-drifts. Hewn out of the adjacent rock, it is over sixty-five feet in height, and represents a lion couchant with a human head; unfortunately the features have been badly mutilated by fanatical Arabs.

Here and there mention has been found of a king Dedefra, likewise of the fourth dynasty; but his place in the succession of rulers, as well as his pyramid, are unknown. Menkaura, the Mykerinos of Herodotus, stands as the immediate successor of Chafra. His sepulchre is in the third pyramid of Gizeh, which is only two hundred and eighteen feet in height. The last king of the house of Snefru was Shepseskaf; it has not been ascertained which of the pyramids is his. Auguste Edouard Mariette (1821–1881) discovered the tomb of a dignitary called Ptahshepses near Sakkâra, who gives us some valuable personal information. He was first adopted by Menkaura and then by Shepseskaf "among the number of royal children;" the latter gave him the hand of his eldest daughter, Chamaat, in marriage. Ptahshepses was also appointed priest of three obelisks of Ra; it is here that we first meet with these slender-pointed stone columns erected in honour of the sun-god, the tallest of which, situated at Thebes, measures over one hundred feet in height.

The popular tradition of later times represented the pyramid builders as unjust oppressors of Egypt. The character of this belief may be gathered from Herodotus. Cheops is said even to have closed the temples and to have stopped the sacrifices in order to employ the whole strength of his subjects in the construction of his monument. Chephrenes is said to have done the same (these kings are the builders of the largest pyramids). Mykerinos is said to have been the first king to resume the practice of justice toward gods and men; but, continues the myth, in a manner truly typical of the gloomy theory of life entertained by the fellahin in all ages, the gods had no consideration for him; they cut short the life of Mykerinos, alleging it to be their will that the land should continue still longer unfortunate.

THE PYRAMID OF CHEPHRENES AND THE GREAT SPHINX, SEEN FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

(After a photograph by Sébah, Cairo)

Thus this king, although he had built a much smaller pyramid than his predecessors, was none the less guilty of disobedience. Further, a myth of great intrinsic interest, which apparently originated in the course of the Middle Empire, relates how the gods turned away from Chufu and his house. The manuscript, which forms a part of the "Westcar papyrus," unfortunately breaks off at the very point where the development of the story begins. Nevertheless in the portions which are still preserved it is related that King Chufu once summoned a magician, Dedi, to court through the Prince Dedef-Hor (who appears in the Book of the Dead as a son of Menkaura). When the enchanter, "who was one hundred and ten years old, and devoured five hundred loaves of bread, a joint of beef, and one hundred jugs of beer on the same day," had given an exhibition of juggling feats before the king, he prophesied that three sons that were to be born to Leddedet, wife of the priest of Ra at Sachebu, would one day be rulers of Egypt. Chufu was greatly alarmed at this piece of news, and immediately determined to set out for Sachebu. The birth of the three boys with the assistance of the gods is next related. Isis names them Userkaf, Sahura, and Kaka; in fact the three first kings of the fifth dynasty appear in this order in the list of Abydos (cf. p. 599). The story ends with an account of how a maid-servant attempted to disclose to the king the existence and destiny of the three children, but was prevented from putting her design into execution. Although the scribe with true court politeness handles Chufu with all possible deference, nevertheless the general feeling is obviously against him.

The fifth dynasty did not originate in Elephantine in Upper Egypt, as stated by Manetho, but in Sachebu on the "Two-fish canal" (in the Delta, according to Petrie). The nine kings of the line were buried in relatively small pyramids; the situations of three have been determined with probable accuracy, — that of Sahura at Abusir, and those of Ra-en-user and Unas, the last representative of the dynasty, at Sakkâra. During their period this dynasty is even poorer in historical records than the preceding. Possession was retained of the Sinaitic mines, the kings Sahura, Ra-en-user, Mankau-Hor, and Assa being represented there by inscribed tablets. In the reign of Assa, whose first name was Dedka-Ra, the first copy of the Prisse papyrus was written, wherein is stated the authorship of Ptah-hotep, a relative of the king and a high dignitary. The copy which has come down to us is of the Middle Empire, and seems in general to reproduce the formal literary style in vogue at that period. Fragments of other papyri connected with the reign of Assa were discovered by peasants near Sakkâra in 1893. The Prisse papyrus contains an attempt at a system of moral philosophy, inasmuch as Ptah-hotep in his declining years poured forth, in various meditations and maxims, the accumulated wisdom of his lifetime. On the whole, this collection is in close connection with others of the same kind in present-day circulation. Reverence is due to old age; men should be modest and gentle, in short, they should curb their own selfish impulses in order that others may have freer scope for action. Assa's successor, Unas, whose pyramid, together with portions of his mummy, was discovered in the spring of 1881, ruled for thirty years, according to the Turin papyrus. The epitaph of an official named Senezem-ab discovered at Gizeh is the authority for this order of succession; but no mention is made of Unas as co-regent during the lifetime of Assa. The German excavations at Abusir made in March, 1900, have brought to light a bas-relief executed during the fifth dynasty, the subject of which is the glorification of a king Sadu.

From the nature of the inscriptions relating to the last two lists of rulers, we must conclude that their period was a time of peace. This condition of affairs soon changed after the beginning of the sixth dynasty, which originated in Memphis according to Manetho, and comprised five kings, concluding with a queen. However, the evidence of the lists and monuments gives us at least eight different names of kings. Their pyramids are situated on the edge of the Sakkâra district. In 1880–1881 they were investigated and could be assigned to separate kings, as follows: To the first, Teta, his supposed successor, Ati, then Pepi I Merira, Merefira (whose first name was Menti-em-saf), and Pepi II Nefer-ka-Ra. The texts discovered within the pyramid were entirely concerned with religious affairs, and the most interesting discovery was the mummy of Merenra, which had certainly been plundered and unwrapped, but was otherwise in good condition. An examination of the remains showed that the king died young, and that consequently the four years' reign with which the Turin papyrus credits him rested upon a reliable basis of tradition. If the papyrus is also correct in the next case, we have for Pepi II a reign of over ninety years, the longest known to history. Manetho relates that he ascended the throne as a boy of six years old, and continued to rule till the hundredth year of his life. In the spring of 1898 Victor Loret excavated near Memphis the tomb of the king's mother and of the queen Apu-it, which had been restored by one of the Hyksos and still later by the Ramessides. She is believed to be the earliest queen of Egypt of whom we have mention, and to have shared the reigns of either Teta or of Pepi I.

It is a significant fact in the internal history of the empire, which continued to expand to the south and the east during the sixth dynasty, that the village chiefs and other high officials began to show an inclination to build their tombs in the district where their property was situated. Thus the burial-grounds of Mastaba tombs slowly go out of fashion; the nobility is transformed into a landed aristocracy, and becomes capable of developing a power of its own independently of the king.

In two epitaphs of this period we find expressions of well-marked satisfaction upon the part played in life by the deceased. The one in Abydos, the ancient necropolis, relating to Una, tells how he began his official career as a boy under King Teta, and was honoured with the confidence of Pepi I. To him and to another judge was entrusted the secret conduct of a case against the queen Amtese, connected probably with some harem conspiracy against Pepi. Una has also carefully noted the commissions for the supply of quarried stone, among them some for his own grave. The inscription then continues: "His Majesty resolved upon war against the Asiatics; an army of many myriads was assembled from the whole of the south, from Elephantine, from the Northland, etc., from the Negro countries Aartet, Meza, Amam, Wawat, Kaau, and Tataam; his Majesty sent me forth at the head of his army. There stood the princes, the High Treasurers, the nearest friends of the Palace, the country chiefs and prefects of cities of the South and the North land, the friends, and the 'superintendents of the gold' [perhaps bearers of golden tokens of honour, grants of which do not otherwise occur before the period of the Middle Empire], the chiefs of the prophets and the overseers of the temple property [each one] at the head of a troop of the South or of the North land, of the cities and districts over which they ruled, and of the negroes of those lands. But I was their leader, although I only held the office of a governor of the

Chent-land [in Nubia]." This account presents us with what is, comparatively speaking, the clearest picture we possess of the political constitution of Egypt and of its unwieldy military system toward the end of the Old Empire. The levies of negro troops, together with the motley array of national militia, was not made without reason. Five or six campaigns were necessary before Una succeeded in scattering the enemy, who were in all probability the aggressors. Finally the Egyptian commander went by sea (to the coast of Palestine?), where "he defeated and slaughtered them all."

A second and still more valuable inscription from Assuan, relating to Herchuf, makes mention of campaigns against the countries of Nubia and the western oases. Her-chuf was governor of the Southland, an important post even at that time, under Merenra, the successor of Pepi I. A march of eight months far into the interior of Nubia does not seem to have been crowned with success. The next campaign is said to have been directed from Siut against Tamehu-land, "the west of heaven" (the Libyan oasis El-Chargeh), which had been captured from the Nubian prince of Amam; this undertaking proved successful. A vigorous design from the tomb of Anta at Deshasheh to the south of Beni-Suef, probably belongs to the beginning of the dynasty, and represents the storming of a city in Palestine by the Egyptians, to the terror of the king within, who is depicted as sitting on his throne and tearing his hair.

The kingdom had exhausted its strength in a constant succession of enterprises, and seems to have sunk into weakness under Pepi II, of whose presumably long reign we hear very little. According to both Herodotus and Manetho, Menthesuphis, who must be a second Menti-em-sif, was overthrown by a revolt after a reign of one year. His wife and sister Nitokris succeeded, however, to the throne, and revenged herself by inviting the rebels to a feast in a subterranean chamber, into which she turned the waters of the Nile and drowned the entire assembly. Shortly afterward she was only able to escape the consequences of this deed by suicide of an equally desperate nature; she threw herself into a room filled with glowing ashes. Although the name Neitakert occurs in the Turin papyrus at a point which is considered to mark the end of the sixth dynasty (p. 608), the legend has certainly no historical value as an account of the extinction of the dynasty; on the contrary, it has been proved that it was the twelfth dynasty that ended with a queen. The Nitokris legend, after furnishing the Greeks with material for use in all kinds of connection (for instance, the connection of this legend with the hetaira Rhodopis, afterward transformed into a Cinderella tale), is still current as a ghost story among the Mohammedans living in the neighbourhood of the pyramids.

With the extinction of the sixth dynasty the unity of the Eyptian empire apparently comes to an end for a considerable period, or its restoration upon a permanent basis proved impossible for the moment. The configuration of the country requires, above all things, a central government which should make the necessities of irrigation as they arise the guiding principles of its policy. These necessities kept the petty princes in a continual state of feud; a shortage of water in the north immediately occasioned complaints against the owners of canals in the south.

It may have happened often enough that an imperial dynasty was overthrown simply because the Nile god, and therefore the other gods also, manifested their

anger by denying the necessary floods. The Westcar papyrus, for example, contains a hint that the house of Chufu was overthrown on this account. Ra announced to the gods that the new kings should increase the sacrifices; in this we may see an indication of a preceding period of scarcity. A passage in the decree of Canopus clearly shows the connection between the height of the floods and the security of the throne, and makes plain that as late as the Ptolemaic period it was thought desirable in official circles to speak in veiled language of these unpopular occurrences, even of such as had occurred in earlier times. With this exception, we have no mention in the earlier ages of this subject in spite of its capital importance for the economic prosperity of the country. The scenes from daily life depicted on the walls of the tombs, varied as they may appear, represent rather an ideal than the actual state of affairs.

For the house of Pepi there can be no doubt that war also produced fatal effects. Una complacently describes how his great army procured food and forage while on the march to the eastern boundary, — that is to say, while still within his own frontiers. "One would plunder travellers of their sandals and food, another would carry off the bread from every village, others would confiscate the goats of all people." Though the lamentations of the peasants may have met with no response, the feeling of the local landowners, who were the chief sufferers in consequence, soon rose to a dangerous height. Thus it is but rarely that we catch a glimpse of any events of real importance throughout the "history" of the Old Empire, which in truth was as yet no empire at all.

The chronology of the period is in a similar state of obscurity. The earliest reliable date occurs in the period of the Middle Empire (beginning of the twelfth dynasty, about 1995 B. C.). The period from 1995 to the end of the sixth dynasty may be considered five hundred years, so that the latter dynasty lasted from 2700 to 2500, and the fifth from 2820 to 2700; the latter one hundred and twenty years are summarised in the Turin papyrus. On the other hand, the great pyramid builders of the fourth dynasty can hardly have been a burden to the land for more than seventy years in all. The supposition of tradition that Chufu lived to see the birth of the founder of the succeeding dynasty is supported by the epitaph of a certain prince Ra-sechem-ka, who served five kings, — Chafra, Menkaura, Shepseskaf, and also Userkaf, and his successor Sahura, of the fifth dynasty. Hence the period occupied by the fourth dynasty may be well limited to the years 2890–2820. We have no means for ascertaining the duration of the first three dynasties, but the seven hundred and sixty-nine years assigned to them (p. 599) can hardly be correct. We shall be nearer the truth if we assume that the Negada kings ruled about the year 3100, and that Menes reigned about 3000 B. C. In view of recent discoveries, even earlier dates are by no means improbable.

B. The Middle Empire

(*a*) *The Period of Transition.* — Manetho, though his work is rich in the names of kings, fails us altogether after his description of the tragic end of Nitokris, nor do the other lists throw any further light on this period. The fragment of the Turin papyrus, containing the name "Neitakert" (p. 607), adds the names of four kings, each of whom reigned but a short time; a summary then follows, to the effect that seventeen hundred and fifty-five years had elapsed since the reign

of Menes. Further calculation makes it clear that Manetho computed the period between Menes and the end of the sixth dynasty as about two hundred and fifty years less than the number above stated. Hence our materials do not enable us to assume that the papyrus fragment contains the end of this dynasty, and the identity of Nitokris with Neitakert immediately becomes uncertain. A mere list of the dynasties computed by Manetho is all the information to be obtained from him upon the very obscure period dividing the sixth from the twelfth dynasty. Remarkably enough, the seventh dynasty is said to have had "seventy kings in seventy days." In view of the more independent position of the landed aristocracy under Pepi, it has been thought to recognise in the seventy monarchs of a day a wholly unsuccessful attempt on the part of the aristocracy to replace the monarchy by a government of nobles holding the power in rotation. At an early period an epitomiser read or emended the statement as "five kings in seventy-five years," perhaps in order to avoid lending his support to a tradition of such historical absurdity.

Like the preceding rulers, the twenty-seven kings of the eighth dynasty (one hundred and forty-six years) are said to have sprung from Memphis. They were followed by two dynasties from Heracleopolis. Of these the ninth consisted of seventeen kings, who reigned four hundred and nine years, and a tenth, likewise of seventeen kings, reigning one hundred and eighty-five years. Their place of origin was Heracleopolis (Chenensu of the Egyptians) in upper Egypt, according to Griffith.

This lack of information is partly supplied by Manetho's statement, which can also be supported by the evidence of inscriptions, that the founder of the ninth dynasty, Achthoës, was the most tyrannical ruler that the country had yet known. After committing many evil deeds he went mad, and was finally eaten by a crocodile, which animal seems in ancient Egypt to have been specially provided by Providence for such purposes. From this instructive story many deductions have been drawn in modern times. The Heracleopolites are supposed to have been foreign conquerors, who broke into the pyramids and destroyed the mummies. A number of sculptures found in the Delta, the style of which is certainly foreign, are supposed to belong to their time. Even the erection of the great Sphinx of Gizeh has been ascribed to them; it is supposed to have been set up where it stands as a symbol of defiance to the pyramid builders. As a matter of fact, the Sphinx does make an impression of this kind, and it is probable that Asiatic invasions took place during this long interval. But so small a body of evidence is hardly sufficient basis for such extensive conclusions. Herodotus, while in Egypt, heard tales related of Cheops and Chephren (cf. p. 604) resembling those ascribed to Achthoës by Manetho; the story, in fact, bears a close resemblance to popular tradition. But tradition would certainly have found nothing to the disadvantage of the Heracleopolite in a comparison between Achthoës and the pyramid builders; such tradition is invariably consistent both in its approval and its hatred. It is probably far more correct to ascribe the sculptures and their foreign style to the Hyksos. A strikingly rude torso of a royal statue discovered in the Fayûm certainly calls for comparison with the statues of the Negada period before other conclusions are accepted.

According to Manetho, the eleventh dynasty included sixteen kings of Thebes, who ruled forty-three years. This is the first appearance in history of the

"southern residence" of the kings of Egypt, although it was not till the beginning of the New Empire that Thebes attained its full importance. As early as the Roman period the city was nothing more than an area of gigantic ruins interspersed with villages, and to-day its site is the great centre of attraction for all travellers who journey beyond Gizeh. The plain on which Thebes was built is crossed by the Nile, and resembles the bottom of a cauldron, the edges of which are formed by hills rising on every side to an equal height. Four main groups of ruins still indicate the approximate area of the ancient city: on the east of the river, Karnak to the north and Luxor to the south; on the west of the river, Medinet Habu to the north and Kurnah to the south, both named after neighbouring fellahin villages. On the west the slopes of the hills are honeycombed by numerous tombs, among which that of Assasif with the terraced temple of Dêr el-Bahri is the best known. The celebrated "valley of the kings' tombs" (Biban el-Moluk) winds far into the chain of hills. The Ramesseum, incorrectly called the "Memnonium" by classical authors subsequent to Strabo, extends not far from the temple of Kurnah. Between the latter and the great temple of Medinet Habu tower the two statues of Memnon. Beyond them rises the great temple of Karnak, surrounded by palms; the rows of columns suffered fresh damage a short time ago from the annual Nile floods, but the injury is to be repaired as far as is practicable. The sanctuary of Luxor together with the obelisk is situated close to the river, while the eastern wall of hills recedes into the distance, terminating in three tall peaks in the south. The "city of the living," once a populous metropolis called Ust by the Egyptians, extended from Karnak to the mountain range; the temple precincts of Karnak proper were named "Apet;" the quays for the river traffic were at Luxor. On the western bank of the Nile lies the great necropolis, the corresponding city of the dead. The "dwellings rich in possessions" and the one hundred gates which are mentioned with admiration in the Iliad, even the fortress of the kings, known as "Ka-em-chut" (high on the horizon) during the time of Amenophis III, have totally disappeared. As in past ages under the Old Empire, the region is to-day covered with green fields where tower those huge memorials of the past, the lonely columns and pylons of Karnak and Luxor. The inhabitants found their last resting-place in the sepulchres which honeycomb the rocky wall of the metropolis, and by these alone is their identity preserved.

Memphis, the northern capital, has also disappeared, together with its more durable pyramids and rows of mastabas. We are unable to discover even the situation of the chief sanctuary, the temple of Ptah; the "white fortress" has also vanished. According to Arab testimony the low hill of rubbish near Mit-Rahine, south of Gizeh, was covered with stately ruins about six hundred years ago; in all probability it served even then as a stone quarry for the growing city of Cairo. The rapid disappearance of the last edifices at Memphis is to be accounted for in the same way.

The time from the beginning of the seventh to the end of the eleventh dynasty according to Manetho's reckoning would amount to far more than the five hundred years allotted to the period of transition on page 608. This number, however, is apparently capable of extension. It has been proved that the twelfth dynasty ruled Egypt from 1995 to 1792, and it has long been known that in the year 1559 the eighteenth dynasty freed the land from the Hyksos. Thus there remains a period of little more than two hundred years in which to place this epoch of

foreign supremacy during which the Egyptian polity and society underwent a steady process of change, although many decades seemed to have elapsed before the complete subjugation of the land by the Hyksos. But when Manetho proceeds to insert into this narrow period his thirteenth (Theban) dynasty of sixty kings reigning for four hundred and fifty-three years, and the fourteenth dynasty, which originated in Xoïs (that is, Sacha, in the centre of the Delta, where apparently no ruins remain), consisting of seventy-six kings ruling for four hundred and eighty-four years, all attempts to satisfy the demands of consistency are baffled. Up to the present time the Turin papyrus has always been considered the chief support of Manetho's account, because the kings of the thirteenth and fourteenth dynasties are there enumerated in full and with much greater detail, comparatively speaking, than in any other account. However, while on the one hand it is possible that the Turin papyrus repeated an erroneous tradition reproduced by Manetho at a later period, on the other hand we have to take into account the condition in which this manuscript was found; the fragments of the papyrus when first pieced together were arranged in accordance with Manetho's list. Of the lists contained in inscriptions, one only, a chronologically worthless list of Karnak, contributes a series of names of kings which could correctly be assigned to this period. It follows that the thirteenth and fourteenth dynasties, of which the latter has long been considered to have ruled over a portion of the Delta only, should be placed before instead of after the twelfth dynasty. As the Xoïtes were only a provincial dynasty, their transference is a question of no particular moment; however, they cannot have been powerful under either the twelfth or the eighteenth dynasty as far as we can see, though they may have existed as an unimportant family under one or the other. No monuments referring to them have as yet been discovered.

The question whether the thirteenth dynasty should be placed before or after the eleventh appears to be of much greater importance, inasmuch as both houses had their origin in Thebes, where the tombs of the thirteenth dynasty kings must also have been situated; in fact, isolated stone sculptures of members of this dynasty appear to have been found in the temple of Karnak. Finally we must not lose sight of the fact that names chosen from the thirteenth dynasty occur in the Karnak list of kings. The solution of the problem does not present any great difficulty. The kings of the ninth dynasty in the Karnak list began with a name which lacks the royal signet. It was therefore with this name that the family first began to assert its power; on the other hand the thirteenth dynasty consisted from the very beginning of great kings who were at various times even more powerful than the members of the twelfth dynasty, and for that very reason no longer resided in Thebes. The stele of King Neferhotep mentions a messenger whom the king sent southward to Abydos (see the map, p. 592). Flinders Petrie has further remarked that "possibly Sebek (the crocodile-headed god) was to them a constant object of worship; the statue of Neferhotep states that the king was 'beloved of Sebek in the midst of Shed' (that is, Crocodilopolis in the Fayûm). Consequently the seat of government may in reality have been situated in the Fayûm ever since the end of the twelfth dynasty." We must, however, draw the opposite conclusion that the residence of the twelfth dynasty in the Fayûm was prepared for them by the "thirteenth dynasty." Years ago the fact was observed that the eleventh dynasty had "an art of its own, resembling quite as closely the style of art under the thirteenth dynasty as it differs from the style of the twelfth,

a difference which increases by comparison with the art of the fourth to the sixth dynasties." The improbable supposition that the development of art in Egypt suddenly turned from its direct course is no longer necessary, if an immediate connection be supposed between the thirteenth dynasty and the eleventh.

In like manner the various monuments provide no connected account of the period of transition. Particularly shrouded in darkness is the age preceding the eleventh dynasty, and little light is thrown upon it even by the legend of Achthoës. This period cannot have been particularly gratifying to Egyptian national feeling; in all probability its chief characteristic was a more or less compulsory amalgamation of Egyptians with Asiatic intruders (cf. p. 609). Hence the care of subsequent tradition lay in the hands of the Theban kings, who were anxious that only their own ancestors should become prominent; consequently we have but few historical data at our disposal for this period. Two or three names may perhaps be assigned with some certainty to the period between the seventh and tenth dynasties. Among these is King Cherti who appears upon the monuments and whose deeds of prowess against Syrian enemies are mentioned in a papyrus. Some graves of dignitaries at Sakkârah are considered to belong to the eighth dynasty, as, for example, that of Apananchu, who lived under King Merkera, and was "not only of true royal blood, but was indeed the favourite of his master and governor of the lands." The necropolis of Dendera seems to have become productive in recent years. "Four provincial princes after Pepi II take us into the obscure period of the seventh dynasty; the sculpture of the time is barbarously rude. Names occur beginning with 'dudu,' hence it may be concluded that King Dudumes must be added to the seventh dynasty. The names Beb and Beba, borne by fifteen different persons, are of bewildering frequency."

Antef and Mentuhotep are the royal names which occur most frequently in the eleventh dynasty. As provincial governors of the fertile and extensive valley of Thebes, the first members of this house attained to great importance, while the tenth dynasty gradually exhausted itself in struggles, details of which are unknown to us. This family soon began to expand; one branch settled in the neighbouring Hermonthis, where Prince Antef sought to connect himself with the earlier rulers by repairing the ruined pyramid of Nechti-aker. The acquisition of Abydos, the religious importance of which town was closely connected with its early political claims, seems to have immediately followed the proclamation of the head of the family as "lord of the upper and the lower land." Probably the future royal residence was also transferred to Abydos. Hence we have an explanation of the fact that a provincial governor, named Antef, again occurs in Thebes with special titles, showing the importance of the city of Amon at that time. This Antef is at the same time warder of the frontier and a "pillar of the south." Of the five or six Antefs and the three Mentuhoteps who are enumerated as being Pharaohs, it is hardly probable that the first ruled the whole country; the moderate estimate of forty-three years given to the whole line by Manetho is therefore certainly incorrect. Mentuhotep III alone at least reigned for forty-six years, and was supreme over Egypt from Assuan to the coast. On the other hand, this reign was not able to recover Ethiopia, which had apparently long since been lost to the kingdom. The date of Antef IV is given by the stele erected in his fiftieth year, which forms part of a larger scene, where the ruler is represented surrounded by his four favourite dogs. From a papyrus report of an investigation into the tombs of the Theban kings,

which took place about 1130 B.C., we learn of the existence of the pyramid of Antef IV, which "lies to the north of the outer court of the temple of Amenhotep, and before which the stele has been erected. Here is to be seen the figure of the king, with his dog named Behaka between his feet." Richly painted mummy cases of Antef kings, all of whom had their small pyramids in Thebes, which were now provided with ante-chambers before the entrance, are still in existence, and of considerable importance for the light they throw on the art of the period. A statuette of Antef V is known, representing him as a conqueror of Asiatics and Nubians. Intimations of domestic wars also occur. During the work upon the temple of Karnak in the spring of 1900, the stele of a king called Antef Nubhafer-Ra was found. Seanchkara seems to have been the last ruler of the eleventh dynasty; he entrusted his official Henu with the fitting out of an expedition to Punt, which advanced eastward through the valley of Hammamât and then proceeded by sea. Although Henu only accompanied the expedition to the coast of the Red Sea, he caused a remarkably boastful description of the undertaking to be carved at Hammamât, which dates from the eighth year of Seanchkara, and perhaps was not set up until after the king's death.

Instead of adopting the misleading designation "the thirteenth dynasty," it is better to comprehend the successors of the Anteps and Mentuhoteps under the term Sebekhotep kings. The untrustworthy state of the traditions obliges us to include them in the period of transition, although these kings may very possibly have reached that zenith of external power usually attributed to the twelfth dynasty. The usurpation of the throne by Amenemhat I seems to have been attended with many difficulties and dangers, and to have greatly embittered him against his predecessors. The fact that the monuments of the Sebekhotep kings are comparatively few in number, and are practically non-existent in the Fayûm, can only be explained as the result of a systematic attempt to blot out their very memory. King Neferhotep probably resided in Crocodilopolis (cf. p. 611), which is indeed in harmony with the fact that the names of the kings of this dynasty were derived from that of the god Sebek, the tutelary deity of the Fayûm. Possibly the rulers of the twelfth dynasty were especially anxious to assume the entire credit of the foundation of the lake province in the west. Manetho, who was also reduced to conjecture, seems to have concluded that because the name of the last king of the twelfth dynasty was Sebeknofru, the Sebekhotep kings must have followed this dynasty. The ancient city at the entrance to the Fayûm, near the sepulchre of King Usertesen II, the population of which was increased by the presence of the labourers employed upon this work, but was afterward suddenly abandoned, no doubt by the king's orders, with a view to the security of the tomb, conceals in its ruins papyrus texts dating from the time of the Sebekhotep kings (cf. p. 619), a fact which is evidence for the connection of these kings with the Fayûm, and for their special position as the predecessors of the twefth dynasty.

Under Sebekhotep I the kingdom even then included the valley of the Nubian Nile as far as Semneh south of the Wadi Halfa. A record has there been discovered of the height of flood during the first four years of his reign, hence it is obvious that this king must have been preceded by other rulers to whom the conquest of this strip of territory is to be ascribed. A certain Ra-Semenchka, of whom two enormous seated statues of gray syenite were situated at Tanis, bore the title of Mermenfitu ("general"). Several kings proclaimed their descent from

fathers who were neither kings nor princes. Thus Sebekhotep II called himself the son of a priest in a subordinate position, named Mentuhotep. The above-mentioned kings, Neferhotep and Sebekhotep III, who were probably brothers, were the offspring of the marriage of a princess with a certain Haanchef. The principle of succession in the female line, of importance in other ages also, is here intentionally emphasised. These two kings marked the highest point attained by the dynasty. The kingdom of Egypt extended beyond the third cataract under Sebekhotep III, whose statue has been found on the island of Arko in that part of the Nile. Neferhotep restored the temple at Abydos (his statue is now in Bologna) in accordance with information regarding the original plan derived from the sacred books. The remaining Sebekhotep kings formed a comparatively long list; but the monuments have little or nothing to tell us concerning them, with the exception of the two kings Sebek-emsaf, of the elder of whom a roughly hewn basalt statue has been discovered in a headless condition.

There are no indications of political decay at this period of Egyptian history, so that the low estimate of years given by the Turin papyrus must be taken for what it is worth; the period, however, seems to stand in connection, as regards these numbers, with the exaggerated length ascribed to the fourteenth dynasty of the Xoïtes (p. 610), of whom we possess no memorials, and whose power must at the most have been confined to the western delta.

(*b*) *The Twelfth Dynasty.* — When King Amenemhat I, the founder of the twelfth dynasty, appointed his son Usertesen I co-regent in his old age, he is said to have presented him with a book of profound "instructions." Possibly, however, Usertesen, after his father's death, thought that it would be convenient to make the political wisdom of his predecessor responsible for the unpopularity of his own administration. Several long fragments of this work still remain, proving that the "teachings of King Amenemhat" were propounded to school-boys under the New Empire, and that at that time the extremity of confusion and obscurity was demanded of a genuine fragment of didactic writing of the old school. The passages which are least obscure contain the following: "That previously Usertesen had taken no part in the government; now, however, disobedience and treason will surely come to an end." The preceding section was a kind of lament for the misfortunes which had oppressed Amenemhat; when he relates that the very men deserted him, or became his enemies, who had eaten his bread and worn the clothes he gave them, and to whom he had been of assistancee in other respects, we have a true picture of the behaviour of the former friends and servants of a proscribed monarch. Amenemhat lies down to rest at night with his arms beside him, and wakes at the moment men are approaching with the intention of attacking him; however, "he drives the wretches back." Hence he warns Usertesen, "Love no brother and have no friend, and if thou sleepest, depend for thy safety upon thyself. In the day of misfortune a man shall find no helper." The inscriptions on the tomb of a provincial lord, Chnumhotep, at Beni-Hassan, confirm the fact that it was not until after a severe struggle that Amenemhat raised himself to the Egyptian throne, and that the grandfather of Chnumhotep rose to greatness as the result of a general change in the provincial governorship. He became lord of the nome of the goat, with a residence at Menat-Chufu, to which was later added the neighbouring nome of the gazelle. It was here in Central Egypt that the new

dynasty seems to have specially secured its position, for it, like the previous line, undoubtedly originated in Thebes, and apparently removed the seat of power to the Fayûm.

We learn from inscriptions (especially from those in the tombs of the provincial governors of Siut, Bersheh, and Beni-Hassan) that Amenemhat I introduced far-reaching changes into the administration, and that in this respect at least he must be looked upon as a great reformer. Whenever a man of judgment and energy is forced to struggle for his proper position in the world, activity in some similar direction is usually the first consequence of his success. After he had either set aside or entirely abolished the old aristocracy of the provincial rulers, the introduction of new laws defining the authority of their successors became a simple matter. The new provincial governors (nomarchs) were placed on an equality with their predecessors, in so far as the landed property vacated by the latter was for the most part handed over to them; thus they still remained the most powerful landed proprietors in any one district, with the exception of the interests represented by the temple property and the royal domains. But from a landed nobility they became an official class, and were transformed from petty princes into prefects. This change again made a simplification of the government possible as regarded the highest authorities. During the Old Empire the division of the country into "the south" and "the north" formed the basis of the administrative machinery, the king, as "lord of both lands," forming the connecting link. Now, under the twelfth dynasty, the personal tie gives place to a union of political reality. Nevertheless, the historical distinction between north and south, resting as it did upon racial differences, was too deeply rooted to disappear entirely.

Side by side with the king, the high treasurer now appears with authority over the whole of Egypt. Under the Old Empire the importance of this official had steadily increased until he took precedence of all others. Among other titles of this highest official were "greatest of the great, prince, overseer of the human race, who advises the king, and to whom the entire land renders account." His responsibility was appropriately expressed in the title "overseer of all that exists and of all that does not." Next in rank stood the "treasurer of the god," or "chief warden of the silver house," whose chief duty seems to have been to prepare estimates for the general expenditure, while the "chief judge and head of the overseers," the vizier of the Old Empire, received the post of prefect of the capital, a position of great splendour but of limited authority. Officials of middle and lower rank now appear in large numbers. They also were chiefly concerned with the treasury, and looked up with awe to the high treasurer, "who nourishes the people;" he also made provision for the sacrifices to the gods and the dead (that is, so far as the customary offerings of the king to the distinguished dead were concerned), and attended to the repair and decoration of the temples.

The Old Empire, with its bewildering profusion of high offices, dignities, and titles of honour, bore the character of an oligarchy of nobles moderated by the despotism of the king, and in some respects reminds us of the mandarin system; whereas the State of Amenemhat and Usertesen was governed upon principles of administration closely resembling the economic system of the eighteenth century of our era. The dependence of the temples upon the royal treasury is plainly marked, although the colleges of priests controlled their own incomes derived from a mortmain possession of lands sufficient to support them. But the State not only

controlled the sacrifices by means of the ingenious edict that the nomarch must receive his appointed share, but the colleges themselves also found it advantageous to place at their head the chief authority in the nome. It was rarely a matter of great difficulty to make such an authority eligible for inclusion in the legitimate families by means of fabricated genealogies. The salary of such an official, holding at the same time the lucrative position of chief priest and prophet, when added to the revenue of his private estates and official lands, rose to an amount enabling him to support a princely establishment.

It is certain, however, that his outgoings and expenses were not small. The government, in the person of its highest administrator, the high treasurer, was very exacting in its demand that a good profit should be forthcoming from the nome when the accounts were balanced. The treasury expenditure was not to exceed the income; on the contrary, the nomarch was so to arrange the average imposition of taxes as to have a credit balance of taxation in reserve which could be drawn upon in bad years. In many nomes this was an easy matter, in others it was more difficult. Possibly, also, the great financial adviser, who stood so close to the king's ear, was none too ready to grant assistance in the time of want. "When years of famine came," writes Ameni, the prefect of the nome of the gazelle under Usertesen I, "I ploughed the fields of the province to its frontiers on the south and on the north" (a religious rite originally incumbent upon the king). "I preserved the lives of the inhabitants of the province and gave them sustenance, so that there were none starving therein. I gave the same portion to the widow as to the married woman, and never preferred the great before the small in granting my assistance. And afterward the river rose high, wheat and barley throve, and there was abundance in the land, but I did not oppress the peasant because of his arrears." Although Ameni caused this account of his benevolence to be inscribed only upon his tomb with the object of standing well with the gods of the dead and in the estimation of posterity, he seems none the less at that time to have made good the deficiency without resorting to the royal treasury, and thereby to have made the best provision for the interests of his people, for the high treasurer was an even more ruthless creditor than the nomarch himself. Although years of drought were the most severe test of the capacities of a nomarch for administration, yet his current expenses at other times were of very considerable amount. It was necessary to exceed the expectations of the court by paying a carefully calculated surplus in excess of the regular demands. In order to carry on the business of his own little centre, the nomarch was obliged to keep an office with a comparatively large number of scribes, from the idle superintendent lolling upon his pillows, to the harassed registrar who again had to be watched lest he should endeavour to increase his narrow income by a secret understanding with the peasants who paid the taxes. Should the Pharaoh set out "to make the foreign countries tremble before his majesty," the nomarch was obliged to call out his contingent (Ameni provides four hundred to six hundred men), and to take the field with his sovereign. The chief treasury officials had also to be conducted to the quarries and mines in the land of the Trogodytes or in the Sinaitic peninsula, or the nomarch himself was despatched upon royal commissions. If successful, he was the recipient of high praise, as well as of material rewards on his return to court.

The nomarch greatly cherished the right of journeying to the quarries on his own account, there to order the stone decorations for his future tomb or to have his

statue carved in heroic size. What he valued most, however, was the royal assurance that the governorship of the nome should become the hereditary possession of his house. When this assurance was received the tomb within the cliffs truly became a place of consolation in view of the period after his death. His family would never be threatened by want, and there would be no interruption to the sacrifices to the ancestors. Sehotep-ab-Ra, a high treasury official who died in the reign of Amenemhat III, thus exhorts his children upon the stele of his tomb: "I speak with a loud voice; dispose ye yourselves to hear and to learn the everlasting doctrine that leads to life and conducts to peace. Praise the king Amenemhat Maaten-Ra in your breast and glorify him in your heart; for he is the god Thoth, whose eyes pierce the wind; he is Ra, whose brilliance illumines Egypt more than the sun. He does more for the land than the Nile; he fills it with power and life; he gives those who obey him food and drink; he nourishes those who follow in his path."

The reign of Amenemhat I began in the year 1995; in 1975 he appointed his son Usertesen I co-regent, and died on the seventh day of the Egyptian month Phaophi, 1965. Apparently the old king's chief motive in appointing his successor as co-regent at such an early date was, above all things, to secure the crown to his own house; in all other respects he himself remained at the head of affairs. The decade of the co-regency was occupied by foreign wars. A poetical inscription of the twenty-fourth year of Amenemhat's reign (now in the Louvre) refers to wars against the Nubians, the Bedouins of the Sinaitic desert, the Trogodytes, and even against Punt. We have an undoubted reference to a campaign in the twenty-ninth year of the reign against the Nubian land Wawat; and when the king died within his palace, Usertesen was abroad upon an expedition against one of the northern oases.

Everything possible had been done to ensure that this change in the government should be carried through without difficulty. A gleam of light is thrown upon the process by a story of adventure, which certainly rests upon a basis of fact. Sanehat, a near relation and court official of Amenemhat I, who is also said to have been "high in the queen's favour," was at that time in the capital. As soon as "the god had ascended to heaven," and the palace was closed, the chief court dignitary despatched couriers to Usertesen I. Sanehat had either committed himself to the support of another claimant to the throne, or he had been on ill terms with Usertesen at an earlier period; at any rate, he went out a stage from the town to meet the returning couriers, and was not a little terrified on seeing Usertesen approach with a small company of followers. Trembling, he crawled into a bush until the king had passed, and in the conviction that a revolt would break out in the capital he fled southward, crossed the Nile, and finally reached the eastern desert near the bitter lakes, after creeping through the frontier entrenchments of the so-called "prince's wall" by night. A Bedouin sheik who took the fugitive under his protection asked ironically, "What is the matter? Has anything happened at the court of Amenemhat? Did he ascend to the horizon under mysterious circumstances?" Sanehat answered "deceitfully." The Bedouins treated him with great respect. Ultimately he becomes chief of a tribe, wins fame in war, and sees his sons grow up around him. But in his old age a letter of pardon is sent to him by Usertesen granting him free return to Egypt. He calls for hymns of praise to be sung, and utters not a word of sorrow at parting from his adopted

home. In fact, to a description of the comfort which once again surrounded him at the court he adds the remark: "The filth was left to the desert, the coarse clothing to the sand dwellers. I was clothed in fine linen and anointed with the oil of the land. I slept in a bed. Thus I grudge not the sand to those who dwell upon it, nor the oil of the tree to him that hath no better." From particular developments of the story, which is obviously founded upon historical facts, it further appears that the queen whose favour Sanehat had previously enjoyed was still alive, and had regained her former position of splendour.

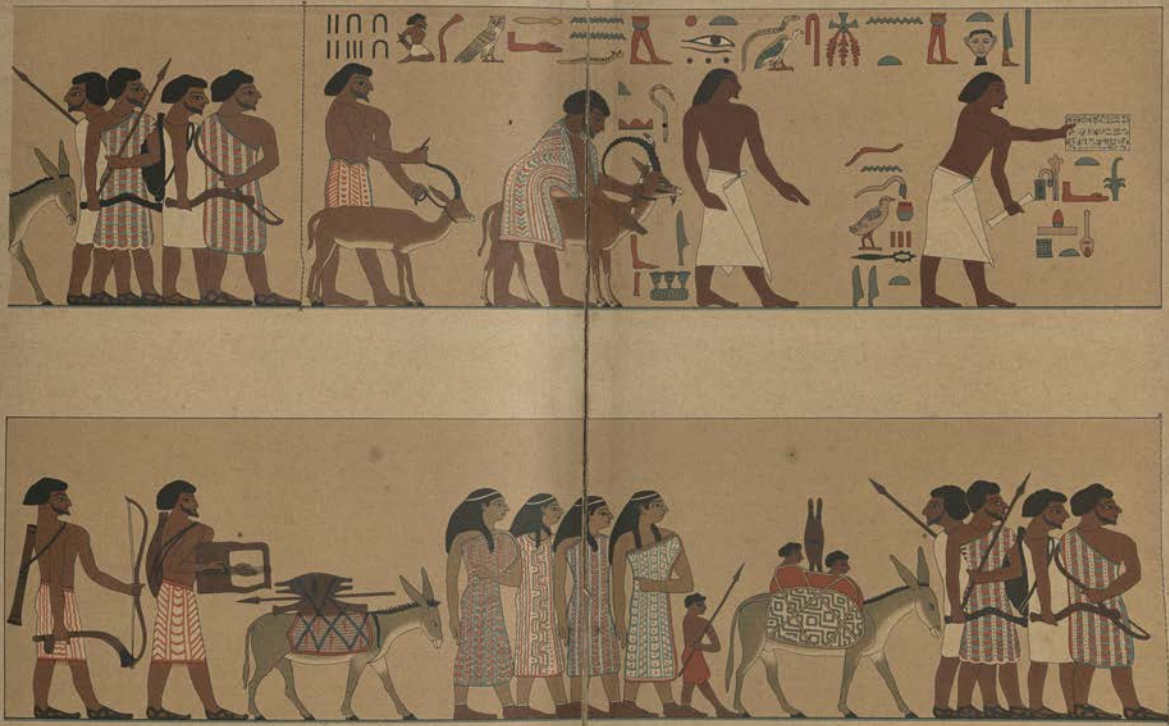
Usertesen I reigned forty-four years, so that he died in 1931. He, too, must apparently be included among the great builders. Three stone sculptures of him have been found at Tanis, which must have been for many years the first city of the Delta. At Heliopolis (the modern Matarijeh, not far from Cairo) he erected a temple, before which one of two obelisks is still standing and indicates the site of the building; the other was destroyed by the Arabs in the year 1258 A. D. A remarkable obelisk of red granite now lies in fragments near Begig in the Fayûm, "a token that this province was a constant object of attention." The temple of Osiris at Abydos, the sanctuary of Amon at Karnak, and the temple of Koptos were all repaired by the care of Usertesen. The primitive temple at Hieraconpolis (cf. p. 594), which had already been repaired by the kings of the sixth dynasty, was again restored. A sparrow-hawk two feet long with a tall plume, made of beaten gold without and of bronze and wood within, with eyes of obsidian, was discovered by Quibell in that part of the ruins belonging to the period of Usertesen. Inscriptions of Usertesen I have come to light at Wadi Halfa at the second cataract, one of which mentions the eighteenth year of his reign and speaks of victories over Nubian tribes. We have also a narrative of this event from Ameni, mentioned above (p. 616), dating from the king's forty-third year. According to the story of Sanehat he was "the strong man who fights with his sword, the courageous without compare. He is the avenger, the shatterer of skulls, in whose presence none remain standing. He is swift of foot behind the fugitives; whoso turns his back to him has no time to get his breath. He is (also however) the kind man, the agreeable, who has won affection for himself. His city loves him more than itself; it rejoices more in him than in its god. How joyful is this land which he rules!"

Two years before his death Usertesen followed his father's example and appointed his son Amenemhat II (1933 to 1898) co-regent. The monuments erected during the reign of this king seem to be of less architectural importance than those of his father. We have no mention of war during his reign. With the accession of Amenemhat II the period begins when the dynasty could enjoy in peace the fruits of the labour of the first two kings. In the year 1914 Chnumhotep succeeded his father as governor of the nome of the goat (cf. p. 613); and all the other changes in the officials of which we hear seem in like manner to have been directed to secure the succession to this family. According to Manetho, Amenemhat II lost his life in a palace revolution; as early as 1901 he had appointed his son Usertesen II (1898 to 1892) as co-regent. The pyramid of Illahun has been identified as the tomb of this king, and an interesting seated statue of his wife Nefert, wearing a padded wig that falls over her breast in two spiral curls, has been found in Tanis. But the most striking pictorial representation belonging to the reign of this monarch belongs also to the tomb of Chnumhotep (see plate,

THE ENTRY OF A HORDE OF SEMITIC NOMADS INTO EGYPT, ABOUT THE YEAR 1895 B.C.

The picture overleaf is reproduced from the tomb of Chuemhotep, the governor, who held the post of "overseer of the Eastern desert-lands" under the so-called twelfth dynasty. It immortalises an event which took place during the governorship of this dignitary in the sixth year of the reign of King Usertesen II.—that is, about 1895 B.C.—and which must have been of unusual importance. A horde of Semites, numbering 37 persons, according to the hieroglyphic inscription above the picture, appeared before the prince, bearing the eyesalve which the Egyptians valued highly, no doubt in exchange for the products of Egyptian manufacture or agriculture, possibly also desiring permission to settle upon the border of the Egyptian arable land, as the family of Jacob did, according to the Biblical narrative, and as the Bedouins settle at the present day.

The picture—divided owing to exigencies of space—shows two Egyptians on the right, recognisable by their more slender build, their red complexion, the careful arrangement of the hair and beard, and the smooth white linen cloth which forms their only garment. In the hieroglyphic explanation the first appears as "Neferhotep, the royal commissioner"; he hands to the governor Chuemhotep, who is standing before him (not seen in our plate), a papyrus leaf, on which are noted the date and the number of the new arrivals, their origin, the nature of their wares and their leaders; in the other hand he holds a second papyrus rolled up. The second Egyptian is "Achtöje, the chief huntsman." The Egyptian artist has clearly distinguished the Semitic arrivals from the Egyptians by marking the special characteristics of their physiognomy and bearing, and by their coloured garments; their band is led by the Sheik, "*Jbs*, the ruler of foreign lands" (possibly Jabesh (?) with insertion of the vowels), as he is named in the explanation. Richer clothing and a short sceptre distinguish him from his compatriots. With a deep obeisance he approaches the Egyptian magnate, from whom he begs the rights of hospitality, and, supported by a servant, leads towards him a pair of gazelles, a gift from his desert home. The Sheik is followed by the main body of the tribe, represented by four men in our picture armed with bows, throwing-sticks and spears, and four women (the tribe thus, perhaps, consisting of four families); between these are the children: two young children are tied upon a baggage ass, and an older youth, who carries his spear with the assumed importance of his elders and seems to act as donkey driver, is depicted with marvellous realism. The rear of the column is brought up by a second donkey and two servants; one plays a stringed instrument like a lyre, the sounds of which accompany the solemn advance of the procession; the other holds out his bow in a dignified attitude.



THE ARRIVAL OF A TRIBE OF SEMITIC NOMADS IN EGYPT, ABOUT THE YEAR 1895 B. C. ANCIENT EGYPTIAN WALL-PAINTING IN A TOMB NEAR BENI HASSAN, MIDDLE EGYPT.

Drawn by A. Lhôte after Lepsius, Denkmäler II, 133, with the assistance of the original tracings and notes of the Prussian Expedition of 1842–45.)

The four Semites between the ancient gazelle and the pack-ass are repeated here only as shown by the crosses and dotted lines

"The Entry of a Horde of Semitic Nomads into Egypt about the Year 1895 B.C."). To the annexed explanation should be added a mention of the long prevalent belief that the picture represented the arrival in Egypt of the patriarch Abraham, spoken of in the Old Testament. At the present day the fact that a Semitic prince came to the court of Chnumhotep from a district of Further Asia known to have been cultivated, with his family and his armed attendants (though with peaceful intentions, for the authority of this monarch also extended over the eastern frontier), is only one of those political occurrences which became even more frequent under the New Empire. The arrival of such a people presupposes the existence of Egyptian influence in Palestine, for the prince of "I-b-s" apparently comes as a suppliant to the Pharaoh. About 1400 it was almost an everyday occurrence for the petty lords of Syria-Palestine, when hard pressed by aggressive neighbours, to come to the Egyptian court with complaints and requests for help ("If the lord king will send no troops this year, let him despatch his servants and fetch me and my family away that we may die near the king our master"); and we have here a precisely similar occurrence five hundred years earlier. Although the twelfth dynasty was comparatively rich in monuments, this event shows the insufficiency of our information upon those international relations, the knowledge of which is indispensable for the thorough appreciation of the historical importance of Amenemhat and Usertesen.

The reign of Usertesen III (1882 to 1847) is characterised by important incidents of another kind. The first third of his reign was chiefly occupied in war: the king directed his main efforts against the Nubian peoples. The southern frontier of the Egyptian kingdom was again pushed forward beyond the second cataract, that is, almost to the limit of its extension under the Sebekhotep kings. At Semneh and at Kummeh on the opposite bank of the Nile, about latitude 21° N. Usertesen III erected two great barrier forts, the remains of which are still of sufficient size to afford an idea of ancient Egyptian methods of fortification. Even at this early period the device was employed of curving back the upper parts of the great brick bastions, in order to prevent the use of scaling-ladders. An inscription set up at Semneh in the eighth year of the king says, "This is the southern boundary. No negro or his cattle may pass north of this line either by land or by water. Should they appear in the land of Akent for purposes of trade, or if they have any business there, nothing shall be done to them; but their boats may never pass beyond Heh." Nevertheless in the sixteenth and nineteenth years of Usertesen's reign fresh campaigns against the Nubians became necessary. The conclusion of the first is commemorated by another inscription at Semneh, which contains reference to the negroes characterised both by animosity and contempt. In conclusion, the king warns his descendants never to be driven back from this frontier; any one who should retreat was not to be called his descendant. There were good reasons for this exhortation. In the Osiris town of Abydos the king's high treasurer, named Aichernofert, erected a monument to commemorate the completion of an important commission for glorifying and presenting gifts to the god, on which he had been sent by Usertesen III: "The royal order to . . . the nearest friend, the superintendent of the houses of gold and silver, the high treasurer Aichernofert. My Majesty commands that thou be guided to Abydos, to erect a memorial to my father Osiris [the king speaks as the incarnation of the god Horus on the earth], the overlord of the West, and to adorn the secret places [the adytum

of the temple] with the gold that my Majesty brought forth from Nubia with victory and honour." Thus it is probable that the two fortresses in the Nubian Nile valley defended the entrance to the gold mines of the south.

Of the other buildings erected by Usertesen III, the temple in Herakleopolis and his pyramid at Dashur are of special importance; an investigation of the latter in 1894 showed that the king and his consort, Henut-taui, together with two princesses, Sent-es-seneb and Sat-Hathor, were buried therein. The gold ornaments of the princesses lay in a receptacle which must have escaped the eyes of the plunderers, who had long previously stripped the interior. This is the second occasion on which the jewels of a royal lady of the ancient Egyptian civilization have come to light. Especially rich and finely wrought is the large breast ornament, a design of lions and griffins, with crowns and feathers surrounding the king's signet, over which a vulture hovers with expanded wings.

Of great importance, however, to history is the discovery of the first date of real chronological value. The ancient city at the entrance of the Fayûm, mentioned page 613 above, now known as Kahun after the nearest settlement, has yielded a comparatively large number of papyri of the twelfth dynasty. These are proved to be accounts, letters, and deeds referring to the administration of the temple there situated, the thorough arrangement of which (the articles used in the ritual were carried in and out every day, the priesthood was divided into courses serving in rotation for a month, etc.), though not surprising in a State so well organised as the Egypt of the twelfth dynasty, is however presented to us here for the first time in unusually great detail. In a kind of diary discovered among the "Kahun" papyrus is found a notice to the effect that on the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month of the seventh year of Usertesen III the superintendent of the temple informed the governor that he proposed to make preparations for the festival for the rise of Sirius, which occurred on the sixteenth day of the following month; in fact, we find on the day following the date thus stated a list of "the festival offerings for the rise of the star Sirius." As two similar dates in the history of the New Empire were already known, it was possible to calculate by means of the astronomical data thus given that Usertesen's seventh year lay between 1876 and 1873 B.C. This discovery has made an end of the various hypotheses regarding the chronology of the Middle Kingdom, the beginning of which had been variously dated 2130, 2778, or 3315. We have elected for the year 1875; however, it is possible that after the time of Amenemhat II co-regencies may have occurred among his successors, of which for the moment we have no knowledge save in the case of one at the conclusion of the dynasty. Hence the duration of this dynasty may in reality have been somewhat less by a few years than is now supposed.

The main principles of the ancient Egyptian calendar, apart from a few comparatively small improvements, are still followed at the present day; although we should not forget that the main credit in this department must be given to the Babylonians and their astronomical calculations, which were much more accurate, as far as we can see. For the Egyptians the natural year began with the rise of the Nile, which occurred on July 20. According to the original reckoning of the priests, which began from this New Year's day, the year was divided into twelve months (Thoth, Phaophi, Athyr, Choiak, Tybi, Mechir, Phamenoth, Pharmuti, Pachons, Payni, Epiphi, and Mesori), each of thirty days; the overplus of five days was added later, but no provision was made in these calculations for the quarter of a day

necessary to complete the solar year. The New Year's day, a permanent date, was also connected with the observation that the dog star reappeared in the eastern sky at the time that the season of floods began. Thus as a day was lost at the end of every four official years, it was necessary to ascertain astronomically the date of the feast of "Sothis" (that is, Sirius). Now in the year 139 A. D. the actual morning rise of Sirius fell on the first day of the leap year. This therefore signified the close of a cycle ("a Sothis period") of $4 \times 365 = 1460$ years; consequently the two previous cycles terminated in the years 1322 and 2782 B. C. From the dates thus established it has been possible to verify such information upon Egyptian calendars as that given in the above-mentioned Kahun papyrus. In 1898 the Berlin Museum came into the possession of the simple instruments with which the Egyptians determined the hours of the night. The "hour-priests" who undertook this duty sat opposite to one another, each holding a plummet line in his hand and looking through a slit in a palm leaf held close to his eye. While one priest remained with his back to the south and to his companion in such a position that the plummet line appeared to point up through his head to the pole star, the other priest, the "polar observer," scrutinised the fixed stars which appeared nearest to the head of his assistant. These observations were stated somewhat as follows: On the 16th of Phaophi, in the first hour, "the leg of the giant" was above the heart (of the southern hour-priest); in the second hour the star Patef, in the third hour the star Ari, and in the fourth "the claw of the goose" stood over the left eye; in the fifth the hind part of the goose stood over the heart, etc. In the royal tombs of the twelfth dynasty several tables of this kind have been found giving the stars at their highest altitude during the twelve hours of the night for periods of fifteen days; the priest whose body served as a norm is reproduced as sitting in a field ruled in squares, by which means an accurate reproduction of the hour stars is made possible. The instruments for astronomical measurement discovered as recently as 1898 also belong to the Saïte period. The bone handle of the plummet line bears in addition to the owner's name the following inscription: "I know the course of the sun, of the moon, and of all the stars to their places." The rib of palm leaf (thirty-four centimetres long) bore the appropriate exhortation, "Watch to appoint the time for the festival and bring all men to their hours."

Under Amenemhat III (1847 to 1802) the greatness of this financially powerful dynasty begins to wane. The pyramidal tomb of the king rises in the inner border of the Fayûm to the east near Hawara, and from that point overlooks, not only the entire lake land, but also the chain of hills separating the Fayûm from the Nile valley. It was to the lake land that Amenemhat III devoted his special attention. The crocodile god Sebek, the chief deity of the Fayûm, must have suffered in consequence of the antagonism of Amenemhat's forefathers to the Sebekhotep dynasty (cf. p. 613), which, so late as the year 1933, found expression in an absolute refusal to grant any memorial to the conqueror. But as early as the reign of Usertesen III indications appear showing that the old antipathies were gradually dying away. Further, Amenemhat III once more introduced names compounded with Sebek into his family. His solicitude for the worship of the god is evidenced by several monuments and by the great temple at Hawara, the fame of which as one of the wonders of the world was continued by its name of "Labyrinth." The king is also said to have improved the shores of the lake, in all probability in order to secure better surroundings for his residence, Shed-Crocodi-

lopolis, the modern Medinet el-Fayûm. As the customary recognition of his services in the shape of commemorative tablets appears throughout the district, it is quite possible that as early as the period of the Saïtes "the restorer of the Meri lake" may have been confused in the accounts of Greek travellers with the "king Moeris," who was certainly the first to create the lake. There is no doubt that at that time the depression in the land contained a far greater lake formed by an arrangement of dams and sluices in the Bahr-Yusuf; whereas the modern Birket el-Kerûn falls only into the western part of the bed (cf. p. 588). Two pyramids mentioned by Herodotus as standing in the middle of Lake Moeris, each bearing the seated statue of a king, are thought to have been identified with the ruins at Biahmu northwest of Medinet. An intelligible description of the Labyrinth alone has been handed down to our time; one corner of it is said to have adjoined the pyramid of Amenemhat. The curiously low temple of Sebek, faced with white stone, may not have been dissimilar in plan to a mastaba of unusual size, and with its enormous adjoining chambers may have recalled the Labyrinth of Crete. Some statues and busts of Amenemhat III are remarkable for the obvious pains that have been taken to produce a likeness: the cheek bones are prominent and the mouth shows a characteristic wrinkle.

Shortly before his death the king appointed his successor Amenemhat IV as co-regent. He is said to have reigned nine years in all, six of which can now be verified by evidence. He was succeeded by his wife, who was perhaps his sister, Sebeknofru, who also continued the building operations in Hawara; but the dynasty came to an end, according to Manetho, with her death four years later. The length of her predecessors' reigns has led Petrie to doubt that the succession was invariably from father to son; he asks whether it was not transferred to the son-in-law, that is to say, to the female line. If this be so, it seems remarkable that Sebeknofru did not ensure the continuance of her house by this means after the death of Amenemhat IV. It may be that she did take such a step, and that she with her second husband were the victims of a revolt (1792 B. C., or rather earlier), which the special favours shown to the lake province were certain sooner or later to provoke. At any rate, from the time of Sebeknofru there is no trace of any limitation of the royal activities to the fruitful district of the Fayûm. It was not until eastern influence became prominent in Egypt that a certain preference on the part of the government for the lake province reappears.

(*c*) *The Hyksos and the Seventeenth Dynasty.* — If about the year 1400 B. C. the wealth of the country, the treasures of its royal house, and its temples were so renowned in Further Asia that the Oriental rulers did not scruple to make their friendship dependent upon gifts from this abundance, foreign opinion upon the twelfth dynasty must have been very much the same. At any rate, after the death of Amenemhat III the military power of Egypt began to decline, and was further weakened by internal strife. The name of a king discovered in the temple of Karnak, which in form at least seems to belong to the transition period, is that of Ameni-Antef-Amenemhat, an artificial composition of names belonging to very different periods. However, about the middle of the sixteenth century Egypt became a prey to the Asiatics. "There ruled in our land," relates Manetho (quoted by Flavius Josephus), "a king named Timaios. In his time it happened, I do not know why, that a god was angry with us. And from the east there appeared un-

expectedly people of low origin who defiantly invaded our land and took forcible possession of it, meeting with no serious resistance. After taking captive the rulers they burnt our cities, destroyed the dwellings of the gods, and inflicted all manner of cruelties upon the inhabitants; some were massacred, the wives and children of others were enslaved."

This description of the rapid victory of the Asiatics is evidence for the fact that the excellence of military equipment must have fully compensated for the disadvantages of "low origin;" in all probability they were the first people to acquaint the Egyptians with the use of horses and chariots in battle. Until this time great heroes (for example, Usertesen I) were praised for their swiftness of foot, but after the liberation of Egypt the Pharaohs drove out to battle in their chariots.

(*a*) *The Hyksos.* — With the arrival of the foreigners, the so-called Hyksos, the valley of the Nile was overrun by a people who must have come from the Far East; for their appearance in Egypt was closely connected with the conquest of Babylon by the Kassites (Kash-shu; cf. p. 15), which either began or was completed in the year 1746. According to Manetho's account it would appear as if the conquest of Egypt at first implied the dependency of the country upon some Asiatic empire. "Finally they made one of their leaders king, who was called Salatis. He went to Memphis and levied tribute from Upper and Lower Egypt. He also placed garrisons at suitable points. His attention was, however, chiefly directed to securing the eastern frontier in view of a possible attack from the growing Assyrian power. Observing on the eastern bank of the Bubastic Nile a town called Avaris, because of some ancient mythological connection, and finding its situation suitable for his object, he fortified it, surrounded it with walls, and garrisoned it with two hundred and fifty thousand heavy armed troops. In the summer he used to betake himself thither in order to collect tribute, pay his soldiers, and exercise his army in warfare, that it might inspire terror into the foreigners." The term "Assyrians" is here employed by Manetho to denote the empire for the time being on the Tigris and Euphrates, as it was in later times by the Byzantines, who spoke of themselves as fighting against "Ishmaelites" and "Assyrians" instead of against Omejjades and Abbassides. At any rate, it is significant that Salatis, whose name recalls in many respects the Egyptian title "Shallit," which the Joseph of the Bible received from Pharaoh, immediately sought to fortify his kingdom in the direction from which his own nation had come.

"Salatis died after ruling nineteen years. After him another, named Beon (or Bnon), reigned forty-four years. He was succeeded by Apachnas, who reigned thirty-six years and seven months. After him came Apophis with a reign of sixty-one years, and Janias with fifty years and one month. Finally came Assis with a reign of forty-nine years and two months. These six were the first of their rulers, and during their days there was continual war with the Egyptians, whom they endeavoured to annihilate. The people as a whole were called Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings; for 'Hyk' means king in the sacred language and 'Sos' a shepherd, so also in the popular tongue, and hence was 'Hyksos' compounded. By some they were considered to be Arabs. Thus this people is called the shepherd kings; they and their descendants held possession of Egypt for five hundred and eleven years." Thus far Manetho's extraordinary account, which Flavius Josephus can hardly have quoted from the original narrative. If the conquerors themselves ever made

use of the expression "shepherd kings," which we have every reason to doubt, the term was applicable only to their chiefs, not to the masses. However, as early as the twelfth dynasty the Bedouins of the steppes to the east of Egypt were known as "Shasu." This name must have been adopted in later times to denote the race of foreign conquerors.

The period of the Hyksos's rule has been exaggerated in the same manner as were the periods ascribed to the eighth, ninth, and tenth, and in part to the thirteenth dynasty. Instead of five centuries the supremacy of the Hyksos in the Nile valley lasted a little more than two hundred years. The first six rulers mentioned above form Manetho's fifteenth dynasty. They are followed by the sixteen "other shepherds" without names or dates. Manetho gives a seventeenth dynasty as consisting of forty-three Theban kings, who ruled contemporaneously with forty-three Hyksos during a period of one hundred and fifty-one (or two hundred and twenty-one) years. This is probably correct, for the supremacy of the Hyksos did not always extend as far as the stronghold Avaris (the Egyptian Hauar or Hatuar), a short distance from Tanis, but seems later to have been extended into Palestine and to have lost ground in Egypt itself. Wherever the Asiatics retreated and allowed the natives to supplant them, their monuments were also exposed to destruction.

Of the six kings, Apophis alone has left any historic traces behind him in the Delta and in the region of Memphis. From these it has been shown that at least three Hyksos bore his name. "Janias," however, may be identified with the king Chian, of whom the base of a stone statue has been discovered in Bubastis and a lion marked with his signet in Bagdad. Signet cylinders and scarabs (reproductions of the sacred dung-beetle in stone or porcelain) bearing his non-Egyptian title, engraven in a primitive style, render it evident that he was one of the very earliest of the Hyksos. Scarabs of a similar primitive style have been found with the inscriptions "Uazed" and "Japek-her." On the other hand, the Apepi kings belong to a time when the Hyksos's court and also their methods of government had become entirely Egyptian. Apepi Ra-neb-nem even restored the tomb of Queen Apuit (sixth dynasty) at Memphis, thus showing that he considered himself a lineal descendant of the ancient families. Under Apepi Ra-a-user, who left behind him some short dedicatory inscriptions, a papyrus was written treating of mathematical problems. Finally the name of Apepi Ra-a-kenen has been found on the well-wrought base of an altar which he set up to the god Set of Hauar. He also appears to have attempted to immortalise his name by inscribing it on several statues of earlier kings, as, for example, on that of Mermenfitu (p. 613), where he calls himself "the life-giving son of the sun, Apepi, beloved of Set." On the other hand, Amenophis III has replaced this name with his own on another statue. Generally speaking, this custom of appropriating earlier memorials began in the Hyksos period, and increased greatly in later times. Upon a remarkable scribe's tablet, unfortunately in a damaged condition, the praises of a certain king Apepi, who is stated to have been the donor, are inscribed; in this case the Hyksos Pharaoh is given a formal title, "the image of the sun god living upon the earth," whose equal is not to be found in all countries. A stele in Tanis, of the reign of Ramses II, seems to furnish a clue to the chronology of the times: "Year four hundred of the king of both lands, Set-aa-pehti, son of the sun, Nubti-Set." Whether this statement is to be taken as it stands and a Hyksos king with this

name to be assigned to the year 1675 remains a matter of doubt. At any rate, the eastern Delta, especially at Tanis, has remained to the present time the chief source for monuments relating to the Hyksos. Examples of unique interest in the history of art are the two standing figures of the "fish sacrificers," a sphinx, a king's head from Bubastis, and the upper part of a statue from Mit-Faris in the Fayûm. If these figures, with their bony, broad-nosed faces and thick hair, are fully representative of the style of portraiture which the Schasu brought into the country, this people were certainly not a pure Semitic type (doubt has been thrown also upon the supposed Semitic origin of the Kassites); the bust of Mit-Faris is of far greater antiquity, as is plain from the rudeness of its execution, than the other statues, which have an appearance of greater finish.

(β) *Seventeenth Dynasty.*— Upper Egypt freed itself from the direct administration of the Hyksos at an early period. As early as 1650 B.C. native princes appeared in that district who were able to maintain a certain amount of independence in return for the payment of a tribute. However, this "seventeenth dynasty," which was again settled in Thebes, where it erected its tombs, cannot have attained entire independence, because at all times the power of importing wood to Upper Egypt for the construction of the river boats, the most important means of communication, depended upon the possession of the mouths of the Nile. Hence it is an important point in the history of the decline and fall of the Hyksos that a numerous and well-equipped fleet turned the scale in favour of Upper Egypt during the final struggle; hence in all probability a decisive blow to the power of the Hyksos was dealt when they lost the western delta and the city of Memphis. As regards the recovery of the western mouth of the Nile, the neighbouring Libyans may well have played a leading part. The king and the Hyksos nation were finally expelled by the Egyptians after a series of desperate conflicts. These Asiatics were not absorbed; their ruling family was not assimilated to the native race either by marriage or adoption. Until victory was assured, the kings of the seventeenth dynasty probably concentrated their efforts upon gaining time and opportunity to act without bringing down upon themselves the entire weight of the Hyksos power, which was formidable even after the year 1600. It is also a pertinent question whether the Nubian gold may not have proved highly serviceable in lightening the heavy task incumbent upon Thebes.

The rise of the Theban kings, who were nothing more than nomarchs before the coming of the Hyksos, was treated by the writers of later years in a manner which irresistibly recalls the popular narratives of the history of Germany. As usual the writer of the papyrus had not the patience to reproduce the whole. It happened, thus begins his interesting fragment, that Egypt was without lawful rulers. Seknen-Ra was prince of the south, Apepi was sovereign in Hauar; the latter, however, had control of the land and its rich products. Behold, Apepi chose Sutech (that is, Set) for his god. He built him a permanent temple and served none of the other gods of the land. Apepi sent an urgent message to Seknen-Ra in which the position of Amon-Ra in the Egyptian system of worship was discussed; Seknen-Ra, however, was seized with great consternation. "The prince of the south called his great and his wise men about him and told them all the words of the king Apepi. They, however, remained silent in perplexity and found no answer for good or bad. The king Apepi sent . . ." and here the

manuscript breaks off. The struggles of the seventeenth dynasty ostensibly appear as a holy war. Seknen-Ra is apparently the third of that name. His mummy, together with many others, was discovered in 1881 in a hiding-place in the cliffs near Thebes. When it was unwrapped, it was clear that the prince had come to a violent end in the prime of life. The skull had been split by a blow, and the body had been hastily embalmed after putrefaction had already set in. From this discovery we may conclude that Seknen-Ra fell in a battle or in flight at a date somewhere between 1580 and 1570 B.C., and that the enemy left his body unburied. His successor is supposed to have been Kemosis, whose coffin, among other things, contained the golden model of a boat, a piece of work of value for the history of art, and now in the museum at Gizeh. The war with the Hyksos probably continued, though not uninterruptedly. The temple of Hathor at Speos Artemidos, to the south of Beni-Hassan, was destroyed, with other ancient structures, according to an inscription set up by its restorer, Queen Hatshepsut, by "the Asiatics who occupied the Delta and Hauar." This, in all probability, did not happen until the Hyksos were forced to struggle for the recovery of their position in that district.

In the year 1562 King Amosis, perhaps the brother of Kemosis, succeeded to the throne of Thebes, and prepared to put an end to the Hyksos supremacy. An official of the same name, who began his career under this king, Aahmesu (the Egyptian form of Amosis), the son of Baba, caused the story of his life to be inscribed upon his tomb at Necheb in Upper Egypt (the modern El-Kab). This is the earliest known attempt made by an Egyptian to inform posterity of the great events of his age; and though clumsy in style, it furnishes a striking clue of the transformation which had taken place in the Egyptian national feeling during the Hyksos period (cf. p. 599). Aahmesu first saw active service as a youth on board the boat "Sacrificial Bull;" after his marriage he served on the ship "North." "And when the king rode forth on his war-chariot" (the first notice we have of the use of chariots in Egypt) "I followed him on foot. And we laid siege to the town of Hauar: I showed bravery under the eyes of his Majesty. Then I was appointed to the ship 'Splendid in Memphis'" (a name of importance for the development of affairs, as described on p. 625). "We fought on water in the Pazedku of Hauar. There I won a hand which was mentioned by the royal scribe, and gained me the golden necklace for bravery." In the second fight at the same place he was equally successful and was rewarded, although victory seems to have rested with the Shasu. "A battle arose at Takemt, south of the town, and I brought in a prisoner alive. I waded through the water, pulled him down from the causeway, and dragged him through the water in security." Again the king presented him with "gold" for this deed,—a munificence which, although consistent with the traditions of a noble family, must nevertheless be considered as remarkable during these times of need.

"We captured Hauar," Aahmesu then continues, without a break in his narrative, "and thence I carried away a man and three women; his Majesty gave them to me as servants. And we laid siege to Sharuhan [in the south of Palestine], in the sixth year [of the king], and his Majesty took the town." The time of this event (1557 ?) gives us an approximate date for the capture of Hauar. According to the obvious efforts of Aahmesu to relate his story in chronological order, this great fortress, the last Egyptian residence of the Hyksos, must have fallen in he

year 1560 or 1559. But even after the capture of Sharuhen, which was not greatly detrimental to the Asiatic possessions of the enemy, the position of King Amosis was still sufficiently difficult. His efforts in the north had encouraged the Nubian tribes to rise against him. Aahmesu relates: "As soon as his Majesty had slaughtered the Mentiu [the Shasu, under the old name of the eastern Bedouins] he went southward to the land of Chent, and there [above Assuan] began a general massacre. Then his Majesty, rejoicing in his victory, returned down stream; he had conquered the races of the south and of the north." But the time for rejoicing had not yet come. "That Aata advanced into the upper country, but to his own destruction; for the gods of the south laid hands upon him." The hostile forces met at Tenta-a, and Aata, together with his ship, was taken alive by Amosis. From Aahmesu's mode of expression, it appears probable that this was a Hyksos king from whom the Egyptians freed themselves as a result of this fortunate capture. The true significance of the fall of Hauar and Sharuhen would be more obvious had the gallant sea captain of Necheb informed us whether Aata invaded Egypt from beyond the frontier, or whether it was in the Delta that his rising began. His account of the succeeding events may perhaps be evidence for the former alternative: "Then arose that enemy who was named Teta-an. He had collected insurgents about him, but his Majesty annihilated him and his following." The last two victories gained for Aahmesu not only a number of slaves, but also a considerable increase of his landed property in Necheb. The other captains were rewarded in the same manner; hence the former Prince of Thebes was now in a position to confiscate the lands of his enemies. His supremacy over the empire was definitely assured.

Compared with the account of Aahmesu the narrative given by Flavius Josephus (according to Manetho) of the expulsion of the Hyksos displays the Egyptians in a decidedly unfavourable light. "After all these things," he writes, "the kings of the Thebïas and other Egyptian nomes rose against the Shepherds, when a long and difficult war broke out between them, until the Shepherds were overcome by a king named Misphragmutosis, who drove them out of the other parts of Egypt and confined them to a place called Avaris, which has an area of ten thousand arures of land. The Shepherds surrounded this entire district with a strong wall in order that with all their forces they might there protect their property and plunder. However, Thummosis, the son of Misphragmutosis, attempted to reduce them by siege, and advanced upon the place with four hundred and eighty thousand men. When he was beginning to despair of success, they themselves offered to surrender on condition that they should evacuate Egypt and depart in whatever direction they might choose without let or hindrance. These terms were accepted, and they marched away, no fewer than two hundred and forty thousand men, with their families and all their possessions, through the desert to Syria. As, however, they feared the Assyrians, who then ruled Asia, they built a city in the land now called Judea large enough to accommodate their numbers, and gave it the name of Jerusalem."

It is clear that we have here a description of the biblical exodus of Israel from Egypt, as seen from another point of view. Criticism is as yet unable to decide whether Manetho related the story as it stands; at any rate, it entirely rejects that part of Josephus's version which identifies the Shasu with the Israelites. Hence other scholars have come to the conclusion that the Israelites were never in Egypt

at all. In fact, it is necessary either to adopt the latter conclusion or to accept the identification of the Hebrews with the Shepherds of Manetho as correct in its main features. This was the conclusion arrived at by the patristic writers in accordance with the general testimony of tradition (cf. pp. 190 and 191). In the account of Josephus, "Misphragmutosis and his son Thummosis" take the place of the real liberator Amosis, hence there must have been a change in the government during the siege of Hauar. Supporters of the theory that the Israelites were in Egypt may consider this premature change of the chief actors in the drama as an indication that Manetho definitely ascribed the expulsion of the people, whose main centre in his time was Jerusalem, to the reign of one Thutmosis. This account must consequently deal with the later expulsion of a remnant of the Shasu, which in all probability occurred under Thutmosis III, and can hardly have been connected with Hauar. This stronghold, indeed, was considered as the inevitable "Zwing-Uri" of Egypt, which must fall whenever the Shasu were driven out. Israel as a national name has as yet been found only once in an Egyptian inscription, and that belonging to the reign of Merenptah, who is still considered by some authorities to be the "Pharaoh of the exodus." However, the inscription in question implies that the Israelites were already settled in Palestine during the reign of this king.

With the expulsion of the Hyksos Manetho brings the seventeenth dynasty to an end. According to his table of kings Amosis belongs both to the seventeenth and eighteenth dynasties, figuring as the last king of the Middle and the first king of the New Empire.

C. The New Empire

(*a*) *The Eighteenth Dynasty to the Death of Amenophis III.* — What the Asiatic inroads and immigrations of earlier ages had failed to accomplish was brought to pass by the Hyksos. After their expulsion the kingdom of Egypt for centuries assumed a military character, which for a time it was able to maintain. Probably the kings of the Middle Empire who extended their supremacy over Nubia and the oases had not hesitated to invade the land of Canaan, notwithstanding its greater power of resistance. Even during the days of the Old Empire, fortresses of that country had been stormed and captured by Egyptian troops (cf. p. 608). But it was only under exceptionally favourable circumstances that the Egyptians could permanently overawe foreign powers; for their military forces consisted of the nucleus formed by the king's feeble palace guards, the contingents levied by the various nomarchs, and the auxiliaries obtained from Nubian subject tribes who had been employed at an earlier period, but could only be sent into battle under the strictest supervision. The contingents of the nomes were never more than armed peasants, whose sole incitement to bravery was the knowledge that if they broke and fled in the midst of a foreign country they would never see their homes again. On the other hand, a hostile army, when once it had crossed the Egyptian frontier, could safely count upon a sudden attack of homesickness among the native militia, — an affection which was apt to become uncontrollable at the beginning of a battle. Now, however, about the year 1560, the monarchy of the restored empire possessed a new weapon in the war chariot, and a professional soldiery composed of a class, for the moment numerous, who had lost their possessions and their means of livelihood during the long war of liberation; to these

were to be added emancipated slaves who had lost their masters. We have seen how the ship captain Aahmesu devoted his chief efforts to the capture of prisoners of war, who were sometimes presented to him by his king as slaves. However, in some cases the ruler seems to have bestowed a golden order of merit upon the captor, and to have retained the slaves for his own purposes. If, however, slaves capable of service deserted to Amosis from the Hyksos, or from the nomarchs who were loyal to the Asiatics, it would have been impolitic to continue to treat them as bondmen; they were accordingly placed in the army, and, according to the measure of their efficiency, were either kept at the front or despatched to the Nubian frontier. The stronger, however, the New Empire became, the more rapidly did this class of soldiers diminish. It was, moreover, impossible to replace them by native recruits, to the extent of maintaining a strong standing army. The agricultural character of the Egyptian State, which in earlier centuries had necessitated recourse to Nubian auxiliaries in time of war, was incompatible with such a system of organisation.

The tribes to the south of Wadi Halfa, the "Nine bows," were incorporated by Thutmosis III, and soon became the only true regiments of the line. About the year 1400 the soldiers of the Pharaoh were known to the Syrian subjects of the empire simply as "archers" (*pidati*). The *pidati* and war chariots were the king's sole material for any display of force.

If, however, the Pharaoh wished more particularly to spread the terror of his name, he sent out the "Shirtani," — Sardinians, according to W. Max Müller, who at that time were not confined exclusively to the island of Sardinia. Possibly their main settlements lay even then on the African coast opposite. They were soldiers of fortune who had been enlisted in detachments under the eighteenth dynasty. The Ramessides made no attempt to conceal the fact at a later period that the Shirtani were really Egypt's best soldiers. This reputation they can be proved to have gained among the Asiatics as early as the reign of Amenophis III, and probably earlier under Thutmosis III, or even before his time. Armed with long swords and great round shields with double handles, heavy coats of mail and large metal helmets decorated with lateral ox horns, sometimes also bearing dagger and javelin, the favourite tactics of the Shirtani were to scatter the enemy by charging in close formation. That such an effect could be produced by an infantry attack was even to a late period unknown to the tacticians of Oriental armies. Even more valuable was the personal courage of these undoubtedly barbarous mercenaries, whose heavy type of countenance has often been reproduced with convincing realism in representations of the scaling of city walls.

Of less reputation during the eighteenth dynasty were the Libyan auxiliaries. It was not until a later period that the Libyan tribes of the Kehak and the Mashawasha entered the service of the Pharaohs in any great number. As long as the New Empire was secure, the rulers were cautious about employing the services of these border neighbours. The increased numbers of Libyans in the armies of King Ramses II is a certain sign of weakness; in fact, the time was then by no means far distant when Libyan mercenary commanders were to usurp the Egyptian throne. The prisoners of war and their descendants, called "Madi," after a Nubian tribe, also deserve mention. They were formed into a body of constabulary, and were somewhat unpopular "because of their many commands." A strong division was entrusted with the care of the necropolis at Thebes, and the late Egyptian

word for soldier, "Matoi," is derived from the Madi. Hence it is by no means certain whether the "regular army" of the eighteenth dynasty, which was organised in divisions as early as the time of Thutmosis III, took the field with or without mercenary troops. The organisation of the national forces would naturally have continued on a separate basis in war as well as in peace. It is obvious, however, that the formation of combined bodies of troops was frequently ordered in battle to meet a sudden necessity. It may be gathered from the best of the official reports that it was not considered desirable to make mention of victories won by the national militia. Similarly, when the king was present at a victory there is one chariot only, his own, the advance of which puts the enemy to flight.

The reign of King Amosis, who lived to be fifty or sixty years of age, is, in other respects, not very rich in memorials. His mummy was discovered in the shaft of Dêr el-Bahri. The head-dress resembles that of Seknen-Ra. The head was not shaven, as later became the fashion, but the same long curls were worn which are a striking feature on the heads of the Hyksos. The relations of Amosis to the members of his family seem to have differed from those of the other Pharaohs. It appears that in the second half of his reign a change in the succession was introduced to the disadvantage of the king's brothers and sisters and their descendants. This dated from the time when Amosis shared the throne with the queen Aahmes-Nefertari, when she and her children were shown special preference. Nefertari appears sometimes represented with a black complexion. The ecclesiastical dignity of a "woman of god" of Amon at Thebes was in all probability created specially for her, and in later times was again held in high reverence by the Ethiopian conquerors of Egypt. Finally, she and her son Amenophis I became objects of worship and were practically canonised. Possibly Amosis received the support of an Ethiopian kingdom, together with the hand of Nefertari, in his struggle against the Hyksos. Perhaps he was able to claim this kingdom at a later period through his marriage. At any rate, we have no knowledge of a kingdom on the middle Nile about this time.

Amenophis I (1537–1516) began his reign with a campaign against Cush, "in order to extend the boundaries of Egypt." Of this undertaking we have an account on the walls of the tomb of Aahmesu of Necheb, who was a figure in the war of liberation (p. 625), but this expedition apparently afforded no opportunity for heroic deeds. Another warrior from the same district, Aahmes Pen-Necheb, gives an even briefer account of a war against the Libyan Kehak. This king, under the representation of a sphinx, occurs much oftener than any of his successors. His mummy from the great shaft of Dêr el-Bahri has not yet been examined. In contrast to his posthumous fame as tutelary deity of the necropolis at Thebes, a cult which gradually arose even before the reign of Amenophis IV, and threatened the worship of Osiris during the twentieth dynasty (Aahmes-Nefertari was at that time looked upon as a counterpart of her son, and therefore takes the place of Isis), very little information has come down to us regarding the life of Amenophis I. Neither the civilization nor the traditions of a new empire had attained to independence in his days. The first attempts were even then being made, starting from the basis of twelfth dynasty civilization, to develop upon Egyptian lines the new habits and progress introduced by the Hyksos. Perhaps it was his success in this direction which raised the memory of Amenophis I to the high honour in which it was held in later times, an honour really due to his father.

succeeding king has left us two copies, one supplementing the other, of nal announcement of his accession, sent to the "Prince of Cush," the n viceroy of Nubia. It runs as follows: "Royal command to Turo, the nd governor of the south land. Behold this royal command is brought to lling thee that my Majesty, who lives in happiness and health, is to be i king eternal and without equal on the Horus throne of the living. But nes shall be: (1) Horus, the strong bull, beloved of the god [of truth] Maat; uniter of both lands [Upper and Lower Egypt], crowned with the royal the powerful one; (3) the golden Horus, with years of plenty [that is, the years of his reign] cheering all hearts; (4) the king of Upper and Lower Acheperkara; (5) the son of the god Ra, Thutmosis [the first], who lives resent and eternal. Now bring offerings to the gods [of Cush], with votive ces for the life, welfare, and health of the king Acheperkara, the one inspired life; let oaths be taken by the name of my Majesty, who lives in happiness ealth, born of the royal mother Senseneb, with whom all is well. This is n for thine instruction; know that the house of the king is prosperous and e. Given on the twenty-first day of the third winter month in the year 1, on ay of the coronation feast." Of the five names here assumed by the new ruler, mosis I, the first three were probably employed only in connection with the l; the fourth is the fore-name used in correspondence with foreign powers; ly, the fifth is that which chiefly occurs on the monuments, and has conse- ıtly remained the historical designation for this as for all other kings. In s of identical names, which are rather the rule than the exception, the Egyp- were accustomed to avoid confusion by the addition of the fore-name.

hat Amenophis I had already invaded Asia at the head of an army more than may be concluded from various historical representations, though these bear planatory inscriptions. A serious struggle with the powers of that continent o break out under his successor. However, in spite of the confidential edict ıro, the presence of the king Thutmosis I was first demanded in Nubia 0), where the chiefs had openly refused to take the required oaths. The s of El-Kab, Aahmesu and Pen-Necheb, who were now well advanced in years, ully accompanied the king on his southern journey, and expressed their admi- of the Pharaoh's courageous behaviour. "His Majesty was wild like a er, he struck with his first arrow the breast of the miserable wretch" who eading the rebels. On the return to Thebes, the body of this or some other was hanged head downward from the mast of the royal ship as an ex-

The king then turned with equal vehemence upon the enemy in Asia. ıpon he marched to Syria," relates Aahmesu, "in order to take vengeance hese lands." It seems, therefore, that the tribute due to Egypt from this had not been paid. "His Majesty advanced to Naharina and encountered mies who had entered into a conspiracy. Then his Majesty inflicted great er upon them, and brought home numberless prisoners from his victories. was in the front line, and the king beheld the courage with which I seized a its team and its occupants. Then I brought it before his Majesty and eceived gold for my deed." Pen-Necheb also distinguished himself in this

Two short references of King Thutmosis III (p. 636) to this war contain other things the proof that his predecessor advanced almost to the river tes. Unfortunately it was customary in the inscriptions of the eighteenth

dynasty to speak of enemies only in contemptuous terms. As, however, Na
that is, the land on both sides of the curve in the Euphrates, is considered
point of concentration for the movements of hostility against Egypt, it w
bably with the kingdom of Mitani (cf. pp. 44 and 112) that the dynasty can
its struggle for Syria. The blow dealt by Thutmosis I in this region appa
led to the conclusion of a peace in terms favourable to himself. The Cu
were more obstinate; before he had reigned three years the king was again
to set out "to crush the miserable Cush." On this occasion the value
greater military experience made itself manifest. The measures taken by the
conqueror of the Ethiopians, Usertesen III (p. 619), were resumed, for Thutm
not only reinforced the frontier garrisons of Semneh and Kummeh, but al
opened to navigation the canal through the first cataract.

This king, who, like Amenophis I, added to the buildings of Karnak and
on the western side of Thebes the oldest parts of the temple of Medinet H
reigned only thirteen years. As if he had had some premonition of his prem
death, he made arrangements for the succession, which he hoped would satisfy
most varied claims that could be raised. Kurt Sethe has thoroughly investig
the special questions arising out of these regulations. However, the genealogy
order of succession between 1503 and 1481, from the death of Amenophis I to
beginning of the sole rule of Thutmosis III, is still somewhat obscure. In the
place, it is unknown whether Thutmosis I was the son or only the son-in-law
King Amenophis I; in the latter case, his right to the succession was proba
derived from his marriage with Queen Aahmes (Amensat), the heiress to
kingdom. This would agree with the fact that the daughter of this marri
Hatshepsut, was called to the co-regency toward the end of her father's re
hence her mother must have died before that time. Up to the present time it
also been supposed that Thutmosis II, the first son of Thutmosis by Queen Mu
fert, became co-regent together with Hatshepsut, whom he then married. A s
time after the father's death the young couple recognised his second son, after
Thutmosis III, as the successor to the throne (co-regent), although he was onl
son of a woman of the harem. However, Thutmosis II died before he had rea
the age of thirty. Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III then held the throne tog
and married one another, notwithstanding the fact that the king was only
years old. In view of his extreme youth, it has also been contended that T
mosis III may have been the son of Thutmosis II, and consequently have ma
in Hatshepsut either his own mother, or at any rate his father's wife. The c
quence of this difference of age may be seen in the fact that the young kin
placed somewhat in the background as compared with the queen, until the
of the latter in her twenty-seventh year, when she left to her husband the a
ity which her subjects had tolerated with impatience. From calendars
period, it has been computed that Thutmosis III was crowned on the
Pachon, 1503, and lived until the last day of Phamenoth, 1449.

Our information concerning Thutmosis II is but scanty. If the obscu
boastful testimony of a rock inscription near Assuan can be trusted, he
brilliant victories over both the Nubian Chentnefer and also over the A
At any rate, the aged Pen-Necheb of El-Kab states that he accompanied th
against the Shasu, that is to say, against Southern Palestine; "and I brough
so many prisoners that I did not count them," a somewhat startling stat

the other hand, the fact of a war against the Ethiopian races is indirectly con-
ed by our knowledge of improvements made in the fortresses at Semneh and
where. The most ancient parts of the temple of Dêr el-Bahri were also begun
his king. His activities, however, were brought to a close by his premature
th. The mummy of Thutmosis II gives the impression that the king had
cumbed to a severe illness. Though he was but thirty years of age, the head is
ost entirely bald, and the features are strangely sunken. He cannot have
ned longer than five years (1503 to 1498).

Hatshepsut, as sole ruler, completed the temple of Dêr el-Bahr (so named
r a Coptic monastery built on to it in later times), celebrated for its wealth of
ll paintings, which are of importance both for the history of the period and for
development of its art. The most interesting of these designs has for its sub-
t the great expedition already mentioned (pp. 550 and 596) which Hatshepsut
t out in the ninth year of her reign to Punt. These illustrations in stone begin
h a dialogue between the queen and the god Amon, who, when his permission
s requested, "urgently recommended" the undertaking; for Hatshepsut was so
nitely pious that she had every claim to be rewarded by a successful conclusion
her enterprise. Amon then begins to utter a detailed prophecy of the valuable
d wonderful objects that the trading expedition would bring back, in return for
ich service he received an abundant share at a later period. Eight ships sailed
ough the Red Sea and returned loaded to the yards. The arrival of the treas-
s of the land of incense, which had been gained by bartering Egyptian metal
ducts, and especially weapons, gave occasion to festivities and military displays
Thebes, at which Thutmosis III modestly appeared as a priest of Amon. The
een, who preferred her portraits drawn with a beard, showed a decided preference
all public ceremonies calculated to display the greatness of her power. It is
probable that government by a female ruler implied any outrage upon estab-
ed custom, and equally improbable that Hatshepsut would have assumed the
beard solely out of consideration for some Salic law. On the contrary, she
is to have been filled with the very highest opinion of herself; and it is very
ely that during her time there was no lack of paintings and sculptures in which
was represented grasping the nations of the world by the hair of their heads,
d brandishing a battle-axe, — works of art which must afterward have been offen-
e to Thutmosis III and consequently have soon disappeared.

Under Hatshepsut we also find traces of favouritism. "The grand nurse," that
the tutor of the princess Nefrura, a certain Senmut, was made "great in both
untries" in spite of his humble origin. The queen discovered him when he was
official under the administration of the temple of Amon, raised him to the high-
of all positions, and made him head of the palace and confidential adviser, thus
aping honours upon him "which were not found in the records of her ancestors."
statue representing this powerful friend of the queen in a crouching posture, his
antle, covered with hieroglyphics, wrapped protectingly about the young princess,
s presented to him by Hatshepsut as a reward. She also erected two massive
belisks in Karnak in the sixteenth year of her reign, and died in 1481. We hear
thing more of the princess Nefrura, whom she destined for her successor, and
nmut also disappears from history. The names of both Hatshepsut and Senmut
ere effaced from the monuments by Thutmosis III. These measures, however,
ere unable to hide the fact that the change in the succession had been accom-

panied by violence. The power of the empire must have declined in the fore provinces, especially in Syria, and could only be restored by the removal of queen. The existence of a victorious commander, whether Thutmosis or anot would have been a constant menace to her power.

Thutmosis III was one of that rare class of sovereigns whose successes are to a temperate conception of their duties and to a capacity for energetic action the proper moment. He had been obliged from his earliest youth to submit silence to all governmental measures, whether he approved of them or not, a which he would perhaps have been the less inclined to oppose had they not impli the depreciation of his own rights. His task as a politician, the restoration Egyptian prestige abroad, was clearly marked out before him; but a less tenacio character would probably have been well content with the frontiers which we found sufficient by Ramses II in later years. This little man with the coa features, until now the step-child of his house, may well have been the hope the military leaders, old and young, who during the last years of Hatshepsut m have counted on his antipathy to the empty splendours of her rule. Nor were th deceived. It is certain that Thutmosis III, who at first may have had little or knowledge of war, depended greatly upon the advice of experienced leaders. the monuments the king is naturally represented as guiding all things by himse alone. But even here justice exerts its equalising sway, though the task of repr senting its workings has in this instance devolved upon the legend. The Har papyrus in London, a collection of legends and fairy tales, begins among other tal the story of the general, Thutia, who is said to have captured the city of Jaffa f his king, Thutmosis III, in a marvellous manner. He is represented as havi made use of the king's magic wand, and by its spells to have enclosed two hundr Egyptian warriors within earthen jars. These were then taken into Jaffa witho suspicion and placed in the magazines. The Egyptians left their hiding pla bound the Syrian garrison with cords, and handed over the place to the ki However, the general, Thutia, was a historical personage, and can be proved to served under Thutmosis III; valuable objects from his tomb have been transfe to various museums.

The arms of Egypt were a terror in Asia long after the period of Thutmosis II and Syria at length became convinced that the military power of the Nile cou tries under the terrible "Manachbiria" (Men-chepru-Ra-Thutmosis) was not lightl to be withstood. On the northern wall of the wing added by the king to th temple of Amon at Karnak was set up a connected narrative of his campaign and of the tribute which he levied. In spite of many an injury inflicted both i ancient and modern times, the most important parts of this valuable inscriptio remain in a fair state of preservation. This monumental history of the campaign of Thutmosis III is usually known as his "annals," — an appropriate term, in s far as it is designed or written on the model of the annals of the Babylonian kings The events of the king's twenty-third year are related in the dry manner of a annalist, but the first campaign forms a connected literary whole, in which th course of events is clearly developed.

"On the 25th of Pharmuthi, in the twenty-second year of his reign, his Majesty went forth from the [frontier] city of Zaru on his first campaign of conquest, t extend the boundaries of his kingdom. The inhabitants of Sharuhen and the dwellers from that point to the end of the country, all were in a state of revolt.

On the 4th of Pachon, in the twenty-third year of the king, on his coronation day, he was in Gaza and occupied the town. On the 5th he set out from thence with a strong force; . . . arriving at the fortress of Jehem on the 16th of Pachon, the king summoned the council of war, which he addressed as follows: 'That enemy from Kadesh has advanced and taken Megiddo; there he is now established, and has gathered together all the nomarchs as far as Naharina, who until this time have obeyed the Egyptians. There also are the Syrians and the men of Kadesh, their horses and men, and that enemy says, I remain here! Now, speak.' Then they answered his Majesty, 'It is no small matter if we should advance upon the road which goes forward from hence, for farther on it narrows greatly. Moreover, spies have reported that the enemy is minded to attack us so soon as we set forth on the march. And in the pass man must march behind man and horse behind horse, and our vanguard will certainly have begun the battle long before the rereward has left Aaluna. There are two other roads. Behold, the one brings us to Taanak [to the south of Megiddo], and the other leads north beyond Zefta and delivers us to the north of Megiddo. And may our lord take whichever of these roads seemeth him good, so that he choose not that difficult pass.' But the king announced, 'As I live and am beloved of Ra, as Amon praises me and my breath gives life and health, I will take this way from Aaluna [that is to say, the pass through the mountain chain of Carmel]. He who will not follow me, let him choose the other road, and let him who dares, follow my Majesty. For the enemy yonder, and especially the enemy hated of Ra, will think that his Majesty is fetching a compass out of fear.' And they in the army answered, 'By the life of Amon-Ra, the lord of the thrones of both lands, who lives in Thebes and hath begotten thee, we follow thy Majesty whithersoever it may be, as the slave follows his master!'" The description of the two days' journey over Mount Carmel is somewhat disconnected. Though the pass of Aaluna was guarded, Thutmosis III occupied the mountain sides, and thus secured a passage for the rearguard. On the 20th of Pachon the king pitched his tent in sight of the city of Megiddo.

"Early on the morning of the 21st of Pachon," continues the chronicle, "on the day of the feast of the new moon, order was given for the troops to draw up in line of battle. His Majesty, in the panoply of war, ascended the chariot of gold and silver. Like was he unto Horus the dispenser of power, and to Month of Thebes [the god of war]; his father Amon gave him strength. The right wing of the army rested on a hill south of the brook Kina; the left wing extended to the north, west of Megiddo. His Majesty remained in the centre; at the head of his army he stood high above all. When thus the enemy saw him, they made all speed to fly to Megiddo, and left behind them their horses and their chariots ornamented with silver and gold. But the garrison had already closed the gates; therefore they drew up the fugitives under the walls with cloths and ropes. Had not the troops of his Majesty been so greedy for plunder, Megiddo would have fallen immediately. The miserable men of Kadesh and the inhabitants of Megiddo itself, behold, they were thus dragged into the town; for the fear of his Majesty had stricken them and palsied their weapons." After a description of the plunder, which included the tent of the king of Kadesh, follows an account of the siege of Megiddo. "His Majesty made proclamation to the army: 'If ye take Megiddo speedily, I shall be beneficent as Ra; for therein are the chiefs of all the rebellious towns, and to conquer Megiddo will be to conquer a thousand towns at once.

Make ye, therefore, ready to the work.' Each man went to his place, and a wall was built about the town with the wood of their fruit trees; . . . and all the deeds of his Majesty against the town and the wretched inhabitants thereof, together with his servants, is, as all know, fully recorded; and the roll of leather is to-day laid up in the temple of Amon." We learn from later Assyrian monuments that this custom also was borrowed from the Asiatics; moreover, the existence of this written account explains the completeness of the inscription which was derived from it. "But finally the princes of this land came forth with their followers. They kissed the earth before his Majesty, and made prayer for their lives. They brought forth their tribute [which they had previously refused], and the king ordered the government anew." The military equipment of the Syrians was excellent; among other spoils nine hundred and twenty-four chariots and more than two hundred shirts of mail of the best workmanship are mentioned.

The description of the terror with which Thutmosis III inspired his enemies when he appeared in battle is representative of the typical method of conceiving such events in Egyptian art. The plate (p. 666), where King Sethos I is represented in a battle before a city in Asia about the year 1325, may be considered a no less representative example. The capture of Megiddo was a signal success, and must have entirely changed the low esteem in which the power and self-reliance of Thutmosis had hitherto been held. The king's assertion that the capture of that town in which the majority of Assyrian rebels were gathered would cause the fall of thousands of others, was not altogether an exaggerated statement. A list of towns in Karnak ("names of the peoples of Upper Retennu, whom his Majesty besieged in the fortress of Megiddo and whose children he led away captive to the fortress of Suhen, near Thebes"), although decidedly unsatisfactory from a geographical point of view, nevertheless contains several hundred names. The neutral Asiatic princes also came over by degrees. The prince of Assur, a ruler of no particular importance, was the first to introduce the custom of exchanging gifts with Egypt.

However, fresh campaigns were necessary in the years 1478–1475, to convince the districts south of Lebanon of their obligations of obedience to Egypt. In the twenty-ninth year of the king, a date that can be fixed by the Karnak inscriptions, it appears that a great war against the kingdom of Naharina (Mitani; cf. p. 632) was the result of this expedition. The fortress of Tunip north of Damascus was conquered and dedicated to the sun-god. Subsequently the Phœnician Arvad was captured, and treated with such severity that the inhabitants immediately revolted. Consequently in the following year operations became necessary for the re-conquest of Arvad and of Sumur, which was situated to the south of this town. This victory had been preceded by the fall of Kadesh on the Orontes, which, however, shortly afterward again became a centre of resistance. On this occasion Amenemheb, a young comrade of the king, who became a general at a later period, appears for the first time. On this campaign he made two prisoners, and was decorated in consequence. His tomb in Thebes is ornamented with an abstract of his recollections of war, which, although somewhat confused, contain interesting references to several lesser campaigns, of which, however, the dates are unknown.

In the course of the next few years Thutmosis made only a few short visits to Thebes in order to pay his thanks to Amon, his father's god, for the wealth which flowed to him from the spoils and the tribute of the conquered. Most of his time

was spent in long, and not always successful, campaigns, in the prosecution of which he displayed a rare constancy of purpose. In the thirty-third year of his reign the Egyptians advanced to the Euphrates, to the point where Thutmosis I had set up his memorial stone, and erected a new monument in the same place. The city of Nii, situated not far from the river, and therefore somewhat to the north of Aleppo, surrendered, after an army sent to its relief had been defeated beneath its walls. Thutmosis III made this town his headquarters for a time and erected another inscription. From the names of those countries which sent tribute and presents at the end of the year it can be inferred that an armistice had been entered into by Thutmosis and the kingdom of Naharina. Thutmosis III imposed such conditions upon his conquered enemies that any show of hesitation on the part of the governor of a town or district, no matter how loyal he might seem, might be construed as indicative of double dealing. This vigorous prosecution of operations within his own sphere of interests proved so objectionable to the neighbouring ruler of the Mesopotamian frontier, that two years later he sent out another army to prevent the capitulation of Araana. But the Egyptians were finally successful, and peace was at last made in the king's fortieth year.

The enemy beyond the Euphrates at once began carefully to consider whether some spark was not to be found which might be fanned into a conflagration. In the forty-second year of his reign Thutmosis III appeared once more, and for the last time, in Asia with an army. First "his Majesty took the way along the coast in order to chastise the town of Irkata," a community in the north of Phœnicia. Tunip also seems to have been in a state of revolt. Kadesh, however, was the centre of resistance. The siege was interrupted by a battle and a victory over a relief force from Naharina, and ended with the crossing of the moats and storming of the city. The king presented large scarabs, bearing inscriptions in his honour as conqueror of Kadesh, to all who were present at the siege or took part in the festival of victory held in Thebes. At this point the Karnak inscriptions come to an end. We only know that Thutmosis visited Nubia once again in his fiftieth year and terrified some dissatisfied tribes into submission. An extremely fine monument to commemorate this victory, inscribed with the indispensable poetical formulæ of adulation, was set up in a special position in Karnak. Amon-Ra is here represented as addressing the king: "I give to thee power and victory over all peoples. I set thy spirit and the fear of thee over all countries, and the dread of thee goeth to the four pillars of the heaven. I make thy power great in all bodies. I make thy shout to pursue the people of the nine bows. The great of all lands are joined together in thy hand. I, even I, raise my arm and bind them for thee. I gather together the Ethiopian nomads for thee as living prisoners by tens of thousands, and the inhabitants of the north by hundreds of thousands." And so on for ten symmetrical stanzas.

Egypt had now for the first time become so nearly a military State that the learned classes were alarmed. It would have been neither wise nor grateful for them to have complained during the lifetime of the great conqueror. The wealth of Asia was distributed with great liberality by Thutmosis III, but Amon, the god of Thebes and of the royal house, was favoured above all other recipients. With a premonition of the danger liable to result from such excess of favour, the king turned his attention to the other temples upon the conclusion of his campaigns. For instance, in the forty-seventh year of his reign, according to the testimony of

the monument in Heliopolis, "his Majesty ordered this temple to be surrounded with an enclosing wall, when he purified Heliopolis, the house of Ra." Two lofty obelisks which he erected here were transported to Alexandria as early as the Roman period; eventually one was taken to London in 1877, and the other to New York in 1880. Of two others at Thebes, one was sent to Rome and one to Byzantium during the period of Constantine. From an early period it has been customary to speak of these four monuments of Thutmosis III as "Cleopatra's needles," thus perpetuating an injustice which Greek tradition, including Manetho, has done to the king's memory. Possibly the dislike of the learned classes of Egypt to their soldier king may have found expression lasting into after years. As a boy and a youth, he had been obliged to spend the years of his minority as a priest of Amon, so that he had ample opportunity for estimating the political importance of this religious community and for learning the opinions of its representatives. In later times the atmosphere of the camp seemed to him purer and more attractive. The more lavish he was in his gifts to his father Amon, the more clearly could he, as one of the initiated, speak his mind to the augurs. There were probably other causes of bitterness which had originated in the time of Hatshepsut. At all events, it was fortunate for Amon that Thutmosis III became a soldier and nothing more, and that he made no attempts at reform. Another member of his house who made a serious endeavour in that direction has completely disappeared from history in consequence. The growth of the legend of King Sesostris evoked a mass of theories which were destined to displace Thutmosis III as a popular hero in favour of Ramses II. It can, moreover, be demonstrated that the priests must have designedly avoided all mention of the name of Thutmosis in later years. When Germanicus visited Karnak in the year 19 A.D. an aged priest translated the annals to him literally, and named as their author "King Ramses."

Besides caring for Thebes and Heliopolis, Thutmosis erected new buildings at Memphis and Dendera, the seat of Hathor. The architectural importance of the works on the temple at Dendera is emphasised in a detailed inscription: "... the great building is a restoration of the whole executed by King Thutmosis III according to information obtained from a writing of the time of King Chufu." Further, it is stated that "the great plan of Dendera was found in an ancient sketch drawn on a tanned hide during the time of Shes-u-Hor; this was discovered in the interior of a wall of the royal palace in the days of King Pepi I." At Elephantine also an extensive sanctuary, the ruins of which were levelled in 1882, was erected or restored by Thutmosis III. A few fragmentary inscriptions rescued in later times are of chronological importance for the calendar information they contain. Much was done for Nubia, especially in Amada and Wadi Halfa. The tomb of the conqueror was not discovered until the year 1898, though his mummy had been found fifteen years earlier in its hiding-place at Dêr el-Bahri. So far as has yet been determined, it seems that Thutmosis I introduced a new style of royal tomb: abandoning the use of the small detached pyramid with its vestibule, he caused his tomb to be tunnelled into a deep rocky cleft, extending to the west of the Theban necropolis. Similar sepulchres communicating with the upper world by one door alone were also constructed there by his successors, so that this lonely valley of the dead still bears the name of the tombs of the kings (Biban el-Moluk). Although the neighbouring subterranean tombs of the Ramessides were explored long since, V. Loret discovered at a point then untouched the shaft,

wenty feet long, which led into the sepulchral chamber of Thutmosis III. of the innermost room in which the sarcophagus stood were covered ted tapestry of texts from the Book of the Dead. The entrance chamber rnamented with more than seven hundred images of the gods.

little is known of Amenophis II (1449 to about 1428). From the ary remains of his inscriptions, and the biographical details given by al, Amenemheb (cf. p. 636), we can only conclude that, as a warrior, is II was no unworthy successor to the terrible "Manachbiria" (p. 634). ad he been crowned in Thebes when the news came that several of the provinces refused to send him the presents betokening their homage. The king suddenly appeared in Galilæa, crossed the Orontes, utterly defeated a division of the enemy, and appeared before Nii, the gates of which town were immediately opened to him. At the conclusion of a campaign against the land of Techsi, Amenophis sent to Thebes the bodies of seven princes of that district, which were hanged by the legs from the bow of the king's ship, in accordance with the triumphal customs of the period; six of them were subsequently exposed upon the city walls, and the seventh corpse was sent on to Napata. A movement of the Nubian tribes forced Amenophis to advance as far south as the modern Khartum. No trace of Egyptian supremacy has been found further south than Ben-Naga, where two small figures of stone belonging to this period (Amenophis is represented as presenting offerings of wine on his knees to the god Chnum) have been discovered.

The tomb of Amenophis II, which has also been investigated by Loret, is somewhat poor both in design and elaboration; the walls are in part bare and in part inscribed with characters somewhat carelessly engraved. An unusual discovery was the mummies of four young men bound fast to wooden boats, apparently intended as companions of the king on his journey to the nether world (unless they were judicial victims of the privy court of the following king, Thutmosis IV). They were placed in the tomb before the process of drying was completed, and one of them received in consequence a deep cleft in the skull, though this may possibly have been inflicted by a thief in later times. The tomb was walled up, with all its contents, by order of the ministry in Cairo a few weeks after it had been opened, so that the question, of high importance for the foundations of Egyptian civilization, whether, in addition to offerings of wooden *ushebti*, favourite slaves were sacrificed under the New Empire to accompany their kings into the other world, must remain undecided for the moment. The mummy of Amenophis II was also found in the tomb, and with it the remains of seven other kings, which were laid in a side chamber about 1100 B. C., that they might escape the raids of plunderers, while the others were deposited in the shaft of Dêr el-Bahri. This tomb, which, as we have said, has since been closed, contains, in addition to the remains of Amenophis II, those of his immediate successors, Thutmosis IV, Amenophis III and IV, as well as Sethos II, Si-Ptah, Ramses IV, V, and VI.

With the accession of Thutmosis IV (1428 to 1419) the reaction, which the non-military grandees had long desired and prepared, began to make itself felt. Whenever events make militarism predominant in a state, this influence rapidly becomes paramount in all branches of the administration. The ruler himself inclines to the opinion that the officer whose action is marked by thorough and implicit obedience makes a far more efficient servant than the lawyer with his

red tape, his regard for use and custom, and other apparently superfluous erations. Since their experiences in the fifteenth century, the "house of had considered it a special duty to treat the army as an inferior branch State, and above all impressively to warn their pupils, the future officials realm, against military service. The class of scribes succeeded in bringing change, which had certainly not existed under Thutmosis III. All the high tions of military command became their monopoly, and indeed were usually officials who were already in occupation of other posts. Thus at the court the Ramessides matters had come to such a pass that the "king's first chief who also held the offices of ambassador and "chief of the foreign lands peoples," proceeds in a poetical letter solemnly to dissuade his young subordinates from entering the "stable of the king" or the infantry. Trained under the lash, the officer is ultimately sent on service to Syria. "Food and drinking water he must carry for himself, he is laden like an ass, his back aches, his spine cracks. Before the enemy he is like a bird in the net, on the journey home like a piece of worm-eaten wood. He returns broken in health; he must be placed upon an ass, while his clothes are stolen and his slave slinks away." The commanders and officers who gave such advice, and naturally thought only of the flesh-pots of Egypt in time of war, were certainly never willing to march to Syria, but preferred to open a career to foreign mercenaries on the Nile.

King Thutmosis IV, who was not perhaps the chosen successor, on ascending the throne immediately ordered the great sphinx to be cleared of the sand beneath which it had long been buried (p. 604). A memorial stone in Gizeh informs posterity that the pious king, while yet a prince, went out into the desert on a lion hunt, accompanied by a few attendants, "without anybody knowing of it." At mid-day he lay down to sleep in the shadow of the head of the sphinx. The sun-god, of whom the sphinx is a representation, then appeared to him in a dream, declared the prince to be his true son, and promised him the kingdom. In return, the prince was to remove the sand from his image on this spot. "I am vexed with the sand of this desert upon which I stand." Thutmosis did not forget the dream, although his task was in vain, since the monument was immediately covered again with the sand. The whole story appears to be a clever embroidery upon the facts that the priestly class secretly favoured the prince. But the time had not yet come for the prince to enjoy a peaceful reign. Thutmosis IV was first obliged to subdue the Ethiopian tribes, and also to reduce certain rebellious cities in Phœnicia to obedience; his campaigns, in fact, are said to have extended as far as Naharina on the north and to the Nubian land of Kare on the south. Moreover, the generals of the old school of Thutmosis III and Amenophis II had not entirely passed away; to them belonged Menchepru-Rameri-Amon, the "first of the commanders."

On the fertile soil of the western bank of the Nile, at Thebes, which is overflowed by the river in autumn, rise the two famous colossal sitting statues, one of which was supposed in the Roman period to give out a ringing sound at sunrise, and was known as the statue of "Memnon," a name which it has retained. Amenophis III (1419 to 1383), the son and successor of Thutmosis IV, ordered these stone images of himself, each of which is some seventy feet high, to be erected by his high official Amenhotep, the son of Hapu, as warders of the gates of a new temple, which has now almost vanished. The legends of later times

represent the king and his namesake (Amenophis is only the usual ancient Greek form of Amenhotep), the wise son of Hapu, who "seemed to have a share in the divine being" by reason of his knowledge, almost as inseparable companions. The "prince and royal scribe," Amenhotep, who was subsequently permitted to build a private temple in the neighbourhood, and edified posterity as the author of magic litanies, was nothing more than a distinguished member of the circle of priests who assembled about the new king.

We know of only one campaign undertaken by Amenophis III at the outset of his reign of thirty-six years; this was directed against Nubia, and ended in 1415, when the direction of the operations seems to have been handed over to Mermes, the viceroy of Cush. Reference is made to the fact that the king also appeared in the guise of an Asiatic conqueror; probably he did not wish to allow this honourable title of his predecessors to fall into disuse. The foreign policy of the kingdom was now directed to prevent any outbreak of war by paying over a portion of the money appropriated to military equipment in presents to the independent kings of the neighbouring States. There was, too, the further advantage, that custom enjoined the return of friendly gifts of this nature. Obviously, in times of peace intercourse of this kind between the courts had always existed. It is only due to chance that a large portion of the Egyptian archives recently brought to light, and known as the (Tel) el-Amarna discoveries, should have belonged to the latter part of the reign of Amenophis III and to that of his successor. Nevertheless, in these clay tablets, written in cuneiform script and in Babylonian Semitic, the general diplomatic language of that period (cf. p. 15), allusions have been found indicating the existence of less friendly relations in earlier reigns. That the Kassitic king of Babylonia as well as King Tushratta of Mitani were breaking with the policy of their last predecessor but one, whenever they were forced appealed to former precedents as stated in the correspondence, is a fact of very little use to us, owing to our ignorance of the founder of their own house or lineage. However, Tushratta declares that a daughter of his grandfather Artatama had been given to Thutmosis IV only under compulsion, and in like manner his sister Kilujipa had been sent to Amenophis III by his father Shutarna. "Wonderful is that which was brought to his Majesty; Kilugipa, daughter of Satarna, king of Naharina, and three hundred and seventeen of her maid-servants," are words which appeared upon a great scarabæus. When, however, Tushratta gave his daughter Taduhipa, with a large dowry, to the ageing Egyptian king, he received a great quantity of gold in return, together with the assurance that a sufficiency of Egyptian gold would always be found in Mitani. The general connection shows that this hint was given with the object of obtaining a return of similar favours. However, contemporary letters from Assyria and the Cypriot kingdom of Alashja prove that the great gifts of gold from Egypt to Mitani aroused the wonder and envy of all other nations. Consequently Amenophis III must have abandoned the previous policy of intimidation in favour of an attempt to establish a community of interests. His mistake, however, soon became apparent. There is no doubt that the kings of Western Asia soon began to distrust one another as a result of their rivalry for the gold of the Pharaoh. Individual sovereigns immediately raised their demands higher and higher, so that toward the end of the reign of Amenophis III friendly relations, at any rate with Babylonia, had become somewhat strained. The drain upon the treasury

caused by these continual gifts was probably the reason for the diminution in the presents received by the "brother" whose dominions were farthest from Egypt, Kadashman-bel of Babylonia. A pretext for this reduction was provided by his demand that the Egyptian king who desired a Babylonian princess for his harem should give one of his own daughters in return. The answer, that never yet had a royal princess of Egypt been given to anybody, quickly put a stop to this scheme of alliance by marriage. But the insulted ruler of Babylonia now demanded to know what had become of his sister who had previously been given in marriage to Amenophis. The "reassuring" answer of the Pharaoh has been preserved in the original text. Apparently the letter was never delivered, as Kadashman-bel died before the arrival of the Egyptian messenger. The document is characterised throughout by a tone of derision and contempt, and no doubt the royal chief scribe at Thebes obtained his master's approval to the terms of his reply (cf. p. 16).

The "Good God," as the Pharaohs had long been known to their subjects, made an advance toward deification under Amenophis III, who began to worship himself, or more correctly his own soul in bodily shape; indeed, an extremely stately temple at Soleb in Nubia was specially devoted to the worship of its builder, who introduced himself in this case as the god of the country of Cush. As his symbol, the king chose the figures of lions couchant; their majestic expression and the artistic skill displayed in their execution aroused even then such general admiration that they were carried away by the Ethiopian king Amonasru to his residence, Napata. That the imagination of Amenophis III ran continually upon lions is shown by his preference for the lion-headed goddess Sechmet, and also by a scarabæus of frequent occurrence bearing an inscription to the effect that the king had killed one hundred and two lions in the first ten years of his reign. One of the figures at Soleb was named "Amenophis III, the Strong Lion." Hitherto the bull had been regarded as a symbol of bodily strength. Buildings erected by King Amenophis III are numerous also in Egypt. In Memphis he built the oldest part of the Serapeion and entombed therein an Apis bull. Thebes, however, was chiefly benefited by his efforts. He enlarged the temple of Karnak on all sides, and first gave it the massive character it now bears. From the sacred lake Asher, constructed by Thutmosis III near Luxor, for a distance of over three-fourths of a mile northward he erected a series of new edifices connected by alleys of sphinxes. A road of sphinxes was also laid out from Karnak to Luxor. The main part of the temple of Amon at that spot, with its finely ornamented columns, was also built by this king. In one of the chambers the birth of the god-king is represented as an event which was only accomplished by virtue of the greatest exertions on the part of the gods.

The tombs of many officials and private individuals who lived under the long reign of Amenophis III have been preserved. The occupants, however, have provided us with no information worth mentioning. Anen, the high priest of Heliopolis, who was also incumbent of some spiritual post of dignity at Thebes, appears with his hair dressed in the newest fashion, and wearing a panther-skin covered with little stars; on the other hand, Cha-em-hat, the director of taxation in kind, preferred to stand before the judges of the dead in a costume archaic in the extreme. The superintendent of estates, Cheriuf, who had been "brought up by the king himself," must have been a very pious and distinguished personage, for he leaves his future entirely in the hands of Thoth, the god of all learned

houses. The master artist, Amennecht, clings to the principle that art requires favour, and therefore calls upon all the gods, among them "Amon's own son, King Amenophis," to grant him health, happiness, and joy for all his days. A man bearing the decorations of an officer has left behind him his portrait in wood, without a name but with a remarkably foolish expression. Neither the boldly designed edifices nor the portraits, which are in some cases entirely conventional and in others true to nature, can be looked upon as other than indications that the art of ancient Egypt entered upon a really flourishing period under the eighteenth dynasty; and it was under Amenophis III that it began to be conscious of the progress it had made.

Princess Giluhipa of Mitani, in spite of her royal birth, did not receive the rank of a "great royal consort" (that is, the rank of a reigning queen), nor did her niece Taduhipa fare any better at a later time; both found this position already occupied. Teje, the daughter of one untitled Jua and his wife Tua, had anticipated all competitors, and was moreover honoured as few queens before her. Whenever there was a ceremony to be performed, the king associates the name of Teje with his own. Even on business of an entirely private nature, such, for instance, as the presentation of the queen of an estate near the town of Zerucha, commemorative scarabs were issued. The king had ordered a broad lake to be constructed in haste on that estate, no doubt in compliance with a wish of Teje; he then dedicated it to her. She even shared in the increased divinity of the son of the sun, and a temple was erected to her at Sedeinga. The fact that her worship after death was continued under the Ramessides and at a later period, enables us to gain some idea of her popularity during her life. Although of low birth she determined the tone of court life, and took part in all council meetings and receptions. "Thou knowest better than all of the matters which lie between us — none other knows them;" so Tushratta of Mitani (p. 43) was able to write to her after the death of Amenophis III.

Soon after the arrival of the young princess Taduhipa in Thebes, a full list of whose enormous dowry has been discovered at Tel-Amarna, the king's health began to fail. He sent a request to his old friend Tushratta to send a statue of the goddess Ishtar of Nineveh to Egypt (cf. p. 45). However, "the day of departure" apparently came upon him before the arrival of the statue, and his mummy remained for about three hundred years in the silent "valley of the kings," where the walls of the royal tomb were covered with texts engraved with the greatest artistic care and skill from the Book of the Dead.

(*b*) *Amenophis IV and his Reforms.* — (*a*) *Foreign Policy under Amenophis IV.* — It is but rarely in the royal inscriptions of Ancient Egypt that some darkly veiled allusion hints at the fact that the sovereign concerned must have gained and secured his throne by force. The eighteenth dynasty is no exception to the rule; its eternal stability is emphasised, disagreeable features were passed over in silence, although the changes in the succession were occasionally accompanied by some friction. However, on the death of Amenophis III, the accession of Amenophis IV, the son of Teje, whose first name was Nefer-chepru-Ra (in the Amarna letters "Napchuria" or "Napchururia"), seems to have met with no serious opposition. Even the grandees of the kingdom had long been accustomed to shut their eyes to Teje's low birth. Her personal share in the government was so undisputed

that upon her husband's approaching death she agreed with her son to delay the despatch of the king's messages to the provinces and the foreign powers. Several important orders issued by Amenophis III during the last days of his life (for example, the despatch of Jadi-Addu to Tunip, of which place he had been appointed governor) were thus abrogated. The successor to his throne had apparently reached the age of manhood, and had long been fully prepared for this event. From the letters of foreign kings of the period it appears that it was not customary to take cognisance of the existence of a crown prince; hence Amenophis III could not have promoted his son to the co-regency. Equally scanty mention is made of Teje in previous correspondence with foreign powers. However, the lack of foresight displayed by Tushratta of Mitani in designating his daughter Taduhipa as "mistress of Egypt" when he sent her to Amenophis III, was now remedied on the occasion of this succession; Tushratta addresses Teje by this title and is careful to recognise the subordinate position of Taduhipa. The ill will of the queen mother may have been aroused by difficulties in the harem excited by the pretensions of the daughter of the king of Naharina, and her displeasure may have been increased by Tushratta's importunate demands for gold. When this monarch attempted to extort money from the new Pharaoh on the doubtful pretext of an old promise given by the late Amenophis, he received a refusal couched in unusually blunt terms. The ridiculous manner in which Tushratta subsequently sought to make it appear that nothing had occurred to disturb the relations of himself and his "dear brother" in Egypt, forms one of the most entertaining comedies in the world's history. The Tel-Amarna letters, which contain other amusing material, reached their highest point of literary skill in their references to this incident. Teje was personally requested by Tushratta to mediate in his favour, but seems to have taken no action in the matter, while the replies of Amenophis IV became more and more discourteous; at any rate, the old friendship between the two courts was almost a thing of the past at the date of the last letter which has come down to us.

A similar quarrel took place with King Burnaburiash, the successor of Kadashman-Bel in Babylonia (cf. p. 16). Amenophis IV neglected to send his wishes for the recovery of this king, who had been ill for some time. The Egyptian officials and tributary princes in Canaan also seem to have considered that nothing was to be feared from the Babylonians. They plundered Babylonian embassies and caravans of merchants in the most barefaced manner. Although this in itself was a sufficient ground of complaint, the reception of an Assyrian embassy in Thebes induced the Babylonians to make serious remonstrances (cf. p. 16). It was represented that the Assyrian prince Assur-uballit (p. 48) was a Babylonian vassal and that his people could have no business in Egypt, and that it would be well for Amenophis to remember that the father of Burnaburiash had once suppressed the beginnings of a Canaanite revolt against Egypt. None the less, relations with the Assyrians were continued, although Egypt gained no advantage thereby. Moreover, Burnaburiash seems to have been mollified by the hope that as soon as the customary alliance by marriage had been consummated, Amenophis would send more and better gold than before. The Egyptian envoy Hai, who is apparently to be identified with Aï, the favourite and subsequently the successor of Amenophis IV, appears at the court of Burnaburiash to fetch one of his daughters or relatives to Egypt, in exchange for whom an Egyptian princess must have

been given. A short and unfortunately mutilated letter of the "king's daughter" to "her master," which was delivered by Kidin-Ramman, expresses the hope that the gods of Burnaburiash will protect him on his journey. The manner in which "thy city and thy house" are further spoken of is probably to be explained as a reference to the removal to the new residence of Amenophis IV.

The king of the Hittites and his modest neighbour the petty king of Alashja (Cyprus; see map, p. 8) soon had reason to be dissatisfied with the change of rulers in Egypt. Sapalul, the former of these kings (p. 112), was offended by Amenophis IV, who addressed him in a manner involving a breach of etiquette, and received as good as he gave. The king of Alashja (cf. p. 164) was obliged to defend himself against the accusation that his subjects had been in alliance with Lycian pirates. It is uncertain whether the Lycians landed in the Delta, or whether they had made a raid upon some Egyptian settlement in Alashja. At any rate, the people of Alashja were probably justified in complaining that the commercial relations between the two countries had been injured by the aggressions of the Egyptian customs officials. Not only the king but also his chief official (the "Rabisu") issued edicts warning the "Pakeri" not to interfere with merchants, envoys, and ships from Alashja. But any one who passed through Lower Egypt in order to transact business at the court of Amenophis IV found, so to speak, a dragon in his path in the person of the viceroy of the Delta. From the Amarna letters we learn that at that time at least the power of this official was as absolute as that of the "prince of Cush;" thus Egypt proper was guarded on the south as on the north. The governor of Syria-Palestine had a wholesome respect for the "Rabisu of the king," who "is in the land of Jarimuta" (= the Delta). Two very amiable communications accompanied by gift were also sent to this personage by the Rabisu of Alashja; consequently his name Janhamu was one of the best known in the country. It apparently depended entirely upon the pleasure of this man whether the measures ordered by the Pharaoh should be executed slowly or promptly, sternly or with forbearance, and whether the pretexts or remonstrances of vassals should be seriously considered or be treated as deserving of punishment. Janhamu accepted backsheesh, but at the same time he was apparently upright enough to act in entire accordance with the orders of his superiors and not to yield to the counter claims of his own personal inclinations. None the less, the prestige of the Egyptian supremacy in the Asiatic provinces rapidly declined (cf. pp. 162, 662, and 667).

(β) *The Conflict between the Worship of Amon and the Cult of Aten; the Gods of the Ancient Egyptians.* — In the mean time events were taking place in Thebes of which the Egyptian people have never heard, and indeed were never again to hear after the period of their occurrence. The king became involved in a quarrel with the priesthood of Amon, which had been steadily increasing in wealth and power. Amon, at first the god only of his own house, had gradually been raised to the head of the Egyptian pantheon. The details which have come down to us concerning the questions in dispute are more than scanty.

It is certain that long before this time a new creed had been formulated by the Society of Priests connected with the temple of the sun at Heliopolis (p. 661), which was intended to exalt above all the hybrid deities of the Nile the visible solar disk ("Aten") as the sole creative and preservative deity. The supposition

that Amenophis IV had lived in Heliopolis before his accession, and had there been converted to the doctrines of Aten, is on the face of it improbable, as this city never became a centre of the Aten worship; it is far more probable that the old creed in Heliopolis had split away from the new belief as early as the reign of Amenophis III. If the worshippers of Aten had been allowed to gain the upper hand at Heliopolis unopposed, it is certain that the sanctuary also would have been appropriated to the new cult, the more so as for many years previously one of the minor temples in Heliopolis had been sacred to Aten.

It is probably nearer the truth to look upon the leaders of the reformed doctrine as itinerant preachers, the ingenious exponents of a new and therefore fashionable philosophy who had gained a footing at the court of Amenophis III, which prided itself on its intellectual atmosphere, and lent a ready ear to any new theory. What, however, was but a pastime to his predecessor, Amenophis IV considered as the serious business of life. Teje, who during her early life at court had not found the favour which was her due in the house of Amon, the protector of the law, probably gave early encouragement and consolation for the future to the supporters of Aten; on the other hand, Amenophis IV perhaps had cause to consider himself a martyr to his beliefs even before his accession. At any rate, it soon became obvious that relations between Amon and the new king were strained to breaking point, and the open rupture took place between the fourth and sixth years of the reign of Amenophis IV. The court left Thebes, and a religious reform on the lines of the Aten doctrine was begun with severity and zeal.

(1) *The Mythology of Egypt prior to the Reign of Amenophis IV.* — The generally approved method of inferring the nature of a reform from the changes introduced during a given period is barren of results in the case of Ancient Egypt. The religious conceptions of the Egyptians run as a whole in parallel lines which frequently intersect one another and produce confusion, even in the earliest periods of their history as known to us. History itself, however, has provided us with the key to the enigma. We find that at the end of every few centuries new blood was infused into the ruling classes of Egypt, and such admixture necessarily brought with it new religious traditions. Unfortunately investigation of the details necessary to the understanding of these changes almost invariably ends in disappointment. In the first place, even the chief deities of the Egyptians displayed a power of self-accommodation to altered environment unexampled in any other of the world's religions. In the second place, the traditions constantly refused to admit in direct terms the existence of any foreign supremacy in Egypt. Even the Hyksos period, which was at first allowed to appear in its true character for the reason that it ended in the expulsion of the invaders, was glossed over in later times. The persistency with which Egyptian legend could continue to efface the memory of the past is shown by one of its latest examples, the story of the enchanter Nektanebos, who was represented as the true father of Alexander, so that the Macedonian conqueror might appear to be of Egyptian origin. In the third place, men as well as their gods became, even during their lifetime, prisoners of the kingdom of the dead. Our knowledge of the religion of Egypt would hardly be worthy of mention were all that relates to the future life abstracted from it. It was only by Mohammedanism, with its doctrine of fatalism, that the general fear of death was completely conquered after the way had been prepared by the teachings of Christianity.

The deities of Ancient Egypt were devoid of independence and vigour. As early as the time of the pyramids they moved in the trammels of sorcery, the continued development of which in the interest of the world of the dead not only increased the unwieldiness of the system, but brought divinities of the most heterogeneous character into association. The formulæ and hymns by which the gods were praised, or their assistance in worldly affairs was invoked, invariably had a bearing on the life beyond. Whoever during life recognised Amon as his father might thereby be injured rather than benefited whenever he fell into the power of the deities of the lower world; and the Egyptians were not of those resolute spirits who trusted that the gods of their choice or of their tradition would continue to protect them after death. Thus Amon became an Amon-Ra. Ra, the sun-god, passed in triumph through the under world. A long hymn, written upon papyrus under the twentieth dynasty, explains the clumsy process by which Amon was not only identified with Ra, but was foisted into the entire mythologic circle to which Ra belonged. The custom of uniting the deities into families consisting of father, mother, and son, and further into family groups of nine personages, was very popular; in such cases the chief god was always certain of the good services of those affiliated to him. Nevertheless, the action of the colleges of priests of the various temples, each preserving its own particular traditions, effectually prevented the development of a true national religion. In Memphis Ptah, in Thebes Amon, in Heliopolis Ra, in Tanis probably Set, stood unshaken each at the head of a group of three, nine, sometimes of eighteen gods. It is unknown at what time this process of association began or when the tendency to disintegration reappeared. In Heliopolis, where a spirit of subtile inquiry seems to have prevailed at a very early period, the attempt was even made to identify the gods with the primitive kings. The scheme of succession drawn up in accordance with this idea is indeed of no value to the history of mythology, although it subsequently made its way into the literature of Egypt, and was also employed by Manetho as a suitable beginning for his list of kings.

Assuming the religious texts of Ancient Egypt to be the sole foundation for our knowledge of primitive beliefs, the fear of death must undoubtedly be regarded as the determining factor in every fresh stage of religious development. However, the religious history of other races of equal antiquity shows that the love of life may exert even a more powerful influence upon the course of religious development. It is not a fact that the kingdom of Egypt was established by a people whose one idea was to seek the proper entrance to the Elysian Fields, and who found it near Thebes, on the western bank of the Nile. Here as elsewhere the usual consequences of the conquest of a country by a foreign people followed. The captured territory is considered by the new arrivals as a gift of the gods who accompanied them thither; and to these the previous possessors, deities as well as men, must first be subjected, and with them ultimately be incorporated. Thus is explained the great antiquity of such of the purely Egyptian conceptions as originated in the configuration of the country. To these belong the divinities of the water and the desert, as well as the simple harvest gods. The first movement recognisable as such among the gods of Egypt begins with the rise of Horus, and his struggle to break down the obstinacy of Set.

It has been conjectured from the fact of the division of the Nile valley into nomes (cf. p. 648), each of which had for its centre the ancient temple of a

local deity, that the resulting state of political and religious decentralisation corresponded to the condition of Egypt at the beginning of its history. If this were the case, a similar division of the land into nomes must also have existed between the first and second cataracts, where the natural conditions were identical. This, however, was not the case. As a rule, the conquering Horus received the offerings of the kings of Egypt who erected temples and dedicatory inscriptions in Nubia. Under the Ramessides, Amon, Ptah, and Ra also appeared in company with Horus, whereas the mention of native divinities is extremely rare ("Deden" and "He" being mentioned but once). Nevertheless Min of Coptos, a deity who had fallen into obscurity as early as the period of the Middle Empire, was rediscovered in Nubia by the kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, worshipped there with the greatest enthusiasm, and in consequence eventually restored to importance in Egypt also. Min, however, with his wide influence as god of subsistence and procreation, was an ideal rustic deity; in early times he must have been generally worshipped throughout a wide district, extending far beyond the frontiers of Egypt to the south and perhaps also to the southeast. As a result, Coptos, the point of junction of several desert roads from the south, continued for a long time to be a secure stronghold for the worship of Min, even after he had been supplanted elsewhere by deities of later origin. In the god Shem of Achmin (north of Coptos), who was originally the counterpart of Min, the Greeks immediately recognised their own Pan; accounts of the primitive rustic character of his festivals have been preserved. It was then customary to invite Nubians and Trogodytes to take part in the chief ceremony and the gymnastic feats connected with it, these races being better acquainted with the details of the ritual. But though Horus, who usually intruded upon such occasions under the most extraordinary disguises, was unable to prevail against Min, the ape god Bes, a rival from the southernmost part of Nubia, was more successful. This kobold-like dwarf with his bushy crown of feathers seems to have been closely connected with the goddess Toëris (Egyptian Ta-urt), whose image was an erect hippopotamus with the breasts of a woman. She may indeed have accompanied him upon his first arrival from Ethiopia, and have taken the place of the corresponding deity Apet, who was worshipped in Thebes at a comparatively late period. At any rate, Bes and Toëris played a very important part in the Egyptian pantheon, after they had deprived Min and Apet of their important office as patron deities of midwifery. The subsequent introduction of Bes and Toëris into the circle of sun divinities and their ritual companions the gods of the dead, ended their advancement.

However, such an instance of the overthrow of primitive Egyptian deities by gods of yet earlier origin from the south is absolutely unique. As a rule, the ancient Egyptian gods were replaced by deities introduced from the north in conformity with the course of political development. An excellent example, which shows how superficial in many cases were the successes of the new deities introduced from the north, is the case of the first or southernmost nome of Upper Egypt. Its ancient capital was Ombos, on the eastern bank of the Nile, the temple of which was sacred to the crocodile god Sebek. The worshippers of Horus were late in establishing themselves in the nome, and were restricted for a time to the island of Elephantine, which was not consecrated to Horus but to Chnum; he, as creator of the world in the age preceding the birth of Osiris, and as the father of Horus himself, was a god eminently suitable for a region so exposed, where he

bears the title "defender against the Nubians." When at a later time Ombos opened its gates to the new cult, Horus had become humbler, and contented himself with one half of the Sebek temple. The result was, that, together with his neighbour "great Horus," Sebek also assumed the attributes of a sun-god, and from this time forth was known as Sebek-Ra, one of the most extraordinary of the many mythological fusions which took place in Egypt. Unfortunately little has remained to us of the myths in connection with the temple at Ombos. A fragmentary account from this source indicates that Osiris was there born to Apet, the hippopotamus goddess. It is certain that Sebek was one of the chief divinities of the Nile valley prior to the Negada period (cf. p. 595), and also suffered less than any other primitive god from the antagonism of later times. The age of the Old Empire alone seems to have been unfavourable to the crocodile god; at the time of the Middle Empire he rose to great distinction, and possessed temples in various parts of Egypt until the final disappearance of the native beliefs. There their inalienable characteristics as deities of the water may have proved a valuable support both to him and to the hippopotamus goddesses; but between the desert god Set and the religion of the historical period a relation of armed neutrality invariably persisted. All, however, that is known about Set is intimately connected with his mythological struggle with Horus (cf. p. 597).

As against earlier hypotheses, we may consider that the nomes, with their frequent interchange of deities, represent more or less clearly defined areas of conquest. As in the nome of Ombos-Elephantine, so in districts farther to the north, the tide of other invasions was as it were dammed up at various times, the point of resistance being marked in each case by the construction of some line of defence. The hypothesis that the land was fully divided into nomes at a time when the tribes of the original inhabitants had scarcely begun to define their respective pasture grounds, is in the highest degree improbable. The nome organisation was a slow historical development, and not the creation either of chance or of conscious choice. On the other hand, the remarkable fact that almost all the gods of Egypt appear in the form of animals had its origin in the prehistoric centuries or millenniums, during the course of which natives and invaders first came into collision, the constant recurrence of such encounters eventually producing the historical Egyptian nationality. We cannot, indeed, discover in primitive Egypt any bond of union existing between tribe and tribe, but we are not thereby forced to conclude that the animal attributes of the gods were in no sort of connection with totemism. Moreover, it is obvious that gods who must originally have been antagonistic to one another could not have been peacefully united into whole animal pantheons until their earlier characters had been entirely forgotten. The last totem groups to invade Egypt, and there to become thoroughly domesticated, were the sparrow-hawk Horus and his kindred.

Horus never lost his traditional character as a champion and conqueror of the land; his name signified sovereignty, and was assumed by every Pharaoh. The mythic story of the wars fought by Horus against Set and his allies throughout the whole of Egypt has been preserved to us in two versions in connection with each other. The earlier of these represents Horus as a son of the beneficent god Osiris, who appeared as a human king and refined the bestial manners of Egyptian life by teaching the duties of cultivating the soil, worshipping the gods, etc. But Osiris was entrapped by his evil brother Set, who enticed him into a great coffer,

which he immediately closed and set adrift on the sea. During the despotic rule of Set the adherents of Osiris either left the country or withdrew into hiding-places; but when the body of Osiris was recovered by his sister and wife Isis in the Phœnician seaport Gebal, their son Horus arose and conquered Set, after a long struggle. During the war with Set, Isis and Horus were assisted by Thoth, the ibis-headed god of wisdom, and Anubis, the jackal-headed deity. Although we are indebted to no earlier authority than Plutarch for this myth, and although in Plutarch's original the Delta only is represented as the Egyptian scene of action, nevertheless numerous versions of and allusions to the story in ancient Egyptian texts prove not only its genuineness but also the fact that it was equally current in Upper Egypt. A calendarian list, in which horoscopes and rules of conduct for favourable or unlucky days are given, states that on the 17th of Athyr, the day of Osiris's death, the lamentations of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys at Saïs could be heard as far as Abydos, the final resting-place of Osiris.

The length to which the process of mythological transformation could be carried among the Egyptians is well shown in a later version of the myth, which may have been remodelled during the New Empire, and met with ready acceptance by the priesthood of the temple of Horus at Edfu. In this adaptation Osiris has entirely disappeared, his place being taken by the sun-god Ra of Heliopolis, whose annihilation was indeed neither possible nor desirable. Consequently Horus appears as the son of the sun in the form of the winged solar disk. His struggle with Set and his brood of crocodiles is represented as a chastisement inflicted upon conspirators, whose crime consisted simply in their rebellion against Ra. Nevertheless, even from this greatly altered variant of the myth several valuable additions can be obtained which supplement the account of Plutarch. Thus one passage reads: "Hereupon the enemies of Ra went into the river. They metamorphosed themselves into crocodiles and hippopotami. But Ra entered a boat, and when he came within reach of the animals they opened wide their mouths in order to injure the majesty of the god. Then came Horus [that is, Horus of Edfu], and the servants of his train bore weapons of bronze; each carried a lance of iron and a chain in his hands. They then smote the crocodiles and hippopotami. And they dragged forth three hundred and eighty-one enemies and put them to death in sight of the city of Edfu." These words at once remind us of the articles discovered at Negada (pp. 594 and 597) which date from the beginning of the bronze age. One of the chief peculiarities of the Horus myth as the winged solar disk consists in the careful endeavour to explain place names by pseudo-etymological derivation from sayings of the deities concerned. Toward the end of the struggle, when such of the adherents of Set as had taken refuge in the sea were banned by means of magic spells, even the sea itself was given another name. "Ra said to Thoth: 'Have we not traversed (*seked*) the entire land, the entire sea?' Thoth replied: 'From this day forth let this water be named the Sea of Seked.'" That similar plays upon words occurred in the genuine myth of the son of Osiris follows from a remark of Manetho to the effect that the name of Avaris was derived from some ancient theological connection (p. 621); consequently the Lower Egyptian original of Plutarch's version, from which this part of Manetho's account is certainly derived, had its own series of etymologies of place names.

Not Ra, but Osiris, was the deity who opposed Set and assisted Horus to victory.

Whether Osiris and the Babylonian god Marduk (cf. pp. 14 and 37) are to be traced back to a common origin, as indicated by the similarity between the cuneiform and hieroglyphic ideographs, and whether *asaru* may be looked upon as a phonetic equivalent of Marduk, are questions which cannot be decided without further systematic investigation into the religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia-Assyria. At all events, the identity of Osiris with Marduk, if it ever existed, must have early disappeared; for in the comparatively late period during which we first hear of Babel and its Marduk, this deity was a war-like hero, world-creator, and at the same time father of Nabu, the god of wisdom. Osiris, on the other hand, appears as early as the Ancient Empire as the inoperative god of the dead, and his merit must be considered as resting chiefly upon his former sufferings. The resemblance of Horus to Marduk, however, becomes so striking that it is difficult not to believe that this part of the genealogy of the Egyptian deities must once have undergone a fundamental change.

The opposing god, Set, who was represented symbolically in an extraordinary form somewhat resembling that of a mouse, but who was also in the habit of transforming himself into a snake in combat, was recognised quite as much as Horus as a deity of the empire. The kings of Egypt wear the Uræus serpent above their foreheads as a badge of dignity, and are the favourites not only of Horus but of Set. Not until the end of the empire was the conclusion drawn from the legend of Osiris that Set, who as "Sutech" had begun to assume the attributes of the Phœnician Baal, was an object of worship unworthy of a truly pious Egyptian. Thus the ancient deity finally fell from his high estate, after a sudden and vain attempt to disguise himself as a sun-god at his principal residence in Tanis. Nevertheless, as a local deity at Ombos, and to a still greater extent in the western frontier nome Oxyrynchites, on the borders of the desert, where his worship had been preserved in its greatest purity, he survived all hostility. As a son of Nut, the primitive goddess of heaven and tutelary divinity of the Nile, Set seems to be the most purely Egyptian of the deities which retained their general characteristics during historical times.

No information as to the origin, growth, and development of the Egyptian doctrines of a future life is obtainable from the myths of Osiris. The conception is already apparent in the legend referring to Isis and the body of Osiris. Plutarch's mention of Set as finding the coffin after it had been hidden and dismembering the body is evidently immediately derived from the more primitive method of burial, and throws no light upon the question at issue. Hence it remains only to give a short account of ancient Egyptian conceptions of a future life as they appeared in historical times. It was necessary that the bodies of the dead should be preserved. This fundamental condition was satisfied by the process of mummifying. An additional safeguard in the case of the wealthy classes was the construction of tombs of masonry, the forms of which varied with the religious ideas of different periods. The mummy was looked upon as the home of the "spiritual parts" of the deceased, which could leave the body at will. Chief among these was the Ka, or dream-soul. Even during a man's life his Ka had shown a tendency to wander. Whoever made journeys during his dreams and experienced good or evil while his body lay in sleep knew that his Ka had been active. The Ka proved its power of free movement still more definitely by appearing as a physical being to others in their dreams whether its unconscious owner were alive or dead. Two further

spiritual elements, the *Chu* (that is, the "shining one") and the *ba*, which had the form of a human-headed bird, seem to have represented one and the same conception, that is, the renown of the deceased. In all probability the same was the case with the *Sahu* and the *Sechem*, which are depicted as wrapped mummies or free figures; the difference of form and name was due to local variation of doctrine. It is strange that the shadow of men was included among the spiritual elements; possibly it was a later parasitic conception, for the kingdom of the dead of Osiris was by no means an abiding-place of shadows. Consequently it was entirely opposed to Egyptian piety to supply their departed with shadow pictures of bread, meat, dishes, etc. During the Negada period it appears that the sacrifices, that is to say, the repasts for the dead, were still offered *in natura*. In later times, imitations made of stone, clay, or wood, which were supposed to become permanently endowed with nourishing qualities by the recital of magical formulæ, were employed. Other formulæ of this kind, of which the tedious literature of the "Books of the Dead" is largely composed, were thought to assist the deceased to overcome the difficulties and dangers of the way to the throne of Osiris, to plead for him before the court of judgment in the nether world, and even to influence the turn of the scales in which the gods Thoth and Horus weighed every heart against a feather, the symbol of truth. What happened to those found wanting at this final judgment was an obscure and apparently a forbidden subject, although a vicious-looking female animal resembling a pig, with the head of a crocodile, called the "devourer," always sat before or close to Osiris. But on and after the interment the dead man was called "true to his word," his righteousness and consequent salvation being thus presupposed. Thus blessed, he was straightway sent to Osiris and led by the god to the fields of Aalu, where all was well. There was room for every one at the richly decked table of Osiris, and whoever desired more had but to go to the tree of life close at hand, from which the goddess of heaven freely dispensed her gifts.

Here there is an obvious contradiction between theory and practice; for if the deceased, who during the New Empire were given in full confidence the title of "Osiris So-and-so" upon their burial, were so well cared for in Aalu, there was no reason to offer sacrifice to them. In reality the Egyptian faith had always been somewhat weak (cf. pp. 657 and 660), and consequently very well understood how to compromise with silent doubts. The prayers and enchantments, although perhaps not infallible, were, at any rate, worth trying. Strictly speaking, however, their chief purpose was only to deceive the judges of the dead; in fact, if misfortune willed it they might as easily prove inefficient here as in earthly courts of justice. The questions put by the bench of forty-two gods of the dead according to the ritual were, moreover, liable to ensnare the best of witnesses. At all events, the Egyptians consoled themselves with the thought that this assembly could not be over-strict in its judgment; practice and experience exert a softening influence even on human judges. From these considerations arose the thought that the verdict in the majority of the cases would be at the worst no more than a mild and charitable *non liquet* of a provisional nature. This seems to have been a dominent idea among the mourners, and consequently the custom of funeral offerings became a permanent institution. It is true, we find no mention, nor even a hint, of this custom in the texts: first, because the doctrinal tendency was to avoid the introduction of special sacrificial formulæ; secondly, the pre-Osiric

custom of offerings had become incorporated with these sacrifices, and an institution of such antiquity could not well be abolished; in the third place, priestly doctrines are as a rule looked at by the people almost wholly from a practical point of view, and both parties were careful to avoid the discussion of those delicate points which definite statement would have involved.

Hence the offerings of food, etc., were also intended to secure to the deceased at least so long as he remained in the tomb that welfare which he could not have enjoyed in any other way. It is a striking fact that the kings, especially those of the eleventh dynasty, did not share the general desire of their subjects to be buried, if possible, in the Osiris city Abydos. They disdained to choose a suitable spot in the sacred nome for their tombs, and commanded their bodies to be interred in Thebes. Even the popular custom of sending the mummies of the deceased to Abydos, whence they were transported back to the starting point, where their graves awaited them, was apparently considered unnecessary by these kings. In general, Osiris must be regarded as the dispenser of felicity chiefly to the upper classes. The directions for his worship point very clearly to the fact that the god was best propitiated by expensive offerings. In the court of judgment in the lower world, Thoth, the deity of the learned, and Horus were his companions, — a distinguished company, in which the poor were out of place.

With the exception of Ra, it is seldom that any information of importance can be extracted respecting the gods of Ancient Egypt. Overladen as they were with changing attributes, their original forms are now unrecognisable; their myths also are still unknown. Images of Ptah, the ancient god of Memphis (cf. p. 610), are now only to be found in the swathing of mummies; therefore he must have adopted the character of Osiris, or *vice versa*. Herodotus considered Ptah as the Egyptian Hephæstus; in fact, he was often represented surrounded by dwarf gods, his assistants in the creation of the world. Ptah may have been in some way connected with the Nile god Hapi, who possessed an unusually magnificent temple in Memphis, and was subsequently worshipped in Rome as the classic "father of the waters;" he was also accompanied by gnomes, who, though they signified the proper height of the Nile in ells, nevertheless bear a close resemblance to the kobolds of Ptah. Memphis was also the scene of worship of the Apis bulls, whose divine attributes had been recognised as early as the Ancient Empire (cf. p. 600). A connection between Ptah and Apis can scarcely be proved. During his lifetime the bull seems to have formed a part of the Ra cult, and after his death to have belonged to that of Osiris. Thus it is possible that the soul of the bull was finally transformed into an independent deity, Osiris-Apis, who, after personification under Greek influence, received the name of Serapis, supplanted Osiris, and became associated with Isis as deity of the dead. The great mausoleum of Apis bulls discovered by Mariette at Sakkâra still contained the heavy stone sarcophagi, in which the mummified remains of the animals had been successively laid from the time of the eighteenth dynasty, in order somewhat parallel to the succession of mummies of the Egyptian kings. Pharaoh and Apis possessed the attributes of personal divinity in death as well as in life. The other sacred animals found in the temples are merely incarnations of the various gods, such as the Suchos-crocodile in the Fayûm, the Mendesian ram, and the bull Mnevis of Heliopolis, whose worshippers fell into decay at different times (cf. p. 601). Together with Mnevis, a fabulous creature, the bird Bennu (the "Phœnix" of the

Greeks) had his headquarters at Heliopolis. Perhaps a rare species of heron was bred there. Finally, on arriving at the stone sphinxes (for the most part the heads of kings set upon the bodies of four-footed animals, consequently an inversion of the conception of gods with the heads of animals) we find ourselves within the domain of sculpture and architecture.

At Dendera a temple of the goddess Hathor, inscribed with accounts of the worship as well as with the history of its building, still remains in a good state of preservation. From this we learn that at the beginning of the third summer month this Egyptian Aphrodite was accustomed to set out upon a ceremonial journey to the god Horus in Edfu, which was not far distant. After or within five days she then returned home in her boat "the greatness of love." This custom is in complete correspondence with the name of the goddess, which signifies "the house of Horus," a conception also apparent in the written ideograph. This fact increases our perplexity upon the appearance of the seven "Hathors," a corporation of midwives, who in their turn are connected with Necheb, the goddess of births worshipped in El-Kab, and appear also in the form of vultures hovering about the king, protecting him during his lifetime. Hathor herself, on the other hand, is often represented with the head of a cow, and even when pictured as a woman she retains the cow's horns and ears. The mythological similarity between Buto, the oracle goddess in the Delta town of Buto, and Leto was immediately recognized by the Greeks, who also identified Athene with the goddess Neith, worshipped at Saïs. The symbol of Neith, originally a square shield with two arrows crossed behind it, was transformed into a shuttle, in later times worn as a national token by the Libyans, who appear in Egyptian drawings. From these facts it would appear that the goddess was introduced from the west, but she, together with Hathor-Buto, the cat-headed Bast of Bubastis, and almost all the female divinities of the ancient Egyptian Pantheon, subsequently lost all traces of their original character under the influence of the Isis myth. A closer examination makes it plain that even those divinities which appear to have an individuality of their own are mere variants of Isis, "rich in enchantment." An exception to this rule is Maat, the goddess of truth and justice; for she, as an abstraction, was above all influences of mythological transformation. She is sometimes represented wearing the well-known bandage over her eyes, "for justice decides without regard of persons." Of the god Chonsu, who perhaps represented the new moon and formed a counterpart to Ash, the god of the full moon, nothing need here be said, except that he, like so many other divinities, was ultimately merged in the "sun." Under the twentieth dynasty a vain attempt seems to have been made to restore him to his proper mythological position. Of great interest are the gods of war, which appear in increasing numbers under the New Empire. The valiant Month was often summoned by the kings from Thebes to inspire them with bravery in battle equal to his own (p. 636). The worship of Month in the nome of Thebes was perhaps even more ancient than that of Amon, for the chief sanctuaries of both were in local opposition (cf. p. 648). The goddess Sechmet, the destroyer of degenerate mankind in the Ra myth, obtained a certain degree of preference from Amenophis III, and appears in the papyrus literature as the lion-headed spreader of panic who marches in the vanguard of armies. In other respects she belongs to the family of Ptah at Memphis. In later times, however, it was said of the Isis-Hathor at Philæ that she was "kind as Bast, terrible as Sechmet," so that this

divinity also was deprived of her original characteristics. The Syrian divinities (cf. p. 173) also acquired a certain standing in Egypt, especially under the Ramessides. The chief of these were Baal and Astarte, Reshef and Anath. They, too, were addressed upon the Nile with the usual deluge of high-flown addresses and panegyrics; the goddess of the town of Kadesh was for a time even set upon an equality with Ra (p. 664).

The sun-god Ra, as is plain from his myths, had his first centre in Heliopolis as early as the period of the Ancient Empire. None the less he was the youngest of all the greater divinities. This fact is proved by the comprehensiveness of his nature; compared with him the Hades nature of Osiris is as one-sided as the conception of the sun of the earth is narrow which is offered by Horus, with his assistants in the various parts of the day, Chepere, Tum, etc. Before Ra came to Egypt he had attained a certain mythological maturity within the imagination of another people, and hence the rapidity of his success. Apart from this, he possessed all the attributes which make for popularity. The new sun-god is the absolute lord of creation; he traverses the entire heaven and the nether world in his narrow boat within twenty-four hours, annihilates all that is evil, or at any rate makes it inoperative so long as he is present, and so compels every other god who is desirous of being termed "good" to enter his company. Thus within a comparatively short time the solar disk of Ra becomes the predominating symbol among the other gods; indeed this same symbol was unconsciously accepted as the sign of divinity in general, and was ultimately borne even by those gods who, from their very nature, were and remained opponents to Ra. Hence the sparrow-hawk of Horus, although its significance had already become unintelligible to the religious traditions of the New Empire, was retained as an emblem distinctive of the true sun-gods. Ra is also now represented with a bird's head. He also appropriated to himself many other external marks borrowed from earlier rites and conceptions. He changed his ship several times, and in due course the crew developed into a motley assembly of deities; he paid Osiris a visit during his nightly journey, and so on. However, he clung all the more tenaciously to his main office. He who had been the friend of Ra during his lifetime had the right to claim a place on the boat in death when it passed through the heaven during the day. Thus the deceased arrived in the nether world under the auspices of a powerful protector, and far more easily than by the solitary and dangerous way of the Osiris doctrine. When Ra had arrived at his possessions in those regions (he must, therefore, have been forced to resign a considerable portion of the nether world to Osiris and other deities of darkness) he disembarked the souls in the fruitful field, where they continued an existence resembling their earthly life. In consequence of the division of Ra's subterranean dominions into twelve sections of one hour's journey each, divided from one another by "doors" (properly, sluice gates), the dead under his protection could unfortunately only enjoy the sight of the god, the sun, for one hour, and were left in darkness for the rest of the time. However, during this short period of light the greatest activity prevailed, for the protégés of Ra had also to labour in the land beyond the grave; they sowed, they ploughed, irrigated their land and gathered their harvest, in order not to suffer the pangs of hunger.

If we compare with these facts the necessity of supplying the dead of Osiris with food, we have at once an explanation both of the existence of the worship of

Ra and of its high popularity among the Egyptian people. Ra established the realm of the dead upon a democratic basis, and developed the idea of death the leveller to its logical consequences beyond the grave. The members of the wealthy classes, who, though uncertain of Ra's power, did not wish to run the risk of losing his favour, and were even less inclined to trifle away their prospects of the aristocratic Utopia of Osiris, made preparations to include either alternative. Near the mummies, together with their Book of the Dead and their supply of food for the next life, are found small figures of wood, called *uschebti*, that is, answerers, equipped for the most part as slaves or field labourers, and in many cases inscribed with the name of the dead man to whom they belonged. Their duty was to answer for the deceased and to act as his substitutes if he should happen to arrive at the fields of Ra and there be called upon to work. By such childlike simplicity was thus obliterated the difference between the kingdom of Ra and that of Osiris, where all things were effected by means of magic formulæ; though it is true that at that time the myths of the sun-god had become totally confused with those of the other deities. The story that Ra when he once ruled upon the earth destroyed all rebellious men but showed favour to the remainder, how again when feeble with age he was deprived of his earthly power by the wiles of Isis (in reality, of Hathor), though instructive from the point of view of comparative religion, are wholly alien to the original character of the god. The Ra of these legends has already become infected with the formality of Osiris, by whose retainers he is also surrounded. Here we may recognize the effects of later efforts on the part of the priests to effect a compromise between the two deities.

At what period of the early history of Egypt the sun-god Ra secured the chief position in the popular beliefs cannot be determined with certainty. If the legend concerning the origin of the fifth dynasty (p. 608) can be trusted, the characteristic title of the kings, "sons of Ra," which was invariably emphasised in subsequent times, must have originated at that period. This, however, would only roughly indicate the close of the first stage of development. It was not consistent with the Egyptian character to put their trust in any one god, however mighty and powerful. During the long and obscure period of transition from the Ancient to the Middle Empire (p. 611), many a convulsion must have shaken the existing body of religious belief. A result of the conclusion of peace between Horus and Ra was undoubtedly the appearance of the popular mixed deity Ra-Harmachis, which was associated in the legends with the winged solar disk, flanked on either side by a small uræus snake. This token, which was to be seen over the entrance of every temple, possessed the significance of a symbol of union, which was ultimately extended over all the gods of the country. Nevertheless, in the Tel-Amarna period the letters of the Syrian officials to the Pharaoh almost invariably employ a form of address which represents him only as the son of Ra, while Rib-Addi of Gebal (cf. p. 161) employs another, and perhaps older, set of titles, in which no mention whatever is made of the sun.

In view of the difference of opinion among the Egyptians concerning the life after death, and the increasing confusion in the mythology, together with the slight efficacy of the formulæ of enchantment, a spirit of scepticism could not have failed to arise. Whether traces of a belief that the dead ascended to the stars are to be included among the evidence for this spirit, is still a matter of uncertainty; at any rate, such a conception does not seem to be of Egyptian origin. A stronger piece

of evidence is, however, the fact that occasionally the memorial stones were inscribed with denials of the doctrine of a future life. The god usually mentioned in these cases is called "perfect death;" he was thought to be indifferent alike to prayers and offerings, and to make no difference between "gods and men," — a belief which may have been directed against the claims to divinity put forward by the Pharaohs. However this may be, the deceased lay rigid in eternal darkness, yearning for the delights of earthly life. For this reason man was to make the best use of his existence, to seek joy and pleasure, and to cast away all sorrow. Generally popular under the new kingdom was the "Song from the tomb of King Antef, composed by the harper."

This minstrel appeals in turn to ancient sages who taught: "Ruined are the dwellings of ancestors, they are as if they had never been, and no one returns from the beyond to tell us what has become of them." To the living the advice is given, "Adorn thyself as beautifully as may be, and let not thine heart fail thee so long as thou remainest upon earth. Trouble not thyself until the day of mourning breaks. For he whose heart has ceased to beat, hears no lamentation; he who rests in the grave, shares not thy grief. Therefore let your days be glad, your countenance joyful, and be not idle; for no man takes his possessions with him, nor does he ever return."

The poetical "dialogue of one weary of life, with his soul," is, as regards its fundamental conception, a precursor of the Book of Job. Moreover, its fate seems to have been similar to that of the biblical work, in so far as a recapitulation is added establishing a connection with the current religious belief, although the book was composed with the object of exposing the illogical nature of the orthodox creed. The one weary of life, ill and feeble, deceived by the world and abandoned by his relatives and friends, entreats his soul to follow him into death. But at this prospect, even this last companion desires to abandon him, and is with great difficulty persuaded to agree to a compromise. In the course of the argument it becomes clear that the Egyptians were not only inclined to scepticism, but also regarded the useless pyramids and the worship of the dead with mockery and contempt. The soul expresses the opinion in no measured terms that precisely the same prospect awaited the most carefully preserved mummy and the body devoured by fishes of "a weary one who died on the river embankment leaving no posterity." In all probability this composition was considered by its readers as belonging to the class of popular productions, the possession of which was not to be proclaimed aloud before the guardians of public morals and manners. The later addition of a short deprecatory hymn to Ra as the giver of happiness was intended to secure a measure of toleration for the work. Two affecting songs of the man tired of life — a complaint against the world that indefatigably persecutes the tender hearted but opens its arms to the insolent, and a salutation to death, the deliverer — give the work a high place in the literature of the world, and incline us to regard more charitably many of those features of ancient Egyptian life which we are inclined to consider with aversion. Even the refractory soul makes the admission when the deserted one has shown it that the earth is full of evil-doers: "Death stands before me to-day like the near fulfilment of the longing which a man has for his home after many years of imprisonment." The soul then promises to accompany him: "Thy body shall return to the earth, and where thou abidest I also will abide; we two will make our abode together."

(2) *The Doctrinal Reforms introduced by Amenophis IV.* — Thoughts such as these were certainly of themselves incapable of initiating a reform in the national religion in Egypt. Nevertheless they are evidence that an intellectual movement had begun, and that a small number of educated men had cast away their fears of the unknown. Most of the epitaphs belonging to the decade immediately preceding the reform appealed separately to Osiris and Ra, and the hymns addressed to the sun-god increase in fervour. Thus a text from Memphis runs, "Praise to thee who arisest in the ocean of heaven, to nourish all that thou has created, who made the heaven to exist and the horizon thereof inaccessible. Praise to thee that showest thyself at every hour; when thou dost shine thou breathest life into mankind. Praise to thee who createdst all things and yet remainest hid; for no man knoweth thy countenance." This is no longer mythology, but simple observation of nature. During this period of transition, even Amon was readily invoked in very similar terms. The priest Amen-em-opet of the necropolis at Thebes appeals to him naturally as Amon-Ra in the following terms: "Oh my god, lord of gods, Amon-Ra, save me, stretch forth thy hand to me, fill me with life, arise for me! Thou art without equal the only god, the sun which rises in heaven, which created mankind; thou art he who hearkeneth to entreaties, who freeth man from the hand of the mighty, who giveth breath unto creatures that are still in the egg, whether they be men or birds. He createth what the mice require in their holes, and what is needful likewise for the worms and fleas." Thus in sharp contrast to the practice of earlier times, writers concentrated their attention upon particular instances drawn from nature; their procedure closely resembled the beginnings of our natural science, but was bound to be condemned as "lacking in method" by the older school and afterward by the reaction.

The symbol of the Aten cult consisted in the simple solar disk pouring down its rays. Each ray was represented as ending in a little hand. Some of these hands are open, while others hold the emblem of life, the well-known ringed cross. Whenever the king, or, as was now customary, the assembled royal family, performed a public ceremony, the sun's disk stood immediately above their heads, so that, if possible, every person might be struck by one of these emblems at the end of the rays.

The "doctrine" itself was formulated in a long hymn. "Glorious dost thou appear on the horizon, Aten, thou living creator of all life, when thou risest in the east, filling all countries with thy splendour. But when thou goest to repose in the west, the earth sinks into darkness like unto that of death. Then each man lies in his house with covered face and closed eye, and knows not what happens unto him. But the lions come forth from the caverns and the serpents sting, so long as the stars of night twinkle and the land rests in silence. And again it brightens when thou risest resplendent, when Aten brings on the day; the darkness flees before thy rays and both lands of Egypt rejoice. The people rise up by thy power, they bathe and clothe themselves, they stretch forth their hands to welcome thy coming, and then are busied with the business which thou hast ordained." The cattle leap to the pasture, all birds flutter cheerfully; "the ships set forth unto the north and to the south, thy coming openeth all ways; the fish in the stream greet thee with splashing, thy rays descend to the depths of the sea. By thee the woman conceives and the man is made to beget, the child quickens within the womb until the day of his bringing forth; then thou givest him speech and providest for his

need." The development of the bird from the egg is treated yet more exhaustively; this subject had been already treated of on the monument of Amen-em-opet, but had now evidently become a central point in the "doctrine," and was probably the chief weapon in the armoury of the Aten catechism. The sun, however, according to the hymn has also created all the foreign races of the whole world, distinguished them by differences of colour, and assigned to each its language; it caused the Nile to flow and ordained the height of water; but it also made the Nile to be formed in heaven that other nations might receive rain. "Thou didst create the seasons for the completion of thy work, the cool winter and the hot summer; thou alone didst build the vault of heaven, thy lofty path, whence thou surveyest all that thou hast made. Thou art Aten, the day of the world; my heart belongs to thee, but no one knoweth thee as doth thy son [the king] Nefer-chepru-Ra. Thou hast revealed to him the knowledge of thy mighty coming and going. On that very day when thou establishedst the world, thou didst cause it to be created for thy son, who is the express image of thy glory, even for the king of Egypt, the truly living one, the lord of both lands, Nefer-chepru-Ra, the son of the sun that existeth in verity, Chuenaten, who liveth for ever. And with him the great, the beloved royal spouse, the mistress of both lands, Nefer-neferu-Aten, that is, the immortal and flourishing Nefertiti."

The "doctrine" was thus established as the official religion, as had once been the case with the worship of Amon, only on a more comprehensive scale. The creed was inclined to monotheism in so far as no room is left for the existence of other deities, which indeed were not so much as mentioned, although not as yet formally rejected. In fact, whenever the night was spoken of, any reference to the stars was carefully avoided, as it was not desired to deal any further blows at the earlier forms of belief. The night, which was now considered as an interval akin to death, was deemed the proper time for festivals to the gods. The day had been generally considered to begin at sunset, whereas the new doctrine did not preach that the day consisted of "the evening and the morning," but that it began with the rising of the sun. Far from believing in any beneficent influences exerted by the star and moon deities, the sun doctrine hinted rather at the opposite. The wonders of Aten are the marvels of nature and not the result of enchantments. It was argued that if the king, like his predecessors, was a god and a son of the sun, he must necessarily increase in majesty by the introduction of the new religion; hence the curious avowal of the natural conclusion that Aten created the world with the knowledge of his son who reigned upon earth, and indeed for his especial benefit. Thus it is indisputable that in the solar disk worship of Amenophis IV we may see the germs of religious conceptions which have hitherto been attributed to a much later period. The king of Egypt, who was a god in virtue of his position during his life, who chooses for his father a unique god, the creator of the world, consequently becomes, at least historically, connected with this god as his associate from the very outset.

With the exception of Amon and his circle the other Egyptian deities patiently accepted the position, and their priesthoods made every possible allowance for the claims of the "doctrine." The king permitted those who were weak in faith (cf. p. 647) to consider Ra as the equal of Aten. Ptah, Osiris, Horus, and Isis fell, it is true, from their high estate, but were not persecuted. The various formulæ and rites belonging to the worship of the dead, even those pertaining to Osiris,

continued without opposition. Indeed upon this delicate question the sun doctrine in general acquiesced in the legend of Ra's nightly journey.

(γ) *Amenophis IV as Chuenaten.*—Amenophis IV probably died at the outset of the seventeenth year of his reign, thus occupying the throne from 1383 to 1366–1365. His children by his wife Nefertiti (cf. the conclusion of the Aten-hymn, p. 659), who seems to have been without a rival in his affections, were all daughters; hence the succession devolved upon some future son-in-law. For the moment, however, the attention of Amenophis IV was chiefly occupied by the opposition offered to the "doctrine" by the adherents of Amon in his capital at Thebes. We do not know by what means the priests of Amon and their party contrived to render the capital impossible as a permanent residence for the heretical court. Had the Pharaoh merely neglected the orthodox worship of Amon such lack of piety might have been tolerated; but that which could not be forgotten or forgiven was his omission of the gifts customary on these occasions. Since the time of Thutmosis III these gifts had been an ever-increasing item, and had become a serious burden to the royal treasury during times of peace. It is, however, certain that the industrial population of Thebes was far more dependent upon the college of Amon than upon the court. Nothing was more likely to excite the masses than a decrease in their earnings. Finding that his position in Thebes was becoming untenable, the king decided to found a new sacred city on a more satisfactory spot, to be consecrated to the sole worship of the solar disk and of his son. The new residence "Chut-Aten," that is, the horizon of the sun, was founded almost precisely in the centre of the Nile valley, on the eastern bank of the river. This spot was then believed to be the centre of the world, and therefore well adapted to the requirements of the new religion.

All that remains to us to-day of the city of Chut-Aten is the mass of ruins at Tel el-Amarna (p. 641). The tombs in the surrounding cliffs, together with their texts, which are of high importance as a source of information for the worship of the solar disk, have long been objects of attention. It was also known that the ground plan of the town could be clearly recognised and the sites of the most important buildings be determined. But it was not until the discovery in the spring of 1888 of the archives written in cuneiform characters on clay tablets treating of the relations between Egypt and Asia, that further excavations were undertaken, with the result that both the ruins of the king's palace and of the Aten temple were brought to light. This period was a time of reform in art as well as in religion. It is a remarkable fact that many of the sculptured bas-reliefs discovered in the tombs of Tel-Amarna deal with the domestic life of Amenophis IV. Intended primarily as tokens of homage, these scenes show very clearly how naturally the divine son of Aten lived and moved among the children of men. Hitherto there had been no more than half a dozen poses in which the sculptor or designer was permitted to represent a king; he might be seated, for example, stiffly on his throne or no less stiffly in his war chariot, making offerings, etc. Now, however, we see him in the company of the queen and his family of little princesses, though always caressed by the hands terminating the rays of Aten, or distributing from a balcony golden decorations to deserving co-religionists. He goes forth in a chariot of gold and silver, with a body-guard running at his side, or is shown in the act of performing ceremonies. The figures are naturally grouped and motion is naturally indicated.

The traditional stiffness is replaced by an effort at correct portraiture, at any rate in the case of the king himself. The personal appearance of Amenophis IV was by no means attractive; his face was disfigured by prominent cheek-bones, a protruding chin, and a wrinkled mouth; he had also thin legs and a large stomach. However, he insisted that all defects should be faithfully reproduced; and the whole court, the queen included, were depicted with the same physical peculiarities. One relief, for instance, represents the king with a particularly forbidding expression of countenance in the act of kissing his eldest daughter, with the queen and two other daughters sitting opposite. The artist's conception of this incident could not have failed to remind any Greek observer of the legend of Saturn devouring the children of Rhea.

The probability that foreign influences had led to the development of a new style of art has been confirmed by the discovery of a richly painted stucco floor in the palace, representing a marshy landscape filled with animals, as well as by objects made of variously coloured glass and numerous vases and fragments closely resembling those of Mycenæ and Cyprus. It is true that a stucco floor and glazed pottery in the same style have been found in the palace at Thebes (of Amenophis III?). Traffic by sea with the Greek coast must, however, have commenced at a much earlier period, for Mycenæan vases have also been found in the tombs, displaying traces of this style (for example, at Sakkâra), which are of earlier date than the New Empire. At any rate, life at Chut-Aten was characterised by comparative freedom in more than one respect; it was an interval of relaxation from the formalism of ancient Egyptian society.

The command to build the city of the solar disk must have coincided with the removal of the court from Thebes. Possibly the king retired to Memphis pending the completion of his new residence. Nevertheless, the "horizon of the sun" was occupied before the city was half constructed. Not until the completion of this work about the year 1378 did the sovereign feel himself entirely free; he then discarded the name Amenophis and chose the title of "Chuenaten" (that is, the spirit of the solar disk; cf. p. 645). His family, courtiers, and adherents followed his example, and named themselves after Aten. This was practically a declaration of war against Amon. The refractory town of Thebes was finally compelled to submit and to tolerate the authority of a governor who believed in the "doctrine." The systematic effacement of the word "Amon" from inscriptions, even from those of the tombs, was only too thoroughly carried out. A measure of persecution was also directed against Mut and Chunsu, the nearest relatives of Amon. King Chuenaten, as he is now styled, obviously desired to obliterate the memory of Amon throughout Egypt; in all probability the priesthood of this god at Thebes was for a time entirely broken up. The temple of Amon was replaced by a magnificent new shrine of the solar disk at Chut-Aten, which was established as the national sanctuary. The high priest bore the same title as the high priest at Heliopolis. The king never wearied of the task of celebrating the various festivals of consecration. The queen mother Teje did not appear at Chut-Aten until the court had already been settled there; she was then inducted by her son with great display of pomp. In the meanwhile, however, in spite of all the proofs of devotion and piety shown by the Aten worshippers under the eyes of the king, the fact remained that the new belief became more and more unpopular among the people. One of the new boundary stones of the precinct of Chut-Aten was even found one day to have been destroyed.

Chuenaten therefore considered it of all the more importance to strengthen his cause by a conversion of distinguished men. He seems therefore to have considered the conversion of the "father of god," Aï (cf. p. 643), who had apparently risen to this relatively modest hierarchical dignity in the temple of Amon, as an event of special significance. Aï was already fan-bearer at the king's right hand, chief master of the horse, and the "truly beloved royal scribe," when the king ordered the treasurer to "lay gold on his neck, on his back and on his feet, because he has hearkened unto the doctrine." And when Aï married the "king's nurse," who also bore the name of Teje, the couple became the recipients of still richer gifts of gold. Aï ordered "this beautiful event" to be immortalised in sculpture and described in detail on the walls of his tomb in Tel-Amarna, which, however, he never occupied. The two long rows of tombs, constructed for the distinguished members of the court, bear the names of many other individuals who in later times recanted their belief in Aten. Such, for instance, was Tutu, who is mentioned in the Amarna letters as the friend of Aziri the Amorite (cf. p. 161). A Syrian satellite of the king, Terura, in return for his faithful services, also received a memorial stone, on which the bearded warrior is represented as comfortably at home. He appears drinking beer in a somewhat ceremonious fashion by means of a long tube held by his servant; the housewife of the warrior, the lady Erbura, looks on respectfully. Several interesting objects have been discovered in a tomb at Memphis which belonged to Sarobibina, the "high priest of Amon" and "prophet of Baal and Astarte." This Phœnician was a favourite of the king "on account of his admirable and prodigious qualities."

(δ) *The End of the Dynasty and of the Aten Doctrine.* — The opposition between the beliefs of the Egyptians and those of Chuenaten was of itself sufficient to prevent the king from embarking upon such warlike enterprises as had been undertaken by Thutmosis III; the Pharaoh could not venture to leave his country. Nevertheless, at the time of his death the Egyptian possessions in Asia, though internally in a state of complete disruption, seem to have continued to recognise the supremacy of Egypt; they did not, at any rate, break into open revolt before the beginning of the struggles which put an end to the reformed doctrine. Our information concerning the destruction of the heresy and the consequent fall of the eighteenth dynasty is unusually scanty. Chuenaten himself seems to have been the last male representative of his line. Of his six daughters, Mekt-Aten died before her father, and was laid in a splendid tomb at Tel-Amarna, which was at first considered to be that of the king.

Chuenaten was succeeded by Semenchka-Ra, who a short time before had married his eldest daughter, Merit-Aten. Inscribed wine-jugs from the ruins of the palace at Tel-Amarna show the seventeenth year of Chuenaten to be the earliest possible date for this event (cf. p. 660). This king was succeeded by a second Semenchka-Ra, the last of the dynasty. The fact that there were several young princesses, one of whom, Anch-sen-pa-Aten, became the wife of a certain Tut-anch-Aten, was soon turned to advantage by the oppressed Amon party. This latter couple laid claim to the throne on their own account, and recognised the faith of Aten. Both reappear in Thebes as King Tut-anch-Amon and Queen Anch-sen-Amon. Our information is too scanty to enable us definitely to state whether the elevation of this new king to the throne took place during the lifetime of

Semenchka-Ra, or whether after the latter's disappearance at an early date a third brother-in-law may have come forward as the son of the solar disk of Chut-Aten and the rival of Tut-anch-Amon. Buildings and restorations to the Theban temples, carried out by Tut-anch-Amon, as well as a large representation of the reception of tribute from Syria and Ethiopia, discovered in the tomb of one Hui, point to the fact that the orthodox Pharaoh was for a time the absolute ruler of the whole kingdom of Amenophis; on the other hand, indications of the continuation of the heresy during this period are not wanting. Marriage into the family descendants of Chuenaten probably enabled other ambitious lords to put forward pretexts to the throne. Thus in Tel-Amarna we have mention of the third year of a king faithful to the "doctrine," whose name was identical with that of the later Horemheb, though the identity can hardly be carried further.

Finally, even the well-known father of god, Aï, was able to get possession of the throne. His wife, Teje (p. 662), who was at most a very distant relative of Amenophis IV, served to give him a claim to the succession. As before in the days of his patron, Aï was once again able to adapt his views to altered circumstances. He occupied the royal castle at Thebes, abjured his former errors, and added the title of "father of god" to his official name. It was no doubt at Aï's command that the town of Chut-Aten was entirely abandoned, and perhaps even dismantled. Evidence in favour of the theory is the fact that his own tomb was spared, together with several other memorials, which would not have received such moderate treatment at the hands of a fanatical enemy. The reaction under Horemheb does not seem to have attracted any attention to the deserted site. Aï ordered his final sepulchre to be built in a valley of the kings' tombs on the western side of Thebes; from this grave we have a tasteful sarcophagus of red granite. The length of Aï's reign is a matter of conjecture. A high priest of Coptos, Nacht-Min, died in the fourth year of the king, whose name was subsequently effaced from his memorial stone. There are also traces tending to prove that Nacht-Min had first caused the solar rays of Aten to be represented on his monument. The king, the "father of the god," could hardly have succeeded to the throne before 1355, and must have been deposed shortly after the burial of Nacht-Min.

This last Pharaoh was followed by a more famous ruler from the heretical party. During the confusion of these years, Horemheb (1350 to 1329) had risen to be commander-in-chief under one of the successors of Chuenaten. It was at that period that he caused his tomb to be constructed on the field of Sakkâra. Even then he was able to speak of himself as "chief of chiefs, greatest of the great, judge of the privy court, guardian of the palace, high field-marshal, chief of the prophets of Horus, etc., who had been sent forth by the king [whose name does not appear] at the head of an army against the lands of the south and of the north. To him the king had entrusted the administration of both lands, and he caused them to rejoice, he, the companion of his master, on the day the Bedouins were defeated." The mention of campaigns against the east is of interest in spite of its brevity, for under the successors of Horemheb it appears that the empire had lost a portion of its Asiatic possessions. Aï (the unnamed king?) gave Horemheb his full confidence. But the commander-in-chief was only waiting a fitting opportunity to seize the supremacy of Egypt for himself. It was first necessary to secure the support of the priesthood of Amon at Karnak by means of great promises, which were afterward performed. When the priesthood gave the signal, Horemheb

appeared in Thebes at the head of his troops at a favourable moment, and quickly put an end to the government and no doubt to the life of the "father of god," and received from Amon both the crown and the princess who was heir to it. The princess was called Nezem-Mut. She may have been a sister of Nefertiti, although, as in the case of the younger Teje, there is probably here nothing more than a similarity of names and an intentional transference to the usurper of the claims necessary to his purpose. A statue representing Horemheb and Nezem-Mut is inscribed with the official version of their elevation to the throne. The text begins with a laudation of the services rendered by Horemheb before his accession, according to which "the king" had even entrusted Horemheb with a settlement of disputes within the palace itself. Of more importance is the fact that even at that time Horemheb had energetically assisted in the restoration of the worship of Horus. The inscription then continues: "The august Horus, lord of Hatsuten [the native town of Horemheb], resolved in his heart to place this his son upon the throne. He took him by the hand and went with him to Thebes, the city of the lord of eternity, entered Karnak and stood before Amon. Behold, that was a day of rejoicing; and when Amon saw Horus and his son appear in the royal gate to obtain the throne and honour, he greeted them joyfully. On this day of satisfaction he allied himself with Horemheb; he accompanied him to the palace, and he led him to the dwelling of his great and noble daughter (Nezem-Mut). She obeyed, she embraced his beauty, and stood before him, whereat all the gods rejoiced."

Rarely has the policy of a king been so clearly marked out before him as was that of Horemheb. His task was the ruthless persecution of the worshippers of the solar disk, and the destruction, so far as was possible, of all traces of the "doctrine." Wherever the name of Amon was found to have been effaced, it was again restored; but wherever that of Aten appeared upon tombs or elsewhere, there was immediate work for stonecutters and painters. The resistance of the reformers disappeared with the knowledge that the authority of the State had in reality been the sole source of converts to Aten. A new era of prosperity began for Thebes; the losses suffered by Amon were repaid with usury so far as circumstances permitted; in Karnak the king undertook the construction of large edifices. Of Horemheb's military operations we hear only by way of allusion. However, it is probable that he retained the approach to the Nubian gold mines, and despatched marauding expeditions into Asia.

A remarkable inscription in the temple of Karnak complains of the general disorder in the country, and threatens the officials, and especially the troops, with severe corporal punishment unless they cease their robbery and embezzlement. The royal household suffered greatly, inasmuch as its members were usually anticipated by others in their attempts to plunder the crown vassals. The journeys of inspectors, with special powers, were also undertaken rather with the object of personal advantage than for the benefit of the royal treasurer. Consequently Horemheb himself was obliged to march through the country in order to enforce his rights, as the indefatigable Thutmosis III had done before him. A period of dilettanteism, of religious activity, and of new tendencies in art had been followed by the downfall. Now began the slow and difficult process of reconstruction. This reaction, although of greater benefit to the Egyptian scribe class than was justly their due, nevertheless signifies a considerable expenditure of toil.

(c) *The Period of the Ramessides.* — We do not know how the question of the succession was settled on the death of Horemheb; it seems, however, that the transition to the new dynasty was peacefully effected. The double crown descended to a new royal family. Ramses I, the first king of the nineteenth dynasty, was a ruler of no historical importance, and almost immediately appointed his son Sethos I to the co-regency.

Sethos I (Seti, 1327 to 1317) is chiefly remarkable for his name, which savours of opposition. The king was alive to this fact, and therefore styled himself "Osiri" in the inscription on his own temple of the dead and magnificent tomb in the necropolis at Thebes, in order to avoid the possibility of making an unfavourable impression upon the ruler of the next world by a mention of the name of his enemy Set. In later times, when the god Set became more nearly identical with the devil, the Egyptians attempted to efface the name of Sethos from all secular memorials. It may be, however, that the choice of Set as royal patron and name-giver was a result of the endeavour to adopt a position of neutrality after the violence of the preceding reaction. Perhaps it was simply due to superstition, as might have been the case had the king been born on a day supposed to have been under the influence of Set.

The short reign of Sethos was distinguished by the erection of many buildings, some of which are of considerable size. Thus, for example, he began the construction of the great hall of columns in the temple at Karnak, the completion of which was left to his successor; he also undertook extensive restorations in Thebes, which continued to be the royal residence. Buildings were also erected by him in Memphis, and a palace in Heliopolis is said to have been his work. The attention of Sethos, however, was chiefly directed to the south. Supported by Amen-en-apt, prince of Cush, he effected so many improvements in Nubia that in a short time the country was but little inferior to Egypt in respect of culture and density of population. His work was subsequently continued by his son Ramses II. Sethos also undertook the systematic boring of wells in the desert of the Trogodytes; these, together with their handsome temple in the desert, east of Ombos, opened up a trade route by which the traffic with the coast of the Red Sea could be guarded and controlled. These desert roads also served as routes for the convoys of gold and emeralds. A very rude papyrus map of the Ethiopian gold mines, the earliest yet discovered, dates from the reign of Sethos.

The body of the king has also been preserved to us. The alabaster sarcophagus was discovered and identified many years ago, and his mummy was included in the great discovery of royal mummies made at Dêr el-Bahri in 1881. Sethos I was a tall, thin man with an intelligent countenance and fine teeth, although he had certainly reached the threshold of old age before his death. Of the high officials of this period other than Amen-em-Apt we are acquainted with a certain Paser, who stood at the head of the administration of Egypt proper. A chest which once belonged to him bears, among other inscriptions, the following expression of contentment: "How pleasant it is to dwell in Thebes each day with tranquil heart; and the eyes behold thee, O Amon, at Karnak, who there ordainest that no evil shall befall him who standeth in thy favour. His body is safe and guarded until the dignity of old age approaches in peace." Such examples as this are imperishable in their modernity.

The campaign in Palestine and Phœnicia undertaken by Sethos I at the begin-

ning of his reign was obviously intended to check the southward expansion of the Hittite kingdom. It was about this time that the kingdom of Mitani (p. 112) came to an end. The pressure of the Hittite advance had already become perceptible on the Egyptian frontiers. The Bedouins encamped along the eastern outworks were speedily driven away by the army of Sethos; they also suffered a general defeat at an unknown stronghold in the south of Palestine (see plate, "King Sethos I [about 1325, not 1350 B. C.] defeating the Shōs-Bedouins of Palestine at the Fortress, 'the Canaan'"). All serious opposition seems then to have been overcome as far north as Carmel. Even Tyre delivered the customary tribute. While advancing northward in the direction of Galilæa, Sethos encountered a Hittite army, which he attacked and drove back, in the forest region Jenuam. The Pharaoh turned his victory to advantage by procuring a supply of wood for building purposes, which he commanded the petty chiefs of the neighbourhood to cut for him in all haste. After occupying the two fortresses in the Lebanon mountains, and threatening Kadesh, he marched homeward. He was received with great demonstrations of homage by the high officials of Egypt assembled at the fortifications which guarded the entrance to Zaru, near the modern Suez Canal: he had, in fact, successfully checked the Hittite advance. We also learn that Sethos I and his son began a war with the Libyans.

The sharp contrast between the main characteristics of the Ramessides and those of the eighteenth dynasty first becomes definitely apparent in the son of Sethos I. Ramses II reigned sixty-seven years (1317–1250), much longer than any other Egyptian sovereign, if we except the hundred years of Pepi II (p. 606). The account of his achievements set forth by his numerous and boastful instructions was subsequently elaborated by legend; he was called by the Greeks, who obviously obtained their information from later Egyptian accounts, the great conqueror of the world, the law-giver and statesman, "Sesostris," who vanquished the Scythians, Colchis, India, Arabia, and Libya. Ramses II is now known to us as being nothing more than an honourable ruler of average ability, but with little personal force of character. He was always careful to seek the advice of the more capable of his sons and chief officials, whereas the Thutmosis and Amenophis kings had been accustomed to rely entirely upon their own judgment. Ramses II was also the first king to appropriate on an extensive scale the credit of building the monuments erected by former rulers, by erasing their names and substituting his own. In this case the motive was not hate, as with Chuenaten, but petty vanity.

In all other respects Ramses II pursued the policy of Sethos I. The colonisation of Nubia was continued, and at the end of his long reign there were prosperous towns where now remain only the ruined temples of Beit Walli, Wadi Sebua, and above all the celebrated structure of Abu Simbel. The Sesostris legend was first connected with this architectural wonder of Africa which, with its numerous colossal statues, its graceful columns, and the perfection of its design and execution, marks the zenith of ancient Egyptian art. As is usually the case, the period of high achievement was followed by rapid decline. Side by side with edifices in Egypt proper, which in elegance of design are even superior to those of Abu Simbel, we find the remains of composite temples dating from the later years of the reign of Ramses II which were hastily put together solely to create an effective impression from a distant point of view. The king's architectural zeal is mentioned

both in the literature of classical antiquity and in the Old Testament. His activity in Thebes was almost boundless: the Ramesseum, dedicated as a temple of victory to Amon-Ra, and consequently of great value as an historical monument, was perhaps even excelled by the additions to the temple of Karnak, the State sanctuary, as well as by other improvements which the king made in his capital. In fact, throughout the entire land traces are to be found of the architectural labours of the indefatigable Ramses. Tanis and Memphis were finally no less rich in colossal edifices erected in honour of the long-lived ruler than was the city of Amon. Legend had credited Ramses, and indeed other Egyptian rulers, with the temporary realisation of the old dream of a navigable canal from the Nile to the Red Sea. In short, Ramses II, on his own showing, was actually the sole creator of everything, and the Egypt which he left behind him bore throughout its length and breadth the impress of his signet ring.

It was not unknown, however, even to his contemporaries, that the king had depended largely upon the wisdom of other men during his long reign. What Hapu the son of Hapu had been to Amenophis III, Prince Cha-em-ust was to his father Ramses II. As legitimate son of the Pharaoh he occupied a number of high ecclesiastical offices, such as the high priesthood of Ptah; he assisted his father in ceremonies connected with the ritual, and is said to have discovered sacred books, an impossibility at that time except for clever men, and in later times acquired the reputation of a mighty enchanter. In temporal affairs Setau, the viceroy of Cush, seems to have gained especial celebrity; in all probability he belonged to the narrower party circle of Prince Cha-em-ust. On the other hand Prince Meri-Atum, the son of the chief royal spouse Neferari-Nutmeri, was provided with the position of high priest of Heliopolis. He styles himself a judge over men, whom the king placed before both lands, and whose counsel would be found good. But inasmuch as the mother of Meri-Atum died long before Ramses, at which time Cha-em-ust, the son of Queen Neferest, may have risen to the height of his power, we may presume that the counsel of Meri-Atum was not in every instance found good. On the whole, it is probable that the leading personalities in the household and cabinet of Ramses were occasionally changed, in spite of the fact that they usually were his own sons. In an inscription at Abydos he credited himself with sixty sons, and in Wadi Sebua with as many as one hundred and eleven sons together with thirty daughters! Toward the end of his reign his fourteenth son, Merenptah, was recognised as heir to the throne; no doubt the majority of the older princes had preceded the king to the grave. The mummy of Ramses has been recovered from the "king's shaft" of Dêr el-Bahri (see the plate, "King Ramses II of Egypt"). We are able to compare it with a sitting statue representing him in the prime of life. The striking characteristic of these faces is the absence of that strained expression which usually betokens a vigorous intellectual activity in the features of the men (for example, those of Sethos); in this case we are rather reminded of a kindly "serenissimus."

What Ramses II was unable to carry out in person was effected by the foundations which he established. The school for the future officials of State, conducted by the priesthood of the Theban Ramesseum, has left to us a considerable portion of its papyrus note-books, which were known almost one hundred years ago, "Select Papyri," and have now found a resting place in the museums of Europe. Boys who were destined for the higher offices of state were required

forthwith to familiarise themselves with practical composition writing, with the copying of original acts, and with exercises in correspondence; hence our knowledge of the working of the State machinery under the Ramessides has been greatly furthered by these papyri. They present us with the picture of a highly organised bureaucracy with all its corresponding disadvantages. The educated scribe considers himself a lord in the land; he looks upon the peasants, the sailors, and handicraftsmen as "asses," whom he had been appointed to drive. This overbearing superiority was naturally accompanied by strained relations between the officials themselves; disputes upon questions of salary are of constant occurrence. Whenever the proper performance of official duties was hindered by needless formalities, even the ancient Egyptians were wise enough to suspect that an attempt was being made to conceal some dishonesty.

A hateful spirit of detraction shown by one official to another is exhibited in the "Story of Mahar," a polemic composed by "an artist of the sacred writings" and "a teacher in the library hall," against a certain Nachtsotep, who had written a lively account of his experiences as an Egyptian official and "hero" (= mahar) in Syria. This Nachtsotep had probably sent a copy of his work to the teacher in the library, accompanied by a letter which gave this good friend a pretext for treating the whole as an epistle, and criticising it from a schoolmaster's point of view. Busybodies had incited the jealousy of this pamphleteer. "What passed thy tongue was very weak, and thy words are distracted; thou appearest to me enveloped in confusion and laden with errors." Such was his general judgment upon Nachtsotep. "But look upon this with kindness, and do not think that I have now made thy name to stink before the people. I have only (from my point of view) described how a mahar fares," naturally with the sole object of ridiculing the work of Nachtsotep and holding it up as worthless, while the opponent has dipped his own stylus "in honey." This lampoon contains many valuable allusions to the geography of Syria about the year 1275. The fact that Nachtsotep was "a royal scribe of the command of the army" (general staff officer), and that his opponent occupied a lucrative position "in the grand stable of the king," probably as a chariot warrior, is of importance for the formation of an estimate of society under the Ramessides. It was, however, their distinction as scholars and critics that first raised them to reputation and importance.

Not only the pamphlet of Mahar, but also other products of the literature of the time, contain other common characteristics well worthy of notice. The influx of foreigners steadily increased; their influence was already making itself felt in the written language, which now begins to include words borrowed from the Semitic and other tongues. It was the court that set the fashion in language, where the mixed Egyptian of the favourite Syrian slaves of the Pharaoh, and the barbarisms of his foreign satellites, excited interest and were imitated accordingly. For the rest, the Egyptian scribes knew very well that they were only rendering homage to fashion by imitating the language and customs of the "hereditary enemy." Whenever the Pharaoh bent his terrible bow, to the dismay of the miserable Asiatics, the poets on the Nile proceeded to tune their lyres in expectation of the (invariably great) victory. A poem which has come down to us in a copy made by a certain Pentaurt describes how the king himself, in his chariot, begins the attack upon the Hittites with his troops drawn up in line of battle. Just as he had come to close quarters and was looking before him he beheld twenty-five hun-

I.

II.

KING RAMESES II. OF EGYPT (1317–1250 B.C.)

I. The mummy in the museum of Egyptian antiquities at Gizeh (after a photograph by Emil Brugsch Bey, Cairo)

II. The statue in the Museo Egizio, Turin after a photograph by Anderson, Rome)

dred chariots of the enemy enclosing his own; but "there was with him no prince and no charioteer, no officer of the footmen; they had abandoned him, and no one was there to fight beside him." Ramses II escaped from his dangerous position by recalling to his father Amon the long list of his acts of piety toward him. Finally the god in distant Thebes heard his prayer, and bethought him of the pylons, monuments, gifts, and honours which the pious king had enumerated. "I have called from the end of the land, and my voice has passed through Hermonthis. Ra hearkens and appears, stretches forth his hand to me and says: 'Thou art not alone, for I am here, thy father; my hand is with thee. I am to thee more than hundreds of thousands, I the dispenser of victory, who loveth bravery!' Then I regained my courage, my heart rejoiced. Like Month I sent my arrows in all directions; like Baal, like the arrow of the plague, I came down upon them. And I found the twenty-five hundred chariots laid low before my horses." The remainder of the enemy fled with great loss. Ramses long continued to tell the story of this brilliant exploit, and to hold it up before his troops as a shining example.

Had Ramses II ever dealt such a blow to the Hittite kingdom he would have experienced small difficulty in restoring the old frontiers of the Egyptian Empire. But, as a matter of fact, the struggle which apparently broke out on his accession and continued with long intermissions until 1297–1296, ended in the practical result that Egypt was obliged to renounce whatever influence she had possessed in Syria. Ramses constantly gathered all his strength to give battle to the Hittites, whose military power was now far superior to his own. The poem above mentioned refers to a battle fought not far from the town of Kadesh in the fifth year of the king. In the previous year the Egyptian army had marched through Phœnicia. Evidence of this fact is an inscription of Ramses II on the rocky bank of the Nahr el-Kalb, not far from Beirût, to which another was added in later times, perhaps in his tenth year.

The great engagement at Kadesh was probably the conclusion or the chief incident of an advance by which Ramses frustrated an attempt of the Hittites to push farther south. The Pharaoh's army was encamped on the south of the city, according to the inscriptions and reliefs in the temple at Luxor and in the Ramesseum; it was surrounded by a wall formed of the heavy shields of the infantry. But it does not appear to have been very well adapted for defence, owing to the disproportionate size of the baggage train. Amidst the ox teams and sumpter asses were the king's tame lions. The intelligence department was incompetent; false news was brought, stating that the army of the Hittites had retreated to Tunip, and the Egyptian commanders had begun to feel secure, when two captured spies of the enemy confessed under the lash that their main body was lying in wait in the immediate neighbourhood. Ramses in person at once set out to attack, and became involved in an unequal conflict, as his four divisions were unable to deploy in time; it was from this danger that he was rescued by the intervention of Amon (cf. the poem, p. 668). The battle ended with the defeat of the enemy's wing, which was driven across the Orontes. Many of the leaders and allies of the Hittite king were drowned or put to death in the flight. The Egyptians also must have suffered severe losses, which they were unable to conceal, and they soon set out on their homeward march.

During the next two campaigns the advantage seems to have been on the side of the Hittites. Not until his eighth year did Ramses succeed in securing his

occupation even of Palestine; he reconquered Askalon and several other fortified towns south of Lebanon, among them Dapur, situated in the highlands. The attitude of the Phœnician cities varied with the successes or failures of the Egyptians. Previously the Phœnicians had been among the most loyal of the Pharaoh's Asiatic subjects; however, the long duration of the war, together with the diminishing prospect of an ultimate Egyptian victory, no doubt weakened their fidelity.

When finally the Hittite king Chetasar succeeded to the throne on the death of his brother Mautenure, Ramses gladly welcomed the prospect of peace. On the 21st of Tybi in the year 21, the convention inscribed upon a tablet of silver was handed to the Pharaoh in his city "Ramses house" by the Hittite emissary Tartisebu. A copy of the text was also inscribed at the command of Ramses upon the south wall of the great hall of columns in the Karnak temple, whence our knowledge of the terms is derived; unfortunately the copy is incomplete, owing to the omission of all paragraphs unfavourable to the Egyptians. Consequently we have in this copy not only the earliest instance of a treaty between nations, but also the results of a benevolent censorship, which passed over in silence that which it could not falsify. The opening passage runs as follows: "Convention which the great prince of the Hittites ('Cheta'), Chetasar the Strong, son of Maursar, the great prince of the Hittites, the Strong, grandson of Sapalulu the Great, etc., has set down upon a tablet of silver for Ramses, the great ruler of Egypt, the Strong, the son of Sethos, etc., son of Ramses, etc., it is an excellent convention for peace and alliance unto eternity." Numerous allusions are made to previous treaties which had been valid from ancient times until the reign of Mautenure, and which Chetasar now renewed. The delimitation of the new frontier in Asia is missing, although the remainder of the agreement contains clauses which treat in detail of future support to be rendered by the contracting powers in the event of an attack upon either, and of the mode of dealing with deserters from either side. It was also stipulated that in future the encroachments of individuals or communities upon the boundaries of either kingdom should not be permitted. Of her former Asiatic dominions, Egypt fortunately succeeded in retaining a few cities on the coast of Palestine or Phœnicia, and a narrow strip of land between Gaza and the Dead Sea. The last of the Ramesside Pharaohs seems to have had no possessions in Asia beyond the eastern wall at the bitter lakes. The only subsequent reference to Egyptian dependencies in Asia is dated in the third year of Merenptah (1248); it is a short list of travellers who passed the frontier guard, in which mention is made of royal embassies to Tyre and of the work of Egyptian officials in Palestine.

This important treaty ushered in a long period of peace. Chetasar and the king of Kede subsequently paid a formal visit to Egypt, where they were received with great honour by Ramses II. Although Ramses had married Chetasar's daughter (who received the name Urmaa-Neferu-Ra), according to the then existing conceptions of good faith between sovereigns, the king of the Hittites ventured to pay his visit only under the protection of a powerful escort, a portion of which immediately occupied the place of landing, while the remainder accompanied him on his journey inland. That the treaty with Ramses was an offensive and defensive alliance is proved by this, no less than by the fact that the goddess of Kadesh was worshipped in Egypt (cf. p. 653); that grain was supplied "in order to nourish this Chetaland;" and finally by a subsequent legend, according to which

Ramses II, while engaged in a victorious campaign in Naharina, married "the daughter of the great [one] of Bechten, Neferu Ra." When her sister Bentresh was seized by an illness, he sent the god Chonsu from Thebes to Bekhten; there the people insisted on retaining the wonder-working image, until it finally freed itself by a further series of miracles.

Ramses II died at an advanced age and was succeeded by his son Merenptah (Merneptah; cf. p. 670), himself no longer a youth, who cannot have reigned more than ten years (1250 to 1240). Although far from a military genius, the course of events during his rule involved Egypt in a severe war, which was conducted to a brilliantly successful issue. The Libyans and the Shirtani, who probably had always been in the habit of passing through Libya to take service as mercenaries under the Pharaohs, rose in alliance against Egypt. Maruayi, the Libyan king, succeeded at the same time in allying himself with a horde of pirates from Asia Minor, composed of Lycians, "Turisha, Akaivasha, and Shakarusha," who had "constantly made inroads into Egyptian territory, sailing up the river and remaining for days and months in the land" (cf. Vol. IV, p. 51). They advanced as far as Heliopolis, but the god Ptah appeared to Merenptah in a dream and promised him victory; in fact, his army succeeded in routing the dreaded allies in a hard-fought battle near the city of Pararshepset. Maruayi fled before the final attack of the Egyptians, and left his camp, together with vast quantities of plunder, to the victors, who pursued him with a troop of cavalry (the first of which we hear in Egyptian history), until he finally escaped under cover of the night. More than nine thousand prisoners and a like number of dead, who were mutilated by cutting off the hands, or the genitals in the case of those circumcised, bore witness to the military strength of the allies. At the same time the Shirtani serving in the Egyptian army did not hesitate to fight bravely against their countrymen on this occasion.

There were many indications, however, of the approach of new dangers from Asia. The kingdom of the Hittites was already beginning to suffer from attacks on its northern frontier; in fact, an extensive movement of the people of Asia was in process, of which scarce a ripple had as yet been felt in the land of the Nile. Merenptah immediately made preparations to meet the danger. He first united Nubia more firmly to Egypt by a campaign against the south. And that he again invaded Palestine is proved by a granite stele discovered in Thebes by Petrie in 1896, upon which is inscribed with considerable poetic license the following description of the struggle against Maruayi (with the omission of the names of the peoples composing the foreign host): "Not one among the races of the nine bows lifts his head; Tehennu is laid desolate, Cheta is silent, Canaan captured, together with all disturbers of the peace; Askalon is laid away captive, Gezers has been occupied, Jenuam destroyed; Isiral has become insignificant, his seed has vanished; Palestine is as a helpless widow opposed to Egypt. All lands are at peace, and every one who roves about is chastised by King Merenptah." Mention of Israel ("Isiral") occurs here for the first time in an Egyptian text, and the nation is obviously regarded as a settled people.

These warlike deeds were, however, of but small avail to Egypt. On the death of Merenptah, the kingdom was seriously endangered by untimely quarrels as to the succession. His son (or more probably grandson, judging from the youthful appearance of the best of his excellent portraits) subsequently succeeded him as

Sethos II. Before his accession it seems that a Ramesside prince called Amenmeses had usurped the throne, and shortly afterward an ambitious grandee named Bai seized it for his own candidate, King Si-Ptah, who had probably derived his claims through his wife Ta-Usert. Inasmuch as Bai was permitted to speak of himself in an inscription of Si-Ptah not far from Assuan as "Of him who banished the evil and brought forth the truth to light when he set the king upon the throne of his fathers," we may conclude that this Pharaoh, who reigned between two and three years, was not a man of any personal force of character. He was succeeded by Sethos II, who, after the death of Queen Ta-Usert, whom he honoured with the burial of a Pharaoh, expelled both Bai and Si-Ptah, with the aid of his own powerful adherents. For a short time it seemed as if there was still a hope of restoring the shattered kingdom to its former power: the defences of the eastern boundary were restored and strengthened, and it is probable that an attempt was made to invade Asia. This campaign, however, was attended by so little success, that by way of a panegyric it was thought advisable to copy Merenptah's old hymn of victory with the addition of the name of Sethos. From a statement of the revenue of Ramses III, drawn up some sixty years later, it appears that Sethos II and the older line of the Ramessides suffered under "years of want." The Nile god withheld his blessings and plunged the kingdom into misery. The nobles, who were already practically independent and continually quarrelling, "put one another to death in their insolence and pride; they did what they pleased, for they had no ruler."

In the mean time a Syrian sheikh took advantage of the confusion. He invaded the country, overthrew the petty princes, and gradually made the once powerful land tributary to himself. We are acquainted neither with the name of this Syrian ruler, which was formerly incorrectly held to be "Arsu," nor with the situation and extent of his Asiatic possessions; apparently we have here to deal only with a temporary supremacy, the creation of which was facilitated by the general disorder in Egypt. Shortly before the year 1200 the Syrian conquerors themselves became destitute and began to plunder the temples: "they used the gods as they had the men, and ceased to make offerings." This treatment finally spurred the priests to work for the restoration of the kingdom.

"And the gods installed Setnacht, their son, who had issued from their members, as lord of the land. He was as the god Set in his anger; he restored the whole land to order from uproar; he slew the enemies who dwelt therein." This is practically all that we know of the founder of the twentieth dynasty, the line of the later Ramessides. In view of the numerous male descendants of Ramses II, there is small reason for doubting that Setnacht was a scion of the older line; nevertheless, although he and his successor recognized Sethos II as their legitimate predecessor, Ta-Usert's body was taken from her tomb, which was then made ready for the reception of the mummy of Setnacht. Mention is made on the monuments of the first year only of the reign of Setnacht, who was succeeded by his son.

The restoration of Egypt, however, was far from complete. The majority of the temples still awaited the fulfilment of the divine promises. Half the Delta belonged to the Libyans, and the former masters of the country, who had been driven into Syria, could scarcely have resigned themselves to the change when the liberator left the scene of his exploits, the details of which are in any case unknown. Ramses III (1200–1168), who succeeded him, had already shared his father's

government, and enjoyed during the first four years of his reign an interval of comparative peace. The recruiting of Libyans and Shirtani for the Egyptian army seems now to have been carried on with great activity. This in itself tended to relieve the tension upon the western frontier. Perhaps the subjugation of "the mighty one, Cush," whose name occurs at the beginning of a later list of defeated opponents, also took place at this time. Thus although Cush had remained under the government of an Egyptian viceroy, it is evident that subsequently to the reign of Sethos II the first of a series of changes ending in the independence of Ethiopia took place. While the kingdom of the Pharaohs was visibly increasing in power, the countries of Syria were busily engaged in defending themselves against new invaders; consequently the Libyans were obliged to make their attempt against Egypt in 1195 unassisted, "but their schemes were broken and turned against them." Before the various tribes were able to unite in full force, they were intercepted by a clever disposition of the Egyptian forces and dispersed with great loss. The attacks of the last of the Libyan princes ended in flight before the troops of Ramses III, by which time the enemy's losses amounted collectively to more than twelve thousand five hundred.

The effects of this defeat were still felt by the Libyans when in the eighth year of the reign the storm which had long been threatening from Asia approached the eastern frontier of Egypt. The attack was again made by the Turisha and Shakarusha, now materially strengthened by the addition of new peoples: the Purasate, Zakkar, Danuna, and Vashash, who had come from their distant coasts, and finally the Shirtani of the sea, that is to say, robber bands belonging to this western nation, who had been unable to maintain themselves in Asia, and had therefore joined the oncoming host. Although the Egyptian artists were occasionally careless in matters of detail, nevertheless a comparison of the drawings in which the Shirtani appear shows that their national head-dress was a round white helmet, with horns branching from either side; when they entered the service of the Pharaoh, a spike was added to the helmet, terminating in a metal disk, as it were the badge of the sons of the sun. The Vashash, whose origin is still an open question, have been identified with the Oscans of Italy, the Turisha with the Tyrseni, the Akaivasha (see p. 671) with the Achæans, the Danuna with the Danai of Homer, and the Shakarusha with the Sikels (cf. Vol. IV, p. 51, *ad fin.*). The Turisha and Shakarusha were probably neighbours and relatives of the Lycians, while as early as the time of Amenophis III Danuna was alluded to as a country with which direct trade was carried on from the harbours of Phœnicia. The Purasate, the Philistines of the Old Testament, and the Lapkar remained settled on the coast of Palestine.

This mixed horde, after subduing Alashja, Kede, the kingdom of the Hittites, and finally the Amorites, assembled its forces in their territories for an invasion of Egypt by land and sea. Their well-manned fleet, consisting of long, narrow sailing-vessels, arrived first, and endeavoured to force an entrance into one of the eastern mouths of the Nile. But the fleet and army of the Pharaoh had concentrated in the threatened district under his personal command, and were in a position to fall upon the enemy at the first favourable opportunity. Driven toward the coast by the Egyptian navy, and there received with showers of arrows by the land forces, the enemy suffered a severe defeat, losing many of their ships. The remainder were in no condition to continue the struggle, and disappeared from Egyptian

waters; this was the first great naval battle known to history. The tactics of King Ramses III recalled the skill of Thutmosis III, the great conqueror, and although the strategy of the former was confined to a smaller compass, it in no way suffers by the comparison. The land forces were immediately despatched to Asia, and overtook the main body of the enemy in Southern Phœnicia, not far from the former frontier of Egypt. The peoples of the north, for the most part armed for hand-to-hand conflict, drew up their ox-wagons, in which they placed their families, after the manner of modern gipsies, into bulwarks or open squares. The battle was won by the Egyptians, but in spite of the severe losses sustained by the enemy, especially in prisoners, they remained sufficiently numerous to reconquer within a short time the coast of Shephela (between Gaza and Carmel), which Ramses III had recently triumphantly defended. In the meanwhile the Pharaoh followed up his momentary success, and turned against the Amorites of Lebanon to punish them for their alliance with the enemy. It would seem that he succeeded in advancing as far as the exhausted region north of Kadesh; but many further campaigns would have been necessary to permanently restore the supremacy of Egypt over its former Syrian dependencies. Tidings now arrived of a threatened movement upon the Libyan frontier, and when Ramses III withdrew his army in consequence, the last remains of Egyptian supremacy in Syria disappeared, and so utterly that no mention whatever of this attempt appears in the above-mentioned account of royal revenues. However, the blow delivered by the king against his foes on the west, under their sole Prince Mashashar, the son of Kapur, in the month Mesori and the eleventh year of his reign, was only the more severe. The enemy was completely subjugated; fixed settlements were assigned to their chiefs under the supervision of Egyptian officials.

The songs of praise in which the Egyptians gave vent to their satisfaction in the enjoyment of peace and security cannot be considered as mere sentimental effusions on the part of the scribes. It is true that the Pharaoh had not been able to restore the kingdom to its former greatness, or to make it once again the treasury for Asiatic tribute, nevertheless Amon-Ra and Ptah were well satisfied with their share of the plunder and the restoration of their revenues. The last great temple was now built in Thebes, the neighbouring Ramesseum serving as its model. Its imposing ruins now bear the name of a former Coptic village, Medinet Habu. Our knowledge of the exploits of its royal builder is derived from the rich inscriptions, and especially from the decorations on the walls. These vigorous drawings often illuminate for us the meagre words of the text. In later times the Greeks looked upon the edifice at Medinet Habu as the "treasure-house of Rhampsitinus," which was for so long a time secretly plundered by the thieving sons of the dishonest architect. This legend, however, probably originated in Hellas itself, and ill applies to Ramses III, who, together with his successor, were accustomed to consider Ramses II as the ideal of a successful and opulent monarch. The journeys to the land of incense, south of the Dead Sea, were also resumed under Ramses III. The summary of his reign concludes with the words: "I made the country to be inhabited by people of all classes and of both sexes. I made green trees to grow and to cast their shadows in all places. I brought it to pass that the women of Egypt could go about freely without molestation from scoundrels. During my reign foot soldiers and chariot warriors lived orderly lives in their towns; the Shirtani could roll about on their backs, drink and be merry. They no longer had

to march to the posts; their wives and children were with them. Every man was filled with loyalty and courage, for I stood there in power to protect them with the terror of my name."

Nevertheless, we learn from the papyrus records of a secret prosecution of conspirators in the palace of Ramses III that certain members of his court formed a plot to set up a new king, who would then be compelled to bestow wealth and high offices upon other people, that is to say, the conspirators. A harem lady of high rank, Teje, the mother of a prince, was at the head of the conspiracy, which was secretly furthered by the chief eunuch and other persons in authority. A return to the lawless times of the successors of Merenptah seems to have been more attractive to the conspirators than the benefits of good government. Letters from the royal harem to a commander of troops in Ethiopia, who was to march to Thebes and there seize the unsuspecting Ramses, seem to have been delivered to the wrong person; and thus the restorer of Egypt was saved by chance from a fate unworthy of him. It also appears that even after this timely discovery his most faithful adherents regarded him as a lost man. Apparently the parts to be played in the revolution had already been assigned to various commanders and garrisons, many of which were fully prepared for revolt. During the first days of the trial, which was carried on in absolute secrecy, the judges prolonged the proceedings to a surprising extent. But the victor in so many dangerous campaigns proved capable of grappling with this hidden danger. The moment his judges were emboldened to begin their action, Ramses showed that he had broken the meshes of the net which had been spread for him unawares. The details of the trial are interesting for the history of law and of civilization. All the conspirators of rank were examined under fictitious names before a court chosen by the king from his own bondsmen, while the official judges belonging to the bureaucracy presided only at the trials of lesser conspirators, slaves, maid-servants, harem guards, etc., who had merely acted as messengers or worked for concealment. The son of Teje, who was probably the candidate for the throne, was forced to commit suicide; in other cases the verdict was paraphrased, "He was found guilty and his punishment was carried out," — probably the same penalty elsewhere referred to as "the great punishment of death, of which the gods say, 'Let it be executed upon him.'" Under ordinary circumstances the courts of Ancient Egypt could only pass sentence, and were not allowed to inflict the penalties, the execution of which lay in the hands of the Pharaoh alone; consequently their extraordinary powers were derived from a verbal authorisation. That universal history has at times a feeling for irony is shown by a discovery in a tower connected with the temple of Medinet Habu, the apartments of which were undoubtedly occupied by Ramses III on his visits thither. Representations have there been found of decidedly informal relations of the Pharaoh with women of his harem.

Ramses III died on his throne. When the mummy of this small, well-proportioned, intelligent-looking man was conveyed to the valley of the tombs of the kings, the last great Pharaoh of the New Empire had gone to his rest. He was succeeded by no less than nine kings, all bearing his name, none of whom was of any historical importance. Ramses IV, who appears in the above-mentioned statement of accounts, reigned about eleven years. Ramses V (1156 to 1152) is supposed to have been overthrown by the successor, who even appropriated his tomb. All we know of Ramses VII is the mere fact of his existence. Ramses VIII

(about 1142 to 1135) sent his scribe Hor-a, who held office in the delta city of Busiris, to Abydos to make votive offerings for him. The manner in which Hor-a speaks of his king, on a memorial stone erected at the time, differs considerably from the expressions of profound devotion employed in former times, and is quite in harmony with the tone which the high priests of Amon in Thebes were beginning to adopt toward the king. It is the priests who now command additions to be made to the temples, and claim the honour and glory, adding only the saving clause, "In the king's name."

During the reign of Ramses IX (1135 to 1117) it was found necessary to undertake a thorough investigation of the earlier tombs of the kings in Thebes, for indications were increasing that the graves were being frequently robbed by bands of thieves. The matter was looked into with great care, and severe measures taken, as is plain from the extensive documents referring to the matter, which was, however, further complicated by quarrels between the individual authorities concerned. From these documents it also appears that, among others, the lower officials of the temple of Amon had been largely concerned in the robberies. The royal commissioners, however, were desirous of treating the servants of Amon as leniently as possible, and therefore closed their eyes during the examination. Three years later, in the first year of Ramses X (1117 to 1110), a new investigation was ordered. The rock tombs of Sethos I and Ramses II in the distant Biban el-Moluk had been broken into. No one would have troubled about this outrage had not the "incorporated" plunderers from the temples of Amon and Chonsu quarrelled with certain "outside" participators in the robbery; one of these latter thought he had been unfairly treated in the division of the booty, and informed the commander of the Madi (cf. p. 629). Even at this early period the majority of the tombs of private individuals had already been plundered, and it seems that the proceeds of nightly raids on the necropolis had actually developed a whole class of well-to-do citizens in the neighbouring villages of Thebes.

The exhausted dynasty of the later Ramessides was allowed to retain the throne solely in consequence of the deep-rooted conviction that only a legitimate Pharaoh could bring prosperity to his country. Perhaps the high priests of Amon, who were already practically independent in the south, hoped to become supreme in the Delta, where an equally independent nomarch guarded the frontiers. During the reign of Ramses XII (from about 1102 to 1085) the nomarch Smendes, who resided in Tanis, married Tant-Amon, probably a daughter of the Pharaoh, who was considered heiress to the throne, and, in return for the claim thus acquired, granted the high priest Herîhor full liberty of action in Upper Egypt. Ramses XII was forgotten even before his death. The affairs of Nubia at the end of the century are hidden in obscurity. It is true that a viceroy of Kush is occasionally mentioned in addition to Herîhor, but it is evident that the old title now implied authority over nothing more than a small strip of land near Assuan. Ethiopian rulers were already supreme over the colonial cities, and had made Napata their capital (cf. p. 551).

The use of instruments for writing by officials, for purposes of administration, greatly increased under the New Empire. The documents themselves were chiefly public records, of which there were many new copies and editions. This clumsy method of recording affairs of State, which was eagerly adopted by the lower grades of officials, resulted in an endless accumulation of letters and protocols

relating now to the huge annual income of the Theban temples, and now to the daily work of a gang of labourers, or again to the hire of an ass. These documents often throw some light upon the condition of the working classes at the time when wages and money were unknown. Payments in kind by the State, as well as by the temples, to their numerous bands of workmen were delivered to the labourers collectively, not individually. If the foreman happened to be brutal or knavish, the division of payment was unpunctual, and want, misery, and vexation resulted. Not all labourers were bondsmen; but probably, on the whole, the freemen were worse off than the slaves. For the rest, long intervals of cessation from toil were willingly agreed to, and the most remarkable excuses were accepted from individuals who had taken a holiday. Starving workmen were in the habit of enforcing the payment of arrears by noisy demonstrations and insurrections, if the scribe persisted in forgetting the time when their claims were due. In the twenty-ninth year of Ramses III matters came to such a pass that the chief official of the royal administration answered the bitter complaints of the labourers with a decree in the following words: "If I do not come to you, it is not because I am unable to bring you anything. However, as to your words, 'Do not steal our corn,' am I, the general governor, placed in office in order to steal?" What a question! Notice of a similar complaint has come down to us from the reign of the ninth Ramses, from which we learn that the workmen of that period discovered a better method of proclaiming their wrongs; on this occasion the workmen presented the judge with "two caskets and a writing tablet." It was no doubt a simple matter to appropriate such gifts from the treasures in the tombs.

(*d*) *The Last Dynasties of the New Empire.* — With the accession of Smendes, the first of the kings resident at Tanis, begins Manetho's twenty-first or Tanite dynasty, so called from the name of this capital. Our historical knowledge of the Egypt of this period is practically nil. Herîhor and his successors ruled in Upper Egypt as autocratic high priests, although at the same time they recognised the Tanite kings as legitimate Pharaohs and allied themselves to the royal family by marriage. Manetho enumerates seven Tanites: Smendes (26 years); Psusennes I (41 or 46 years); Nephelcheres (4 years); Amenophthis (19 years); Osokhor (6 years); Psinaches (9 years); and Psusennes II (14 or 35 years), — a list in which the names are more correct than the number of years assigned to the several sovereigns. In Thebes, Herîhor was succeeded for a short time as high priest by his son Pianchi. Pinozem I, however, son of Pianchi and husband of the Tanite princess Hent-tani, finally assumed the royal insignia. This event, which probably took place during the reign of Psusennes I (Egyptian Pasebchaennu), was no doubt the result of a further understanding between the two houses; for Psusennes on his part resumed the dignity of high priest, and bequeathed it to his son Pinozem II, who died during the reign of King Amenophthis (in Egyptian Amon-em-opet), who was perhaps his older brother. On the other hand, Mencheper-Ra (perhaps the Nephelcheres of Manetho), the son of Pinozem I appears first as the high priest of Amon and later as king, at which time the spiritual office devolved upon his brother Masaherta. We also hear of princesses who were "women of god" of Amon (p. 630), and princes who filled lower positions in the service of the same deity. It follows that during the twenty-first dynasty Upper and Lower Egypt were for a time ruled by two Pharaohs and two

high priests. Consequently, a great sanctuary of Amon must have then been established in Northern Egypt independent of that at Thebes, in the vicinity of which the Tanites constructed their tombs, although it is not probable that the Tanite high priest could permanently have filled the office side by side with a descendant of Herîhor of equal rank. The supposition that there was a temple of Amon in Lower Egypt helps us to understand how it came about that a sanctuary subsequently famous was established in the Libyan oasis of Sivah. The succeeding Egyptian dynasty was of Libyan origin, and after the loss of Thebes could easily have transferred the worship of the national god to this secure and already sanctified spot within their own country.

A papyrus dating from the period of Herîhor and Smendes, perhaps indeed written during the lifetime of the last Ramesside, contains an account by one Und-Amon, written in his own justification, of a voyage to Palestine. This was undertaken for the purpose of fetching wood for the building of a new ship for the god. Smendes and Tant-Amon kindly received Unu-Amon, who was provided with a small image of Amon, the "Amon of the roads" (according to Ad. Erman), who furthered men on their journeys; but instead of placing one of their large ships at his service, permitted him to continue his journey in a Phœnician merchant vessel. At the very first place of landing, Dor, the city of the Zakkar prince, Padi-El, Unu-Amon was robbed by a sailor of the money with which he was to purchase in Byblos the wood from Lebanon. It appears that as Padi-El would not listen to his complaint, he indemnified himself at the expense of some man of Zakkar, and fled to Byblos. Here, however, he was treated by Sicharbaal, the prefect of the city, as a common swindler. "Thus I spent nineteen days there, and throughout the time he sent messages to me daily, saying, 'Depart from my harbour!'" Unu-Amon was preparing to embark on a ship when the oracular utterance of a youth in the service of the prefect, who had fallen into a state of ecstasy at a sacrifice offered up by Sicharbaal, induced the latter to grant the unfortunate emissary a hearing. The cutting scorn with which Sicharbaal denied the obsolete claims stands in sharp contrast to the whining tone of the letters imploring the aid of the Pharaoh sent from the same city some three hundred years before by Rib-Addi (cf. pp. 163 and 641). Sicharbaal caused "the documents from the times of his predecessors to be brought forth and read aloud. There stood written one thousand deben [about two hundred pounds weight] of silver; and he said to me: 'If the king of Egypt had really been my master and I his servant, he would not [at that time] have sent silver with the intention that I should fulfil Amon's order. I am neither thy servant, nor the servant of him that sent thee. Formerly it was from Egypt that fine manners and good breeding came to my country; and now — in what a paltry way they have sent thee hither!'" Finally, after the messenger of Amon had been subjected to much humiliation, Smendes succeeded in furthering the transaction by means of a gift to Sicharbaal. "Thereupon the prince rejoiced, and levied three hundred men and three hundred draught oxen and placed superintendents over them that they might fell the trees." When the wood was brought to the coast, Sicharbaal remarked threateningly that Unu-Amon was getting far more than he deserved. "I can be as terrible as the sea. What befell the emissaries of Cha-em-ust, who were kept prisoners here for seventeen years until they died, did not befall thee." The Egyptian apparently succeeded in soothing the Phœnician by adroit flattery, but eleven ships of the Zakkaraeans lay in wait

for him on his departure. A storm freed him from his pursuers, but cast his own vessel on the coast of Alashja, where he was rescued from death through the kindness of the princess Hatebi. It is doubtful whether the wood ever reached Thebes.

The last ruler of the twenty-first dynasty seems to have made an attempt to restore the authority of Egypt in Asia. According to Hebrew tradition, Solomon married a daughter of the Pharaoh, receiving as a dowry the Canaanite city, Gezer (cf. p. 198), which had been conquered by his father-in-law. Chronology shows that this transaction can only be attributed to the above-named personalities. But that Egypt remained at that time for almost a century and a half at peace with all nations, is not probable. All architectural work ceased. About the year 1000, even the outhouses of the Rammeseum had become so dilapidated that their site was used as a burying-ground. The Pharaohs of the twenty-first dynasty, in spite of their ecclesiastical veneer, ingloriously gave up the struggle with the robbers of the tombs of the ancient kings. Finally the threatened mummies were hidden in the cleft in the rock above Dêr el-Bahri, which was enlarged for their reception. The bodies of some of the relatives of the Pharaohs of the twenty-first dynasty were also concealed in the same place. Although they discovered a tolerably secure resting-place for their ancestors, the kings of this dynasty took very little pains to arrange the remains according to ritual. Here Thutmosis, Sethos, and Ramses lay undisturbed for almost three thousand years. Then for about seven years they were once more the victims of casual robberies, until finally the secret of the whereabouts of the gallery and sepulchral chamber was obtained from the fellahin, and the contents of this hiding-place were removed to the museum at Bulak.

For a long time a hereditary commander of mercenaries, descended from a Libyan royal family, had enjoyed great influence in Bubastis. Ever since the Shirtani (cf. p. 629) had disappeared from the service of the successors of Ramses III, their Libyan comrades, more especially the warriors of the Mashavasha, not only formed the nucleus of the imperial army, but now prepared to resume possession of the Delta by migration. Nemart, commandant of Bubastis, "the great of the great," son of a Tanitic princess, married a relative of the royal dynasty. A son was born to them, named Sheshonk. He, again, as well as his son Osorkon, married daughters of Psusennes II, and thus looked upon the throne of Egypt as assured to his descendants. Jeroboam (cf. p. 199) had already found protection at his residence when fleeing from Solomon. But as events moved more rapidly in Palestine than in Egypt, the war between Rehoboam, Solomon's successor, and the adherents of Jeroboam (cf. p. 118) was carried on for some years before the twenty-second dynasty of the Bubastites ascended the throne of Egypt.

King Sheshonk (950–929), the Shishak of the Old Testament, began a career of conquest immediately upon his accession. The greater part of a list of cities and provinces in Palestine conquered by him, probably between 950 and 949, has been preserved in Karnak. Jerusalem must have stood among the twenty-three names which are to-day illegible, for the Old Testament expressly mentions that Shishak took away the treasures of Solomon. Of the remaining one hundred and thirty-three names, many belong to Northern Israel, whence it is to be concluded that the victory of Jeroboam over Judah was chiefly due to Egyptian support. How long the two Israelite States continued to pay tribute to Egypt is unknown; according to the later Jewish view, thirty years.

Although the Libyans of Bubastis as commanders of the Egyptian army had succeeded in making good their claims to the double crown, and had begun their rule of one hundred and seventy years with a brilliant campaign in Asia, Egypt continued to decay still more rapidly under their government. The kings built temples and monuments in Memphis and the Delta cities, awakened anew the memory of the Ramessides, and occasionally called their younger sons or cousins "royal children of Ramses;" otherwise, the customs of the Tanites were retained. Sheshonk I, whose favourite wife Karama also bore the title of "woman of god" (p. 630), appointed his son Jupuat high priest of Amon, according to the precedent laid down by Pinozem (p. 677). Ethiopia began more directly to menace Upper Egypt. We know practically nothing of Osorkon I (929–914), and his successors Takelothis I and Osorkon II. Takelothis II, who succeeded Sheshonk II, reigned from about 889 to 874, and spent the first eleven years of his reign struggling with insurrections in all parts of Egypt; subsequently he commanded his son to restore the worship of Amon in Thebes. Apparently the later years of his reign were also disturbed by rebellions. It is certain that at about this time the various Libyan governors of cities, who were indeed the equals of the king, began to look upon themselves as independent. According to the inscriptions in the Apis tombs, which are of great importance to the chronology of this period, Sheshonk III reigned fifty-two years, that is to say, until about 822. The list of his deeds inscribed in the "Bubastic corner" of the temple at Karnak concludes, however, at his twenty-ninth year. Hence it may be inferred that Thebes fell into the hands of the Ethiopians about the year 840. The last two kings of the dynasty, Pimai (822–820) and Sheshonk IV (820 until 780), had to fight for the possession of Middle Egypt; and the army of Sheshonk once advanced as far as the island of Sehel at the first cataract.

Henceforward the disruption of the empire proceeded apace. At the beginning of the campaign of the Ethiopian king Pianchi against Lower Egypt, about the year 1770, the state of the country was somewhat as follows: In Saïs, a king Tefnacht had arisen, who added Memphis to his territory and made preparations for the restoration of the empire of the Pharaohs. Of four other "kings," three were in all probability members of the Bubastic dynasty, — Osorkon of Bubastis, Jupuat of Tent-remu, and Nemart of Shmun (Hermopolis magna). They attached themselves "like dogs" (according to Pianchi) to Tefnacht, while the fourth king, Peftudibast of Heracleopolis (Ahnas), favoured the Ethiopians. Fifteen additional adherents of Tefnacht were for the most part mercenary commanders, in possession of the town districts; two called themselves hereditary princes. In Letopolis the high priest of Horus was supreme. This condition of government is termed by Manetho the "twenty-third dynasty," to which he assigns four kings in succession, — Petubastis (cf. the Vienna demotic papyri), Osorkho, Psammus, and Zet.

(*e*) *The Ethiopians and Assyrians in Egypt.* — According to a long inscription on Mount Barkal, near Napata (cf. p. 551), in which the events of his life are set down with an accuracy unknown to Egyptian chroniclers, Pianchi must have advanced in person into Egypt in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, inasmuch as in the month of Thoth of his twenty-first year he commanded the erection of a memorial of the event in his native land; consequently the beginning of his reign

in Egypt dates from about 790. There is no reason for supposing him to be a descendant of Herîhor, although the latter had a son of the same name. The choice of the name Pianchi by an Ethiopian prince was probably occasioned by motives similar to those which prompted the Bubastites to ignore the twenty-first dynasty, and to ascribe their family origin to the Ramessides. Puarma and Lamersekni, the two military governors installed in Egypt by Pianchi, were defeated by Nemart, while at the same time Tefnacht threatened Heracleopolis. Upon the receipt of this news, Pianchi at once set out in person, celebrated the festival of the new year before Amon in Thebes, and then hastened "to let the lands of Lower Egypt taste the flavour of my finger." After a stubborn defence Nemart was forced to surrender in Hermopolis. The conqueror, who was received with great ceremony on entering the town, did not trouble himself about Menart's wives and court attendants, but immediately examined the plunder, setting aside a portion of it for Amon. "His Majesty then went to the stables and to the foal paddocks. He perceived that these animals must have suffered from hunger, and said [to Menart]: 'By my oath it seems to me that the most evil of all my sins is that of allowing the horses to starve!'" The fortifications at the entrance of the Fayûm were also unable to hold out. On the other hand, Memphis, which was surrounded by new walls, resisted until it was stormed from the river side. How Pianchi straightway set a guard over the temple of Ptah and made a pilgrimage to it and to the temple of Ra at Heliopolis is described in the inscription with an attention to detail which has proved of great value to the study of religious ceremonial, and also throws considerable light upon the bigotry of Ethiopian pietism (cf. pp. 569 and 571). Jupuat and several petty princes had already appeared with tribute before Pianchi in Memphis, and when the conqueror advanced to Athribis a general submission followed. Tefnacht alone insisted that he should be permitted to take the oath of allegiance at home in Saïs before the emissaries of Pianchi. The attempt, however, to "liberate" Egypt had failed.

During the following forty years of obscurity the kings of Napata may have become subject to the Libyans on several occasions. Tefnacht's son Bochoris was, according to the Greek historians of later times, a wise law-giver and sagacious judge, while others represent him as an avaricious and ungodly weakling. Manetho asserts that he was the sole representative of the twenty-fourth dynasty, and that he was taken captive and burnt alive by Sabako. The evidence for the existence of Bochoris (cf. the Vienna demotic papyri) and his claims to the throne rests hitherto upon discoveries made in an Apis tomb in the Serapeum at Memphis dating from the year 6 B. C.

Sabako, the second or third successor of Pianchi, definitely succeeded in resubjugating the whole country about 728 (or earlier). Amenerdis, the sister of Sabako, is constantly mentioned in Thebes as the "woman of god" of Amon; she was the daughter of King Kashta, and appears as queen regent and consort of a younger Pianchi, who also seems to have become king. Manetho places Sabako as the founder of the twenty-fifth dynasty, eventually known as "Ethiopian." Circumstances seem to have brought him into collision with Sargon of Assyria, for he appears as the ally of Hanno of Gaza, and as the Seveh of the Bible, on whose help the last king of Northern Israel thought he might rely (cf. pp. 63 and 65). Sabako's son and successor, Sebichos (Egyptian Shabataka), built a small storehouse on the sacred lake at Karnak, where his portrait is still to be seen orna-

mented in a style wholly foreign to Egyptian art. Amon-Ra promises to place all foreign countries beneath the sole of his foot, an undertaking not likely to be performed in view of the Assyrian advance in Asia. The victory of Sanherib at Altaku in the year 1701 (cf. pp. 67 and 240) was gained over a confederacy which had long previously been united for the relief of Jerusalem, and with which the Egyptians can hardly have failed to co-operate. Herodotus relates a pious legend of the "Sethos priest of Hephæstus," the successor of Sabako. Sanherib is said to have marched against Egypt, which had been left defenceless by a mutiny of her soldiers; but field mice, sent by the gods, gnawed all the leather work of the weapons and the bow strings by night in the camp before Peluisium, and Sethos was saved. Mice, and still more rats, usually precede an outbreak of plague, and in these details the story is in harmony with the biblical account of the saving of Jerusalem from Sanherib.

Taharka (Taharqa) was the first ruler to enter seriously upon the struggle against the Assyrians for the possession of Egypt. He had served in the Ethiopian army from his youth up, and overthrew and killed Sebichos about 693 B. C. For the collision with Assarhaddon, the dissolution of the Ethiopian monarchy north of Assuan, and the capture of Thebes by the army of Assurbanipal, cf. section 1, p. 72 ff. The supremacy of the Sargonides (from 671) was of no long duration. Assurbanipal proposed to execute his authority in the Nile valley from so far a distance as Nineveh by means of a numerous body of town governors and nomarchs, twenty of whom were specially created by the great king. However, the ruinous spirit of separatism bequeathed by the Bubastites was destroyed in Egypt by the rapid sequence of foreign invasions of conquest. When the plunderers of Thebes retreated, Prince Neco of Saïs and Memphis found success much more nearly within his grasp than had Tefnacht a century before, but he was prevented from seizing his opportunity by death.

His son Psammetik found very little difficulty in making himself "lord of both lands." He continued to pay tribute to the Assyrians, and possibly rendered other services in view of this special opportunity. In return, he received forthwith the reinforcements which he required to repulse the advance of Tanut-Amen, the successor of Taharka, who had been expelled to Nubia by the Assyrians. Shepenopet, an Ethiopian princess and a niece of Amenerdis, continued to rule as "woman of the god" in Thebes under Psammetik I; hence it appears that he was anxious to promote a good understanding with Ethiopia. However, an indispensable preliminary was the acknowledgment of the new king's daughter Nitokris (Neitakert) as the future successor to the throne. Although the majority of the petty princes of Egypt may have been inclined to support Psammetik, the remainder could easily have combined to do him a mischief. The further Assurbanipal pushed his Eastern campaigns (p. 75), the higher, in the opinion of the confederated petty kings of Egypt, rose the prospects of a restoration of the "balance of power," a primary condition of which was naturally the recall of Ethiopian kings.

Psammetik could expect no help from Libya. That narrow strip of land had relieved itself of all its superfluous population, and was at once subjected to a constitution organised on Greek lines (Vol. IV, p. 228). During the eighth century, the Nile Delta was constantly visited by the trading ships of the prosperous Greek towns in Asia Minor; to this fact is due the more accurate knowledge which we possess of the Ethiopian conquest, of the liberation by means of Asiatic inter-

vention, and of the "rule of the twelve kings" mentioned by Herodotus. At the present moment an alliance with this foreign people was the more attractive, inasmuch as they had been united into a strong kingdom under Gyges (cf. Vol. IV, p. 51). Reinforcements of Ionian and Carian (that is, Lydian) troops soon enabled Psammetik to rid himself of the burdensome city governors and nomarchs. The supremacy of Assyria disappeared with their expulsion (about 660; cf. p. 75).

D. From Psammetik I to Alexander the Great

(*a*) *The Saïtes.* — The constitution, which a favourable conjuncture of circumstances in Further Asia enabled Psammetik I of Saïs (664 to 616) to found, endured for about one hundred and forty years, and bears only a superficial resemblance to the Egypt of the Pharaohs. The influence of Hellenism — let it be observed, however, of Hellenism about 600 B. C. — during this period and under the Persian supremacy was not an influence which made for progress. But these northern foreigners whom Psammetik settled at that time in Bubastis and on the Bolbitine mouth of the Nile (in the "Milesian camp," that is, bazaar) proved a valuable support to the new Egyptian dynasty. The Ionic mercenaries may have been as unpopular with the inhabitants of the Nile valley as the Shirtani soldiery (p. 629) or the countrymen of the Syrian Terura (p. 662) had been at an earlier period, but they were identical in nationality with those traders who went up and down the Nile. Even in the great oasis a Greek firm was founded and worked at a later time. Concerning the history of this period, it is important to observe that the Greeks alone have transmitted a connected account of it, though one composed from their own point of view. Our information upon the state of civilization, as derived from this source, can be supplemented in certain details by the memorials belonging to the period of the Saïtes.

In general outline the changes which took place within the empire resembled that better known and later reorganisation of Greece which was introduced by the removal of Constantine to Byzantium. Upper Egypt rapidly lost the last traces of its former importance, which it never in any respect recovered. "Thebes of the hundred gates," notwithstanding the proud and pious recollections of its past, fell into a state of irrevocable decay. The administration was no longer capable of keeping even the vast temples in repair, although during the Persian period rebel kings took a pride in restoring shattered walls or pillars in Karnak and Medinet Habu that they might set their names upon them. Even before the end of the Saïte dynasty, the women of the god seem to have abandoned the ruins to the owls, and came to the court to waste their substance. Memphis, however, as in antiquity, again became the political centre. Its favourable site at the head of the Delta system gave it geographical advantages over Thebes akin to those possessed by Corinth over Athens. Saïs, the capital of the Psammetik kings, though provided with many stately buildings, remained a town of moderate size compared with Memphis.

In conformity with this change in the conditions of government, Ptah and Osiris (cf. pp. 651 and 653) laid claim to that supremacy which the divinities of Amon had lost, Osiris now rising to be lord of the sky from his previous position as monarch of the dead. Isis maintained herself at his side, though the Libyan Neith (p. 654) imposed some temporary limitations upon her influence. Horus

acquired the attributes of Ra. These expressions of the change in religious belief were equivalent to the restoration of the primitive doctrine of the country, and were continued in the conscious choice of customs and types belonging to the old régime. Names and titles from the old kingdom and its language as written and spoken were now revived. The learned classes prided themselves upon that antiquarian knowledge which filled Herodotus with respect (cf. the very similar tastes displayed by Nabunaid, p. 88). The art of the period naturally underwent a corresponding change. Goose-herds and basket-makers, market and harvesting scenes, were again employed as decorations for the tombs, and represented in the rough style of primitive Egyptian art, though touches of the realism of later days are occasionally apparent.

The "history" of the Saïtic rulers comes fresh to us from Greek sources. We have a detailed account of the impossible undertaking of Psammetik I (Egyptian, Psemtek) to discover the sources of the Nile and the origin of language; whereas we have short references to the fact that he strengthened the frontier forces of Daphnea at Pelusium, Marea on the west and Elephantine on the south; that he conquered the Philistine town of Asdod after a struggle extending over twenty-nine years, and drove back from Egypt the Scythians, who had advanced into Palestine. The king died after a long reign at the moment when the fall of Assyria was clearly inevitable (p. 76), and the supremacy in Further Asia changed hands. United Lydia seems, however, to have met with resistance in his immediate neighbourhood. Necho II (610 to 595), the son of Psammetik, invaded Palestine in 608, and induced the former Assyrian vassals to accept his supremacy, though some few of these princes, among them the Jewish king Josiah, continued to defend the cause of the Assyrians. They were defeated by the mercenaries of Necho at Megiddo (Migdol; cf. pp. 78 and 210). The conqueror dedicated the coat of mail which he had won in battle to Apollo of Branchidæ, near Miletus, as a sign of friendship toward the Lydian king, the temporal lord of the shrine. Necho then captured "the great town of Kadytis." The Egyptian headquarters were situated for a time at Ribla, close at hand, and it was from that spot that Necho arranged the succession to the throne of Judah (cf. p. 210). However, in spite of the footing which he had gained within the country where Thutmosis III had previously begun the conquest of Syria (p. 634), this new attempt at expansion came to a rapid end. In the year 605 the army of Necho was utterly routed by Nebuchadnezzar on the Euphrates at Karkemish (Karchemish; p. 87); by the year 601 Egypt had lost the last of her Asiatic possessions. The remarkable story related by Herodotus of the circumnavigation of Africa, which was accomplished in three years by Phœnician sailors at the command of Necho, necessarily implies the supremacy of that king in Phœnicia for a period of years. The supposition that Necho resumed the construction of a canal from the Delta to the Red Sea, but suspended the work after it had cost the lives of one hundred and twenty thousand labourers, obviously rests upon a legendary foundation.

Under Psammetik II (594 to 589) monuments occur in much greater abundance than during his father's reign. Egypt again attempted expansion southward. The army advanced as far as Abu Simbel if not farther; the mercenaries were commanded by Psammetik, the son of Theokles, and scratched their names upon the columns of the Ramses temple in Greek and Phœnician (perhaps also Cypriote) letters. According to Herodotus, the king died before the struggle had been definitely terminated.

He was succeeded by Apries (Uahab-Ra). Once again Egyptian politicians dreamed of conquest upon the disputed ground of Syria-Palestine. Upon the appearance of Apries in Phœnicia and his operations by sea against Tyre and Sidon, our information is but scanty. It can, however, be supplemented by the biblical references to the untrustworthy character of Pharaoh "Hophra" when Jerusalem was reduced to extremities (pp. 168 and 210). The surrender of this city and the subjugation of Judah marked the firm establishment of the power of Nebuchadnezzar in West Asia. An inscription of Nes-hor, the governor at Elephantine, also refers to disturbances in Upper Egypt which were apparently only suppressed by means of treachery and cunning. The interference of Apries in the long-continued struggle of the Libyans against the Greek kingdom of Cyrene led to no result. According to Herodotus, it even brought about the overthrow of the Pharaoh. His general, Amasis, availed himself of the refusal of the Egyptian militia to expose themselves to further defeats in the west for the purpose of seizing the throne. Apries then marched against Amasis at the head of his foreign mercenaries, but was defeated and captured at Momemphis. For a time he was imprisoned at Saïs and treated kindly; but eventually the dethroned monarch fell a victim to the popular resentment and was then given a royal burial. In this narrative poetry and truth are entirely dissociated. It has now been established that Amasis was by no means of "low birth," as is asserted by the Greek historian. His mother, Tesat-en-Hest, was a daughter of Psammetik II. On the other hand, the statement, which has hitherto been accepted, quoted by G. Daréssy from a text to the effect that Amasis and Apries ruled in conjunction for several years appears to be doubtful. In that text, Amasis, writing in his third year, refers to the death of Apries in a battle in which they had met. A fragmentary inscription of Nebuchadnezzar points to the fact that the Babylonians invaded Egypt about 568–567. Possibly the change in the dynasty is connected with this event. The date 564 given by Herodotus as the end of the reign of Apries appears to be too late. Amasis, who regarded his brother-in-law as a legitimate monarch in spite of all their dissensions, probably began his own reign as early as 570.

The reign of Amasis is estimated at forty-four years by contemporary historians, who regard it as a return to the good old times. However, the king's foreign policy is characterised by an entire lack of enterprise. Indications are not wanting that Amasis must be regarded as nothing more than a cunning knave, notwithstanding the Greek anecdotes which represent him as the personal friend of Thales, Bias, etc., as the wise law-giver and the humane philanthropist. His sole object was to gain for Egypt a short respite from destruction. He made no effort to save Lydia from her fall, and Xenophon's references to the help lent by Egypt are pure fiction. Even if it be true that he occupied the island of Cyprus for a time, he afterward evacuated it in favour of the Persians. After the fall of Sardis his chief anxiety was lest the source of his supply of Greek troops should now be closed; for this reason he entered into negotiations with the towns on the east coast of the Ægæan, which still preserved their independence, and presented gifts to their temples, as Necho had once made gifts to the temple of Branchidæ (p. 684). A typical example of this policy is the well-known story of the alliance between Amasis and Polycrates of Samos, — especially typical as regards the extent of the help which the "reed of Egypt" was accustomed to lend to others in their hour of need.

In other respects, however, the Greeks might in every case count upon preferential treatment. Amasis dealt gently even with the turbulent Cyrene. Not far from the later Alexandria on the Canopic mouth of the Nile, about seven hundred Greek merchants, apparently Ionians from Teos, had already settled. Their factory grew to the size of a foreign settlement, and was given the name of "mighty in ships," Naucratis. After the fall of Lydia, that is, about 545, Amasis thought it advisable to oblige the sudden stream of immigrants from the towns of Ionia and Doria to settle in Naucratis, by the issue of a decree forbidding them to land elsewhere for trading purposes. The town received the privilege of self-government. Its central shrine was the Hellenion, in the provision of which nine privileged towns and islands took part. It was, however, overshadowed by the fame of the Apollo temple of the Milesians, an offshoot from the temple of Branchidæ. Greek tradition has evinced a spirit of gratitude to King Amasis for his protection of their nationality, which he continued for at least twenty years. Egyptian historians are less laudatory. In fragments of a demotic text of the Ptolemaic period containing a large number of references to past history Amasis is reproached for diverting the incomes of the temples of Memphis, Heliopolis, Bubastis, and Saïs to the payment of his mercenaries. Ultimately the gods suffered a considerable loss both of wealth and of landed property.

The army of Cambyses met with no resistance to its conquest of the country in the summer of 525, nine months after the death of Amasis. The highly paid mercenaries of Psammetik III, the last of the Saïte kings, were defeated by the Persian at Pelusium after a hard struggle. A traitor, Phanes of Halicarnassus, is then said to have betrayed to Cambyses the easiest mode of approach through the desert. Psammetik retired to Memphis. The zealous defenders of this town soon lost heart, surrendered after a short siege, and are said to have been treated with severity. Legend also reports other cruelties committed by Cambyses (cf. p. 138). The destroyer of the Saïte dynasty which was friendly to the Greeks is naturally represented by their historians in the worst possible light. Psammetik III seems to have sworn allegiance as tributary prince. However, he immediately set a revolt on foot, and his execution became inevitable.

(*b*) *The Persian Period.*—Egypt had now lost her native rulers and paid tribute to Susa instead of to Saïs. Naucrates soon lost its commercial privileges, the retention of which was naturally impossible under the Persian government. No further innovations were made during the Persian period, which lasted for about two hundred years, though interrupted by rebellion. The high officials of Persian origin installed within the country were scanty in number and exercised not the smallest influence upon the nationality, the civilization, or the religion. Even the permanent garrison maintained in the "white fortress" of Memphis was not necessarily sent out from the distant capital of Iran; subjects of the great king of other than Egyptian nationality were considered capable of performing this service. Egypt was thus able to continue its development undisturbed. The preference for the old régime displayed by the upper classes seems to have continued for some time. Under the protection of the Unas pyramid (p. 605) in Sakkâra members of prosperous families were laid to their rest at late as the year 540; examples are Psammetik and his son Petenisis after him, during the reign of Darius I. The tomb of the admiral Zanahibu, discovered in the spring of 1900, contains a collec-

tion of valuable objects displaying a high measure of artistic finish. In another part of this old necropolis the Egyptian Aba and his Syrian wife Chetabu were buried in the year 482 (the fourth year of Xerxes) by their son Abseli, who added an Aramaic inscription to the rude hieroglyphics in the antique style. The preference for heavy stone coffins of rare material increased. It was considered of special importance to thickly cover the internal and external surfaces with pictures and written texts. Prince Nectanebus, a descendant of the last native rebel dynasty and a contemporary of Alexander, left behind a coffin displaying twenty thousand hieroglyphics, besides a thousand pictures. The animal worship of this period increased far beyond the limits of earlier cult of Apis and Mnevis (pp. 600 and 654). It became customary to mummify the sparrow-hawk, the ibis, the ram, and the cat; to envelope them in wrappings, provide them with coffins, etc. And in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods crocodiles, snakes, and fishes, as well as dogs, mice, and beetles, became the objects of a piety that had degenerated into childishness.

Saïs had also opened its gates to the Persian kings. Cambyses there appears as a legitimate Pharaoh, with the fore-name Mesut-Ra (child of Ra). He offered solemn sacrifices in the temple of Neith (p. 655) after purging the shrine of intruders who were apparently members of his own army. Greek historians are our sole sources of information concerning the reported despatch of a division to the western oasis of Amon and the mysterious disappearance of these troops in the desert. Cambyses's successful campaign against the Ethiopians (about 524) is supported by more definite statements. An inscription, belonging probably to Napata, set up by the Ethiopian king Nastesen (Nastisanen), mentions one hostile "Kembesuden" (Kambesuden?) who invaded his country from the sea. Under Darius the Nubian Cushites are tributary to the Persians and furnish a contingent of troops.

Cambyses endangered his throne by remaining in the Nile valley until 522. When he was recalled by the revolt of Gaumata (p. 138) he entrusted the government of Egypt to the satrap Aryandes. Events in Persia left this governor in an almost independent position, and he succeeded in subjugating Cyrene; but Darius I drove him out in the year 517 (p. 141), and visited the country in person with the object of subjecting the valuable inheritance of the Pharaohs to the general administrative reforms which he was then introducing. The benefices of the priesthoods were improved, the priestly colleges in Saïs were fully restored, and no doubt the same procedure was followed in Memphis, Heliopolis, and other sacred centres. When Darius had settled the yearly contribution of the Egyptian-Libyan satrapy at seven hundred talents (about two hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds), and had secured a number of minor sources of income to himself, he was yet able to go to some expense in the construction of temples. Fragmentary inscriptions also state that the king completed the long projected canal to the Red Sea; but it is hardly probable that Indian commerce can have passed to the Mediterranean by this route at that period.

However, these new regulations did not bring peace to the country. About 487–486 or later a native chief by name Chabbash assumed the title of king, presented a piece of land to the goddess Buto (since known as the "land of Buto"), and took careful measures to place the coast in a state of defence. Xerxes put an end to this interlude in the year 484 when he restored the satrapy and handed it over to his brother Achæmenes (cf. above, p. 144). After the

murder of Xerxes (465) disputes arose in Susa concerning the succession, and the revolts of Inaros in 460 and Amyrtæus in 450 began in Lower Egypt (cf. p. 146). When the Persians were able to re-establish their supremacy (about 449), Artaxerxes I Longimanus preferred to leave the sons of these revolters, Thannyras and Pausiris, to rule as independent chiefs in their swamps. Darius II resumed building operations upon a temple in the oasis of Chargeh, which the first Darius had founded there. These are practically the last memorials that any Persian king erected in the country.

From the year 415 Egypt ceased to be a part of the Eastern empire, and maintained its independence to the middle of the following century (p. 147, *supra*). A Saïte prince, Amyrtaeus (II), perhaps the grandson of the previous bearer of the name, enlisted Greek mercenaries, declared himself lord of both lands, and drove out the Persians, who were prevented from taking the offensive by the outbreak of disturbances in other parts of their enormous empire. The monarchy thus restored certainly gained a breathing space in which to prepare for defence against foreign aggression, but it was impossible to check the autocratic behaviour of the highly paid auxiliaries from Hellas, who were now largely recruited from Greece proper. As far as can be seen, this behaviour was partly due to the reckless payments distributed by Egyptian chiefs who were anxious to seize the throne. A similar phenomenon appears in the period of the Diadochi, and assumed larger proportions under the prætorian emperors.

About 409 the mercenaries deposed Amyrtæus and replaced his dynasty with that of Nepherates of Mendes. When, however, the new king created his son Nectanebus co-regent, "the people" were irritated by this precautionary measure, and forced Nectanebus to retreat to Sebennytus. In 404 Achoris was made king by the troops. He reigned until 391, and his piety found expression in the construction of temples at different places. Psammuthis, his successor, who had already been the ruling power in the Delta about 400 (if he is to be identified with the "king Psammetik of Egypt" of Diodorus), was considered as a godless ruler; for this reason his reign only lasted a year, and he was not recognised throughout the country. Piety returns in the person of "Muthes," who was also only able to maintain his position for a year. Dissensions then divided the mercenaries. After putting a second Nepherites to death, they restored the "old right," apparently by the recall of the king's son Nectanebus I (about 385 to 363), who had been formerly driven from the court. Under him Egypt plays a more important part in the revolts of Further Asia. But when the Cypriote Euagoras had submitted to the Persians in defiance of his convention with Nectanebus, the danger of reconquest threatened the Nile valley. In the year 374 a great army appeared from Syria under Pharnabazus. After the surprise of Mendes by the Athenian Iphicrates, who commanded the Greek mercenaries, the two commanders quarrelled, and Egypt was saved by the rise of the Nile. Tachos (363 to 361), the son of Nectanebus, availed himself of the next great revolt in Syria to invade that country in force (p. 149). His careful preparations were, however, ruined by the Greek mercenaries. The Spartan king Agesilaus, who "sailed the sea for gold" in his old age, suddenly declared for the cousin of Tachos, Nectanebus (II). The author of the demotic text mentioned on p. 685 is of the opinion that this change of front was due to Persian inspiration. Tachos, who was then in Sidon, saw his army melt away, and himself went over to the great king, by whom he was kindly received.

Agesilaus was in the meantime obliged to overthrow a new aspirant to the throne from Mendes, and died shortly afterward.

With the accession of Artaxerxes III in Persia (358) the struggle was renewed. An attack of the king on Egypt was repulsed by Diophantus and Lamius, the Greek generals of King Nectanebus II; but the Persians returned to the attack when Egypt supported the last general insurrection which broke out upon the coast-land of Further Asia. Greek troops fought upon either side in the final battle, which was decided in the Delta. After the capture of Pelusium and Bubastis, Nectanebus made a timely escape to Ethiopia with his treasures to avoid being sold into the hands of his enemies. However, his adherents remained in Egypt, and he was perhaps himself ultimately buried in Memphis. The buildings of Nectanebus II (361–343) far surpassed those of all the other rebel kings. The splendid temple of Isis on the island of Philæ (see the plate, p. 693), the construction of which was begun by the Ptolemæans and completed during the Roman period, was planned by him. Moreover, evidence of his activity in this direction existed in Memphis, Heliopolis, Sebennytus, and especially in Thebes, where the temples had been kept in some order since the time of Amyrtæus (II).

No memorials survive to mark the short period of the Persian administration (343–332); Artaxerxes III is said to have repeated, or even surpassed, the excesses of Cambyses (p. 149, *ad fin.*). When the Macedonians advanced into Asia and Alexander had won the battle of Issus, he was confronted by a practically new Egyptian kingdom under his compatriot (relation?) and personal enemy, Amyntas, the son of Antiochus. This partisan of the Persian king had immediately abandoned the scene of war and taken ship for the Delta with a few of his own Greek troops. When he occupied Memphis, the inhabitants of the surrounding country were encouraged by the Persian governor Mazakes to attack his forces, which were as scanty as they were careless of their own security. Amyntas fell in the struggle. Almost exactly a year afterward, at the end of 332, Alexander the Great, with his phalanxes, entered Egypt unopposed (cf. on this subject Vol. IV, p. 118).

E. Egypt under the Ptolemys

The development of Egyptian civilization under the Macedonian supremacy extends over a period of exactly three hundred years. It is a period of high interest, inasmuch as the careful examination of the ground undertaken in modern times has brought to light an overwhelming mass of historical material in the shape of papyrus texts. Museums now contain any quantity of evidence upon the life and social customs of every class of the people, the government of the country, of the nomes, temples, and villages, upon the administration of justice, upon beliefs and customs. "A later age, with a better understanding of these demotic records, will be able to extract from them rich stores of information; the supplementary evidence of the Greek contemporary papyri will afford a more detailed picture of Hellenistic Egypt than of any other epoch in the history of the Nile valley" (Ad. Erman). Only a portion of this material has been examined hitherto. Thus the political history of the Ptolemaic kingdom, where it comes in connection with other civilizations, follows the same lines of develop-

ment as does the Hellenistic period, beginning with the Diadochi (cf. Vol. IV, pp. 59 and 301).

Upon the division of the empire into its provinces after the death of Alexander (Vol. IV, pp. 130 and 144), Egypt fell to the share of the Macedonian general Ptolemæus, the son of Lagos, who was only forty-four years old and began his rule in 323. The son of this king, Alexander Ægus, was in his minority and never visited Egypt, though reference is made to him as king upon the inscriptions of the ruling satrap, even after he had been murdered by Cassander, about 311 (cf. Vol. IV, p. 134). It was not until the year 304 that Ptolemæus I assumed the title of king, with the further title of "Deliverer" (Soter), apparently in imitation of Antigonus. About the end of 285 Ptolemæus Soter abdicated in extreme old age in favour of his son Ptolemæus II, Philadelphus (284 to 247), who was born in 304 and died two years later. This ruler was followed in direct succession by Ptolemæus III, Euergetes (247 to 221), Ptolemæus IV, Philopator (221 to 205), and by Ptolemæus V, Epiphanes, who did not attain his majority until 198 (ob. 181). This ruler left behind him three young children, namely, Ptolemæus VI, Philometor, his successor to the throne, a daughter Cleopatra, and Ptolemæus Euergetes. As a result of Syrian interference (Vol. IV, p. 153), the kingdom was divided for the space of a year in the year 170, as follows: Philometor ruled in Memphis, Euergetes in Alexandria (the latter is now to be entitled Ptolemæus VIII, as a son was born to Philometor about 165, who must be reckoned as Ptolemæus VII,[1] and who bore the surname of Eupator). From 169 to 164 all the three members of this family ruled in common as the "Philometor gods." Ptolemæus VI, who was temporarily expelled, returned in the year 163, when the Romans compelled his brother to content himself with Cyrene. However, in the year 146 Philometor was killed in Syria. Ptolemæus VIII appeared a few weeks afterward in Alexandria, killed the young Eupator, and ruled from that time, though with many interruptions, in association with his sister and her niece of the same name, till 116. In 115 Cleopatra, the niece, appointed her son Ptolemæus X, Lathyrus, as co-regent (Ptolemæus IX was a son of the elder Cleopatra and of Euergetes, and died in 119 as king of Cyprus); in 117 he was obliged to retreat to Cyprus, and evacuated Egypt in favour of his brother Ptolemæus XI, Alexander I. Alexander murdered his mother in 101. In the year 88 he died, and Lathyrus returned. He was succeeded by a daughter, Cleopatra Berenice. She reigned alone from 81 to 80, and then married her step-son Ptolemæus XII, Alexander II. Their joint rule only lasted nineteen days. They were both murdered by Ptolemæus XIII, Auletes ("the flute-player"), a son of Ptolemæus X by a woman of the people; he then ruled from 80 to 58. After his expulsion and the premature death of his elder daughter Cleopatra Tryphæna, the younger daughter Berenice ascended the throne (58 to 55), which she then lost, together with her life, at the hands of her father, whom the Romans had helped to return. Auletes himself left Egypt in the year 51 to his son, who was then ten years old. This ruler, Ptolemæus XIV, was continually quarrelling with his sisters Cleopatra (VII) and Arsinoë, and was conquered by Cæsar in the year 47, and drowned in the Nile while in flight. From that date until 44 Cleopatra and her younger brother,

[1] A commonly employed reckoning is: Philometor = Ptolemæus VII, Euergetes = Ptolemæus IX, whereas Eupator = Ptolemæus VI, and the king above mentioned as Ptolemæus IX = Ptolemæus VIII. These numbers are, however, out of harmony with the genealogical order.

Ptolemæus XV, ruled in common; the latter disappeared, and his place was taken by Cæsarion (Ptolemæus XVI), who was born between the years 36 and 47, and whose putative father was C. Julius Cæsar (Vol. IV, p. 382). On the collapse of the Ptolemaic kingdom in the year 30 both mother and son met their deaths. A daughter of Cleopatra and M. Antonius (cf. loc. cit., p. 396), Selene, afterward married Juba, the king of Mauretania. With the son of this couple, Ptolemæus, the dynasty became extinct in the far West (cf. loc. cit., p. 402).

Alexandria, the brilliant commercial town, the centre of court life and learning, rises from its obscurity at the outset of the Ptolemaic period, and after a few decades becomes the centre of gravity of the Hellenistic East. Naturally the story of the foundation of this capital by Alexander the Great was repeated without hesitation after a short time. Side by side with the truly fabulous incidents of this Greek account we have the granite "Satrap stele," the earliest existing Egyptian monument from the time of Alexander, dating from the seventh year of King Alexander Ægus, that is, about 317 B.C. (cf. above). The inscription announces the restoration of the "land of Buto" (p. 668) to that goddess, and begins: "His Majesty was in Asia (it is erroneous to complete this old and well-known formula with the words 'on a campaign'), when a man called Ptolemæus was ruler in Egypt, a flourishing man with strong arms, with an understanding counsel, a leader of soldiers. . . . He erected his capital, which is called 'The Fortress of the King (Meri-Ra-sotep-en-Amon) Alexander,' on the shore of the sea of the Greeks; formerly it was called Rakote." As the special mention of the Egyptian royal title shows, there is an actual reference here to Alexander the Great; none the less the context makes it clear that, in the opinion of contemporaries, Alexandria was founded by Ptolemæus seven years after the death of the conqueror. Such a piece of evidence, in itself almost irrefutable, can be further supported by a closer examination of the campaigns of Alexander, and also weakens the theory that the Alexandria of Issus was built upon the initiative of the conqueror whose name it bears. For Egypt Alexander had little time to spare; his visit to the Oasis of Amon is undoubtedly purely fictitious. The king knew that his real opponents were in the East. After the fall of Tyre and Gaza he was master of the sea, and the supposition that he journeyed westward to visit an ancient god, or a new harbour, is obviously superfluous in view of the speedy travelling thereby involved, the more so as the conqueror is known not to have even visited Upper Egypt. He entrusted the Delta to Cleomenes of Naucratis, having no reason to inflict any disabilities on the old Greek colony. Ptolemæus I, however, began his government with the execution of Cleomenes, and reduced Naucratis to the position of a provincial Egyptian parish; then the fitting opportunity arrived for the foundation of the new capital, the situation of which was determined by his more accurate local knowledge. The town, which received its name in honour of the great conqueror, contains a splendid tomb of Alexander and his corpse. We have many stories connected with the acquisition of the body by Ptolemæus.

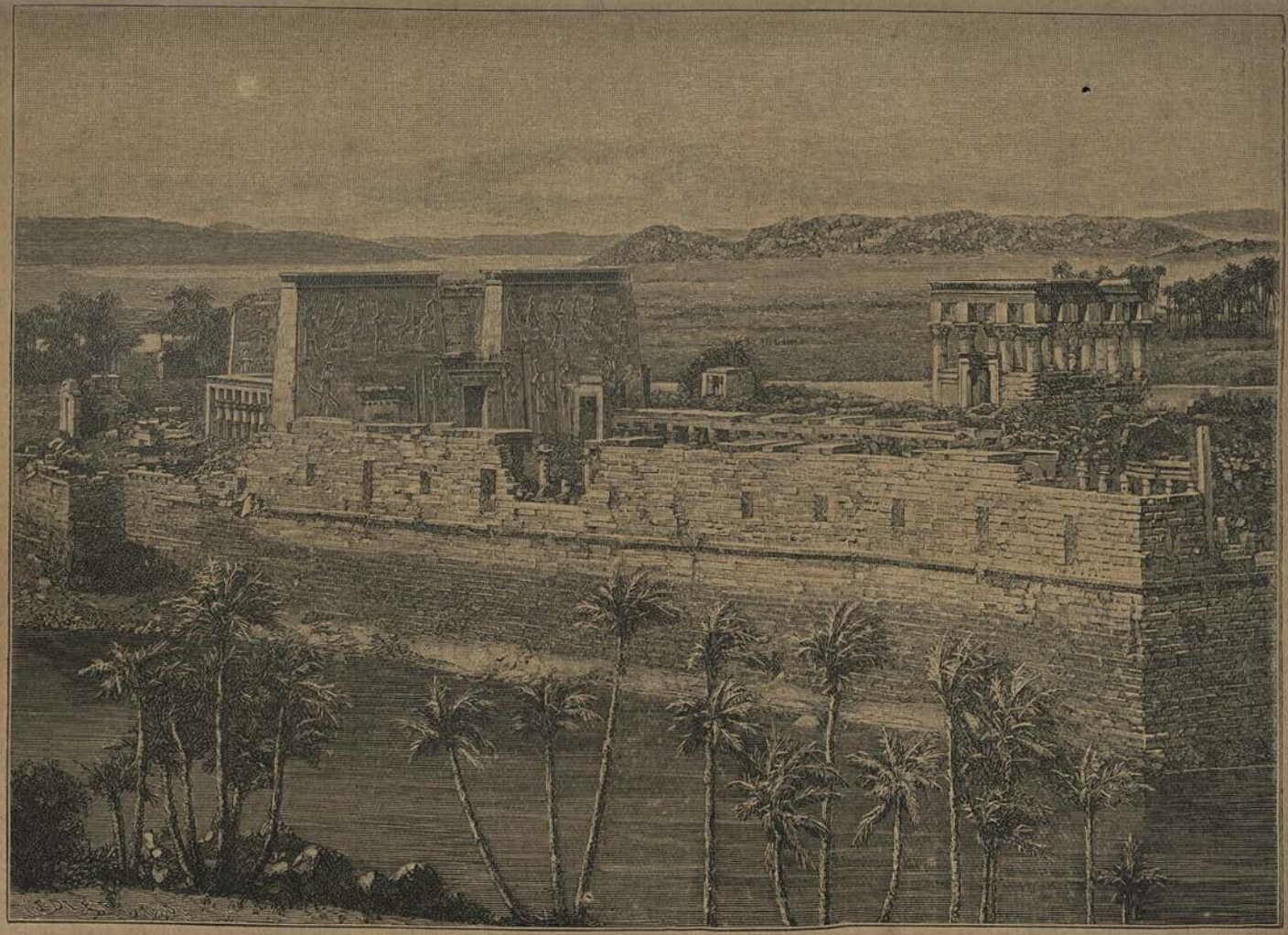
Though he was no general, and cannot be compared with the other great Diadochi, yet the son of Lagos showed himself a clever politician, both in home government and foreign relations. His authority over this foreign country rested necessarily upon the support of bands of Greek mercenaries, the "Macedonians." This fact, however, did not prevent him from asserting his position as successor of the Pharaohs and son of the native gods. The introduction of a new god was

highly desirable in order to connect the capital, the St. Petersburg of Egypt, with the religious districts of the country. For this reason "Sarapis" (Serapis; cf. p. 653), the new transformation of Osiris, naturally obtained prompt recognition; but within his chief sanctuary at Alexandria the god assumed characteristics so thoroughly Greek that he was always considered a foreign importation, although the theory that he was derived from Sinope in Pontus rests upon a misunderstanding. During the recently concluded investigations of the Serapeion at Alexandria two large subterranean tombs have been found artistically decorated.

Ptolemæus II made many great architectural improvements in Alexandria; his most famous foundation, the learned society which was maintained at the cost of the State, in the Museion, remained purely Greek in character, and achieved no results of importance for Egyptian history. On the other hand, the king proceeded to provide a stricter method of supervision for the Nile valley, the necessity for which had long been forced upon him by the growth of inconvenience and disorder. Colonies of Greek soldiers were settled in two places, which their families soon provided with a population; these were Ptolemais near Abydos, and Crocodilopolis in the Fayûm (p. 611), which was now called Arsinoë after the sister and consort of the king. For marriages of this kind precedents were to be found in Egypt of early date, such as induced the second of the Lagides to marry his own sister, who had been twice a widow (cf. p. 149). The action of Ptolemæus stands in contrast to the marriage policy of his father, who allied himself in this way with the courts of most Greek centres of civilization, though it was a policy that proved as incapable of realizing the hopes based upon it as had the system in vogue at the period of the Amarna letters (p. 641). Ptolemæus III also took his sister Berenice to wife; his successors, however, considered this custom as valid only for their own family.

Of the first three Ptolemaic kings the warlike Euergetes (the elder) attained the greatest measure of success in foreign affairs; all, however, opened the path to Greek influence in Egypt so widely that at a later period, even under the most unfavourable circumstances, Hellenism fully maintained its ground. Egyptian nationalism was forced to accommodate itself to this state of affairs. Relations between the king and the temples now become characterized by a stronger emphasis of the personal element. The payment of thanks to the gods is no longer a prominent feature; more important is the acknowledgment of the priesthoods of the royal gifts made to them (an instance is the formal decree of honour issued from Canopus in favour of Ptolemæus III and Queen Berenice). A resolution regarding Ptolemæus V on the "Rosetta stone" is conceived in a spirit of greater piety. Both of these records were recopied in hieroglyphic, demotic, and Greek writing. With the discovery of the black basalt Rosetta stone (179) the science of Egyptology began. This monument was erected in 196 to commemorate the fact that "King Ptolemæus, who lives for ever, beloved of Ptah the benefactor, the son of King Ptolemæus and Queen Arsinoë, the gods of Philopator, who overwhelms the temples with benefits," had relieved the country of taxes and customs, had remitted arrears and had quashed all prosecutions, on the occasion of the proclamation of his majority.

In previous years there seemed but small prospect of duration for the Ptolemaic dynasty. Not only the Greek neighbouring States, but also the Egyptians themselves, had risen in revolt. We hear of a native prince, Horhetep in Thebes



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE ON THE ISLAND OF PHILAE (PTOLEMAEAN-ROMAN PERIOD), VIEWED FROM THE SOUTH-WEST, FROM THE ISLAND OF BIGEH

After a photograph)

("year 4"), and also of a certain Anchtu, who is said to have ruled fourteen years. Hence the revolt in the south must have begun during the second half of the reign of Ptolemæus IV, the early years of which had already survived an attempted revolution made by a Greek mercenary of royal rank, Cleomenes III of Sparta. A fugitive from his native land, he landed a small force in Alexandria, and was there placed in custody; however, he escaped (about 219), made a vain attempt to induce the astounded inhabitants to "rise for freedom," and finally fell upon his own sword. The town, which was not usually disturbed by yearnings for this object, fell into a state of wild confusion, Ptolemæus IV fled, and the rebels seized upon his favourites, who came to a dreadful end. And from that time onward the "delightful rabble of Alexandria" made themselves prominent by recurrent outbursts ending in bloodshed even under the Romans.

From the rapid change of rulers after Ptolemæus VII, shown by the list of kings (p. 690), we can easily conclude that the last century and a half of the dynasty of the Lagides forms a sad period of Egyptian history. If, however, we concentrate our attention solely upon the monuments erected at that time, a wholly different impression will be formed; the period of the decadence displays as much of architectural vigour as it does of political weakness, a fact which may well be borne in mind in estimating the importance of earlier periods in the history of Egypt. The artistic temple of Philæ (see plate, "Ruins of the Temple on the Island of Philæ (Ptolemæan Roman Period"), the beautiful pylons and the deep feeling displayed by the halls and columns of Edfu, Esneh, and Dendera, which remain the best examples of Egyptian architecture, with the exception of Thebes, — these all belong to a period of constant disturbances and of continual murders within the royal family, notwithstanding the testimony of such representations as that within the temple of Der el-Medineh (behind Medinet Habu), where the brothers Ptolemæus VI and VIII, with their sister Cleopatra, can be seen making offerings in common, and dividing their titles with true brotherly love. On the other hand, we have much evidence for the fact that commercial relations were steadily maintained, especially with countries beyond the Red Sea. The connection with India remained unshaken; an embassy from that country successfully approached the victorious Augustus shortly after the fall of the Ptolemaic kingdom. Together with the blessings of the Nile floods and the harvests they produced, the lion's share of which the kings during this period, as during all others, were careful to secure to themselves, taxes and harbour duties raised the revenue to the amount of about two millions five hundred thousand pounds yearly, even under the corrupt and careless government of the "flute-player" (p. 690 *ad fin.*).

From the time that a Roman embassy in the year 168 had succeeded with mere threats in driving the Seleucid Antiochus Epiphanes out of Egypt, which he had practically conquered (Vol. IV, p. 154), the house of the Ptolemys had become dependent upon Rome. Ptolemæus VIII, Euergetes, whom the meticulous truthfulness of his Alexandrine subjects had named "King Potbelly" (Physkon), had done many a mean and disgraceful action. Under the government of this bloodthirsty buffoon the Egyptian State had missed the opportunity of assuming its due position in juxtaposition to Rome. Physkon, though he did not mind blood, had an aversion to war; he fled before the trouble he had raised, and took refuge at Rome itself. Henceforward there was usually to be found a Ptolemaic pretender

to the throne in Rome, or one who sent appeals to the Senate from Cyprus or Cyrene.

Lathyrus was most probably one of these candidates for the position of Pharaoh, otherwise he would not have been able to appear as a conqueror in Palestine during the twenty years of his authority in the island of Cyprus; from Palestine he was driven out by the Jewish generals of his mother Cleopatra and his brother Alexander. However, in the year 88 the Egyptian throne fell vacant, and he was able to seize it without the consent of the Senate, for Rome was at that time threatened by Mithradates of Pontus (Vol. IV, p. 70) and was even forced (about 86) to make overtures to the Ptolemaic ruler with a view of securing the help of his fleet. Lathyrus received Lucullus the ambassador of Sulla with extravagant hospitality, but clung tenaciously to his fleet. This attempt to initiate a policy of independence was as ill-timed as it was lacking in enterprise, and led to no successful issue. The cause of Mithradates did not advance as had been expected, party divisions in Rome continued, and Lathyrus was obliged to turn his attention to a dangerous revolt in Upper Egypt. Once again the centre of insurrection was Thebes, which was now, as before, the residence of the higher administrative officials of the priestly colleges, and possessed a royal bank, records of the transactions of which have recently been discovered. On this occasion this old and sacred town was not spared; the king devoted it to destruction (about 83), and when the geographer Strabo visited the spot about sixty years later, he found but a few villages scattered in the midst of a large area of ruins.

After the death of Lathyrus, stories of scandal are the only evidence to show that the falling Ptolemaic dynasty retained any vitality. The succession invariably followed in the female line. Whenever the occupant of the throne lost his power, the nobles and the population of Alexandria turned forthwith to the nearest female relation, who could choose a brother or a cousin to share her throne after she had been exalted to the position of queen. A natural result of these endogamous marriages was the fact that legitimacy depended upon relation to the female line. As Max L. Strack has proved, this change of ideas became definitely stereotyped about the time of Physkon (between 145 and 116). Moreover, the marriages of Queen Berenice, the daughter of Auletes, with two foreigners had proved entirely unfortunate.

None the less the last representatives of the Ptolemaic house in Egypt rose to a certain height of grandeur as compared with their immediate predecessors, and their fall was tragical in the extreme (Arsinoë, Ptolemæus XIV, the famous Cleopatra, and her son Cæsarion). For the ultimate destiny and the conquest of Hellenised Egypt, cf. Vol. IV, p. 382, and pp. 397 to 399.

F. Egypt under Roman Government

(*a*) *From Augustus to Constantine.* — In the Roman period Egypt, like other countries bordering the Mediterranean, is no longer of political importance in the history of the world. Egypt was not even one of those frontier provinces for the possession of which Rome was forced to struggle: it was only against the Ethiopian kingdom of Meroë that comparatively harmless punitive expeditions were occasionally undertaken. The "dodekaschoinos" (ninety-six mile land) which bordered the upper district beyond Assuan in the 23° latitude was permanently occupied

by small divisions of the imperial troops; here Augustus founded the great temple of Talmis (the modern Kalabsha), to which additions were made by his successors until the time of Septimus Severus. Within the empire Egypt was justly regarded as the "granary" (cf. Vol. IV, p. 406); of its harvest products a considerable proportion was invariably assigned beforehand to the maintenance of the population of Rome. Augustus, who appropriated the possessions and the property of the Ptolemys as being the heir of Cæsarion, kept the whole country under his personal supervision; as "father of the fatherland," he thus made the mistress of the world entirely dependent upon his imperial will.

For administrative purposes Egypt proper was divided into about forty nomes, the chief authority in each being a "strategus" (sheriff and judicial officer); especially populous nomes, such as that of Arsinoë, were supervised by two of these officers. The viceroy (Hegemon or Eparchos) was chosen by the emperor from the Roman knightly order. This chief official resided in Alexandria, and his duty apparently was to travel through the country throughout the year. Two Epistrategi were created for his relief, one being placed over the seven nomes of Middle Egypt ("Heptanomis"), the second over the fifteen of Upper Egypt. For the rest, all Romans of senatorial rank were forbidden by a special decree from visiting the country without the emperor's special permission. In the year 19 A. D. Germanicus disobeyed this regulation to his own detriment (Vol. IV, p. 414).

The Roman emperors did not abandon the divine attributes which the possession of the throne of Horus conferred upon them; they were thereby provided with an excuse for continuing the architectural labours of the Pharaohs. Tiberius improved the shrines of Medamot and Karnak in Thebes in the name of Osiris, who inclined his "fair countenance" upon him in return. Vespasian, who made an unusually long stay in Alexandria upon the outbreak of the war with the Jews, ordered the work of restoration to be begun upon the temple of Latopolis. It was at that period that the sound given out by the Colossus of Memnon (p. 625 *ad fin.*) became known to the West. Hadrian, in whose life and travels Egypt holds a place of some importance, also visited the statue in the year 131, as is testified by the Æolic verses on the pediment by Julia Balbilla. The death of the emperor's favourite, Antinous (Vol. IV, p. 471), provided him with an excuse for founding a new nome in his honour in the capital town of Antinoë (not far from El-Amarna). Moreover, in the course of this imperial visit the Egyptian customs of that time seem to have developed a practical activity. The mother country of the Isis worship, which had now invaded Rome, was ready to display its marvels. A quarrel between Memphis and Heliopolis concerning the sacred bull was even brought for decision before the philosophical emperor. The struggle between the nomes concerning the relative value to be attached to their animals had long become notorious, but was perhaps not wholly displeasing to Roman authority. The knowledge of the hieroglyphic writing was then dying out even among the priestly classes, as is shown by an inscription in Upper Egypt of a dedication in honour of the "lord of both countries, autocrator Cæsar, the son of Ra, lord of the crowns, Trajanus Hadrianus Sebastus." On the other hand, the learned society founded in Alexandria was in a highly flourishing condition, and at the time of Philadelphus had become the meeting point for all scientific investigators. The Museion continued to flourish under Antoninus Pius, a portrait of whom has been found in Medinet Habu, together with inscriptions in Dendera, Philæ, Esneh, and the oasis

of Chargeh, as well as under his successors, until the time of Septimius Severus, who also succeeded in destroying the resonant properties of the statue of Memnon as a result of his attempts to repair it.

Alexandria remained the great centre for the distribution of Indian products westward. Even the contemporaries of Augustus were astounded at the rapid rise of this trade and the great fleet possessed by Egyptian traders. The hybrid population of Alexandria had become utterly spoiled, and was continually breaking into revolt, until this troublesome peculiarity was definitely checked by a cruel massacre inflicted upon the town by Caracalla in the year 216. The trenchant measures instituted by this emperor for the future government of Alexandria were cut short by his premature death. To the time of Decius (249 to 251) belongs the last of the hieroglyphic inscriptions in the temples referring to a Roman emperor. Twenty years later Egypt formed part of the conquests of Zenobia for a short period (cf. p. 295, and Vol. IV, p. 453). A decree remains issued in her name and in that of her son Vaballath in favour of a Jewish synagogue. Aurelian wrested the Nile valley from this new oriental empire. But in Egypt as elsewhere the signs of approaching disruption become apparent from this time onward. We constantly hear of rebel emperors in Alexandria, and also of incursions made by the neighbouring desert tribes in Upper Egypt. Diocletian himself was ultimately obliged to reconquer (between 284 and 296) the whole country, which had fallen into a state of wild confusion. Even this emperor seems to have abandoned the district to the south of Philæ to the "Nobates" (Nubians). Egypt had been converted to Christianity before the accession of Constantine to the sole government, — a process reflected in the new administrative measures which he issued. The patriarch of Alexandria and the bishops, together with the rapidly developing bureaucracy, were the ruling powers under the new constitution.

(*b*) *From Arcadius to Justinius II.* — Several changes were made in the division of the country during the fourth century. Arcadius, the first "East Roman" emperor, divided the Delta and the Nile valley as far as Philæ into three provinces each, — Augustamnika, Augusta Secunda, and Ægyptiake (the Eastern, Central, and Western Delta); Arcadia (Heptanomis), the "nearer" and upper Thebaïs. Justinian, whose administrative edicts confirmed the heavy taxation system then in force, had appointed two "duces" (dukes) to Alexandria in addition to the Augustan prefects already existing. To the age of his successor, Justinus II (565–578), belongs a characteristic inscription found at Philæ: "By the providence of the Lord God and the good fortune of our pious lords, Flavius Justinus and Ælia Sophia, the everlasting Augusti and Imperatores, and of Tiberius Neos Constantinus, the divinely protected Cæsar, and by the goodness of Theodorus, the illustrious Decurio, Dux, and Augustalis of the Thebaid province, this wall (on the quay of the island) was erected for the first time under the blessing of the holy martyrs and of the most reverend the bishop Abba Theodorus, (and further) by the zeal and moderation of the Mena, the most excellent Singularii of the troops of the Dux on the 18th Choiak, in the eleventh year of the period of taxation (= 14th December, 577). May it be for good!" In later times, especially under the Mohammedan supremacy, the Egyptian Christians reckoned their chronology from the "era of the martyrs," which began in the year 284, and formed a permanent memorial of the fierce persecution of the professing Christians by the emperor Diocletian (cf. Vol. IV, pp. 193, 458).

(c) *The Progress of Culture.* — The extensive discoveries of papyri at Arsinoë (p. 672) provide the most valuable material for tracing the development of culture and administration, especially during the imperial period. The province which on account of its extent had been entrusted to two strategi — to the strategus of the Heraclides district (including the capital) and to the strategus of the "Themistes and Polemon district" — remained in exactly the same condition in which the rule of the Ptolemies had left it. This remark applies also to the taxation system and the personal "liturgies;" that is, the obligations to undertake public duties and positions generally for the whole of one year. "I find," so runs the report of the governor, M. Sempronius Liberalis, dated New Year's Day, 154, "that many have left their country in consequence of the poor conditions of domestic life, and that others, alleging illness, have escaped the performance of certain liturgies by flight. These are even now residing abroad, afraid to return in view of warrants issued for their arrest." Then follows a solemn summons to return within three months, and promise is made of the emperor's clemency even to those who may have enlisted in robber bands. But the liturgies remained unaltered; vouchers for their performance were issued. Dams had to be repaired or erected by the poor villagers. Pasion, for instance, who was a village patriarch under Caracalla, draws up a list of sixty names for work upon a dam. A money deposit was apparently required before beginning certain liturgies involving greater responsibility. Such was the case for the post of tax collector, which was considered as specially burdensome. "In accordance with government orders, every one is to perform the liturgy assigned to him in his own village only, and not also in others. As, however, the village clerk has a grudge against the defendant, who is the tax collector in his own village, he has renewed his demands upon him." Declarations of property for assessment ("Apographæ") are naturally forthcoming. The cattle-breeder Nepheros thus makes a declaration in writing: "On the demand of the officials, how many pigs I possess at this time, I swear by the providence of Commodus our lord that I have one hundred and sixty-five, which I am fattening for the market of Psenkollechis. If you wish to recount them, I will produce them." Taxation receipts also form an extensive collection. Besides the poll-tax, we have mention of taxes on dams, pasture grounds, asses, camels, sheep, trades, rents, and sacrifices. The garland tax, for the golden triumphal wreaths of the Cæsars, was a burden on the provinces. Declarations to the authorities of births and deaths are also found, together with lists of those inhabiting house property. Survivors were careful not to delay registering a death, lest taxes payable by the deceased should be demanded of themselves.

Private transactions are represented by the bills of purchase and sale, and acknowledgments of debt, at high rates of interest (ten to twenty per cent). The decline in the value of the coinage from 250 A.D. onward is very striking. In the year 152 a camel cost eight hundred drachmæ, but a hundred and twenty times as much in the year 289, namely, sixteen talents and three thousand drachmæ. Strangely enough, seller and purchaser make statements in the deeds of contract of any distinguishing personal marks they may have about them. The "distinctive marks" in this case are an inalienable characteristic of the person to whom they are assigned by the authorities. Thus a married couple who made some delay in registering the birth of twin sons, sign themselves, "Colluthus, thirty years of age, no distinctive marks; Satyrus (his wife), twenty years old, no distinctive marks."

A close inspection can find interesting material even in the dry registers and accounts of the administrators of temple property. In the reign of Caracalla there was a large shrine of Jupiter Capitolinus in Arsinoë, the foundation of which may be connected with the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212 (Vol. IV, p. 448). The chief priest of this rich temple carried on a good deal of banking business: "on the 19th of Pharmuthi, lent to Paas, the son of Apollonus, father unknown, his security, Aurelius Chœremon, a former chief priest and councillor, three thousand drachmæ." All honour to the noble guarantor for thus filling the place of poor Paas, unknown father, even if only in such a transaction as this. We are enabled to glance at police records and wills, recipe books, books of magic, and fragments of novels; letters also give a faithful picture of the life of the period. The peasant Hermocrates earnestly begs his lazy son Chairas to come home and help in agricultural operations, or his little property will be ruined. New levied recruits write from Italy to their parents and friends. Finally a "libellus" has been discovered: "to the official inspectors of sacrifices of the village of Alexander island (sent) by Aurelius Diogenes, son of Satabus, seventy-two years of age, with a scar on the right eyebrow. As I have ever diligently served the gods, so now under your inspection have I offered sacrifices in accordance with your instructions, have poured drink offerings, eaten the flesh of victims, and therefore beg certification of the same as under." The busy official Aurelius Syrus then makes the attestation under date June 26, 250. The document is consequently one of the certificates of vindication necessary in the great persecution of the Christians by the Emperor Decius (Vol. IV, p. 191).

The soil of Egypt was more favourable to the propagation of Christianity than were many other provinces of the empire (cf. Vol. IV, pp. 188–190 and 218); but the peculiarities of the Egyptian national character often produced the most extraordinary conceptions of and additions to the Christian teaching, and such as the fathers of the Church found the greatest difficulty in combating. Hermit life and a kind of monasticism begin from the middle of the Ptolemaic period, and very probably still earlier; even in 162 B. C. there was a hermit in the Serapion of Memphis who had voluntarily retired from the world, and was regarded for many years as the advocate of the oppressed. On the other hand, it appears from Coptic texts, that is, texts of a late period, that Jesus Christ and his mission could only be "expounded" to the people through the medium of the legend of the winged solar disk (p. 630); the Saviour passed from place to place through the Nile valley as a new Horus, everywhere driving out and destroying the enemy. Again, inscriptions on the tombs of the time of the early emperors exist which bear a strong resemblance to the Christian theory of existence. About the period of Marcus Aurelius must be placed the poetical Greek text, which, however, evades any direct reference to the spiritual world, inscribed on the tombstone of the negro slave Epityncanon. "If thou knowest a man, Pallas by name, the Dekadarch and overseer of the quarries of Antinoë, to him did a god bring me as a slave from the land of Ethiopia, where my parents dwelt. In colour I was black among men, even as the sunbeams coloured me; but my soul wreathed in white flowers gained me the favour of my understanding master, for beauty cannot compare with a good soul. This has adorned my black body. Now I have taken both soul and body with me into the grave, and nought remains of me but my name." To the same period belong the pre-Christian mummy-pictures of Hawara (at the entrance of the

Fayûm) collected by Heinrich Brugsch, R. v. Kaufmann, Flinders Petrie, and others, which show a coloured likeness of the deceased, often masterly in style and treatment; these portraits are painted on wood or canvas, and placed at the head of the mummy wrappings. The earliest Christian tombstones of this district often depict the deceased as praying in a church and employ the ringed cross, the hieroglyphic sign of "life" instead of the quadrangular cross. "Lord, let the soul rest in peace of thy servant Mena, prelector of the (church of) the Holy Apostles, and lay him in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; may he have part and lot equally with Thy saints," so runs a Greek epitaph.

Under the Byzantine rule, inscriptions were written in Coptic. The formula is considerably enlarged. For a deceased prelate of the Jeremias monastery at Memphis, "our father Abraham of Tsebik," appeal is made to the Holy Trinity, the archangel Michael, "the holy Gabriel, Abba Jeremias, Abba Enoch, Amma (= sainted woman) Sibylla Maria," and other saints. Constant mention is made of Saint Mena, the patron saint of the country. The correspondence of his name with that of the ancient king Menes (p. 600) may be more than a coincidence. Pilgrimages were made to his grave at Alexandria, and the pilgrims brought away consecrated oil in bottles which bear pictures of the saint with camels kneeling before him. Business documents were often indited at this period with pious turns of phrase. A hiring contract with a workman of Upper Egypt of the year 605 begins thus solemnly: "In the name of the Lord and Master Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour, under the government of our most pious ruler of the earth, Flavius Phocas, the everlasting lord and emperor." Attractive by reason of its subject-matter is a declaration of guarantorship the conclusion of which is unfortunately lost, made by Gerontius on March 25, 618, under Heraclius, the last of the East Roman emperors who ruled over Egypt. It has reference not to the property but to the moral conduct of a third person; he had been guilty of some illicit love intrigue, and the temporal court desired to obviate any recurrence of such proceedings. How far church discipline and civil authority supported one another in this case is not clear. The document runs: "to Flavius Basilius, the illustrius Comes, and most eloquent judge of this town of the Arsinoïtes, Aurelius Gerontius, son of Pamutius, fruit merchant of the same place and inhabiting the farm of the Centauri, sends greeting. I voluntarily acknowledge, declare, and guarantee before your highness, that Aurelius Nilammon . . . shall not be accused henceforward either of private or of public commerce with Theodora. If, however, at any time the said Nilammon should be convicted of meeting the said Theodora, I, Gerontius, will answer for it as his guarantor before your worship." In the Egypt of earlier times, such cases rarely came before a judge. However, if the two lovers lived in patience for another year, they might perhaps hope for gentler treatment after the Persian conquest of the country.

(*d*) *The Persian Conquest and the End of the East Roman Supremacy.*— Jerusalem had even then fallen before the troops of the Sassanide Khosrau II Aparvez (cf. p. 287). In the year 619 the Persians made their way into the Delta. "The Romans are conquered in the neighbouring country," thus begins a Sure in the Koran. The Patricius Nicetas fled, as did also the patriarch Joannes, the pious head of the Egyptian established church. The new government, however, made common cause with the Monophysites who had been previously oppressed

(Vol. IV, p. 208), thereby winning over to themselves the majority of the Egyptians. The Jacobite Benjamin became patriarch, and in the Fayûm the place of the illustrious Basilius was taken by "our all-praised lord Saralakeoxan," whose existence is known to us from his kitchen accounts. The Persian supremacy lasted only ten years, during which a stately palace was erected in Alexandria. The victorious Asiatic campaigns of the indefatigable Heraclius forced Khosrau's successor to conclude a peace, under the terms of which Egypt was evacuated in 629 by the Persian military governor Shahrbarâz accompanied by Benjamin.

The restoration of the Byzantine power was not, however, destined to be permanent. The emperor endeavoured to secure religious harmony by promulgating a formula of union which should be acceptable to the Jacobites (Vol. IV, p. 209), but the attempt was made too late; the conciliatory efforts of the patriarch Cyrus of Alexandria proved equally fruitless, and were nullified by the cry for "pure doctrine" raised by the school of his predecessor Joannes. Consequently, the appearance of the caliph Omar's troops under Amru in the year 639 (p. 301) was in no way opposed to Egyptian aspirations. After the East Romans had been defeated near Memphis and Heliopolis, Amru found the "governor" Georgius (also known as Mukankis to Arab chronicles) ready to make a peaceful submission. At the end of the year 640, the emperor had lost everything except the western part of the Delta, and his death in February, 641, shattered the last hopes of his adherents. The patriarch Cyrus was successful in obtaining a promise from Amru of future protection for the Christian churches; he then surrendered Alexandria. On September 17, 642, the last representatives of the Roman supremacy left the shores of Egypt.

2. EGYPT UNDER MOHAMMEDAN RULE TO THE TURKISH CONQUEST

A. Egypt as a Province of the Caliphate

While Egypt as a whole could welcome the Arabs as liberators, this reverse of fortune was a serious matter for Alexandria. The legend that Amru burnt the library of the Ptolemys is pure fiction: the library was then no longer in existence; but the town lost its predominant position, which was taken by the Arab encampment "Fostât" to the east of the island of Roda (see the map, p. 332); extraordinary taxation was laid upon it, and its walls were finally dismantled after the East Romans had made an unsuccessful attempt to recapture it in the year 645. On the other hand, the monophysite Copts had no particular reason to be dissatisfied with the change of masters. The immigration of the Arab tribes and the settlement of individual bodies of troops does not appear to have alienated any great amount of land at the outset: taxation was endurable compared with the Roman bloodsucking methods, notwithstanding the growing rapacity of the caliph in Medina and the heavy burden of the poll-tax upon the Christians. The only change undergone by the administrative officials was that of their official titles; the epistrategus became a mudîr, the strategus a mamûr, etc.; among new created higher offices we find those of the chief Kadi, the treasury master, and the chief of the body-guard, who also performed the duties of minister of war. The independence of Mohammedan methods of administering justice is especially noteworthy,

the office of chief Kadi very rarely changed hands, and this at a time when change was rather the rule than the exception for the higher State offices.

A further point of importance is the fact that from this period onward our knowledge of Egyptian history is derived from writers who looked upon the world from an entirely fresh point of view. This is so far an advantage, in that the course of events, to which the Arab historians clung closely, is so narrated as to give a true picture of the time reliable as regards the facts reported; but everywhere we are obliged to make allowance for those characteristics peculiar to the pure oriental art of story-telling. Realism, in an Arab relating what he has seen, is a sense which, though keen, is easily disturbed. As long as he has to treat of every-day occurrences, his narrative is above suspicion; we now gain for the first time a true picture of the methods of irrigation in vogue, and a picture drawn from experience of the effects in the Nile valley produced by a failure of the crops or an outbreak of plague. But should some striking personality appear upon the scene, should political changes or crises be connected with his rise, the historian is at once led astray amid the maze of conflicting reports. If the events he describes lie somewhat in the past, an admixture of the legendary appears forthwith. From fatalism to romanticism — such is the method of relation adopted by the fatalist, a method dictated by the theory which predetermines for him the course of events; a method, too, by which even antagonists of the theory are often unconsciously attracted. If the conqueror or his race maintain their supremacy, they become the nucleus for a compensating set of legends. Generally speaking, however, Arab historical writing abounds in examples calculated to arouse the pious awe, the sympathy or the abhorrence of subsequent generations. The historian does not often express his own opinions as such.

(*a*) *Under Othman, Ali, and the Omejjades.* — The conqueror Amru was not recognised in Medina as he had hoped; Othman removed him from the governorship of Egypt at an early period and entrusted this position to Abdallah ben Saad, who was able to conduct a successful series of military operations both in North Africa and in Nubia (Dongola). In the disturbances which brought about the overthrow of the caliphs Othman and Ali (cf. pp. 305 and 307) Amru worked for the Omejjade Muawija (Moáwiji) and was restored by him to the governorship in the year 659. On his death in 664, Muawija sent out men of sterner temper. However, in May, 667, Mohammed's old comrade Okba was cleverly ousted by Maslama, who concentrated all branches of the administration under his own supervision and allowed the Copts to build a church before the walls of Fostât. It is worthy of note that during the one hundred and nine years of the Omejjade supremacy Egypt had thirty-one different governors. Their attitude towards Christianity was at times hostile (in the year 723 the "idols," that is to say, pictures of the saints, were confiscated), at other times friendly, changes which the Christians had to bear as best they might: their first great revolt in the Delta, four years later, was ostensibly occasioned by the crushing burden of taxation.

(*b*) *Under the Abbassides.* — On July 31, 750, Merwan II, the last Omejjade caliph, fled to Egypt and was slain not far from Gizeh by his enemies, the adherents of Abul-Abba (cf. p. 318). For Egypt the supremacy of the Abbassides was a change for the worse; no less than sixty-seven governors succeeded one

another during the period ending with the year 868. Expeditions for the subjugation of North Africa made a heavier call upon the resources of the country. From 762 onward the Shiitic Mohammedans become prominent; Ibn Memdûd in 779 was the first Egyptian governor of Turkish origin; he attempted, but in vain, to secure his position by the most unscrupulous means. In the year 810 the "castle in the air," the present citadel of Cairo, was built above Fostât; the Nilometer had been removed a century before from the ruins of Memphis to the island of Roda. From 815 to 827 a band of fifteen thousand Mohammedan exiles from Andalusia held possession of Alexandria, and were only driven out after a long struggle. A heavy blow to the Copts was the visit of the caliph Mamûn in the year 832 (cf. p. 338 *ad fin.*); a crowd of Christian revolutionaries were slaughtered in his honour, and their co-religionists were rapidly despoiled of their landed property by the operation of a number of oppressive regulations. In modern times doubt has been cast upon the story that Mamûn attempted to open the great pyramid. The imposition of new burdens, to be ascribed especially to Ahmed Ibn Mudabbir, the "tax devil," occasioned dangerous revolts, until the caliph Mutazz handed over the governorship of Egypt to the Turkish emir Bakbak in the year 868. In accordance with the custom of the period Bakbak sent his stepson Ahmed Ibn Tulûn to Egypt; his father had come from Bokhara with other Turkish slaves to Mamûn's court at Bagdad about 816 and had been advanced to a high position.

(*c*) *The Tulunides and the Ikshides.* — Ahmed Ibn Tulûn possessed the special qualities of the dynasty-founder in their entirety. While avoiding any appearance of enmity, he contrived to relieve himself of the dangerous proximity of Ibn Mudabbir, the treasurer; he lessened the oppression of the taxation system, without injuring the revenue of the country, was ever liberal and openhanded to his friends in the caliph's distant palace, and when his master grew suspicious and sent out armies against him, he averted all attacks by a timely distribution of bribes. By creating religious foundations he gained a reputation for piety and learning, and on hospitals and almshouses and on learned institutions he spent money as liberally as upon public buildings (such as the palace below the "castle of the air" and the mosque bearing his name in Cairo, finished in 879). About the same time he conquered Syria as far as the Taurus and Western Mesopotamia (v. p. 340, *ad fin.*); the completion of his designs was hindered by a revolt of his son Abbas, though this movement was soon put down. Defeated before Tarsus, Ibn Tulûn fell ill and returned to Fostât in 884, where he died at the age of fifty.

His house was not destined to endure for long. The second of his seventeen sons, Chumâraweih (884–895), who succeeded him, was a young man of weak physical powers, but brave, liberal, and unlike his father, averse to cruelty. With the assassination of Chumâraweih at Damascus, the splendour of the Tulunid rule came to an end. His two sons Djeish (895–896) and Harûn (896–904), were minors, and the Egyptian emirs appropriated treasures and power as they pleased; the caliph Muktafi captured Syria, and sent the Turkish general, Mohammed Ibn Suleimân, to invade Egypt. The last of the Tulunid governors, Sheibân, Harûn's uncle, was carried into captivity with his family, Fostât was sacked and the country subjugated.

The growing weakness of the Abbasside Caliphate enabled a Turkish governor of Egypt to found yet another dynasty, that of the Ikshid(id)es (935–969; cf.

p. 342); this was Mohammed, the son of Togdj, of Ferghana by race. In this case again, the founder acquired Palestine and part of Syria. After his death in 946, the negro Kafûr, a man of some talent, secured the power; from 965 he was even recognised as governor. His praises were sung by poets, whose inventive powers were stimulated by his munificence, and this liberated slave became the theme of numerous anecdotes, most of which were highly flattering to himself; he was an Epitynchanon (p. 698) living under the improved conditions of Mohammedanism. However, sixteen months after his death the Egyptian governorship had ceased, as an office, to exist.

B. The Fatemites

As early as the year 916 an army of the new Shiite Mahdi Obeidallah had made an incursion from the West for the first time and had temporarily occupied Alexandria and Central Egypt; a second invasion from the heretic Caliphate of North Africa had been repulsed in the year 936 by the Ikshide Mohammed. Now in the spring of 969, the indefatigable assailants advanced from Egypt from Barka under the leadership of Djauhar, the commander-in-chief of the fourth caliph Mo'izz (Muizz), Jakub Ibn Killis, a Jew who had embraced Mohammedanism and had been expelled by the vizier of Ahmed, the reigning Ikshide, proved of much assistance to Djauhar; after a battle at Gizeh, Fostât surrendered. A new quarter was at once laid out on the north of the town and named "El-Kâhira" (the town of victory) in accordance with the results of astrological inquiry. When the caliph appeared in person to take up his residence in the year 973, the new mosque El-Azhar, the future centre of Mohammedan learning, had been almost completed, as had also the government buildings and barracks; moreover an important frontier district had been conquered in Syria and the supremacy of the new régime had been everywhere established. Fostât (the modern "Old Cairo") soon became a mere suburb of the rapidly increasing Egyptian capital. Cairo even to-day remains the most populous centre of the Arabic Orient.

Obeidallah was indebted to his political successes for the recognition of his family descent from Ali and his wife Fatima (cf. p. 268); his real ancestor had been Abdallah Ibn Maimûn, a Persian oculist (cf. above, p. 342). In vain did the orthodox Abbasside caliphs in Irak proclaim the true genealogy of the Fatemites; in vain did the Karmates, who had hitherto supported the ambitions of the Fatemite Caliphate in the East, range themselves in hostility to Djauhar in Syria; in extent of territory, Mo'izz and his immediate successors surpassed all other Mohammedan potentates. The vision of an empire including the entire southern coast of the Mediterranean and governed from Egypt was for a short period almost completely realised; Fatemite governors were resident even in Mecca.

On the other hand, the actual power of the caliphs at Cairo was always a doubtful quantity. Ismaelitish teaching (p. 341) had never been dogmatically formulated; it recognised different grades of doctrinal knowledge, was generally speaking, esoteric in character, and consequently incapable of attracting foreign peoples as a whole. In Egypt its exponents were obliged to content themselves with adding Shiite formulæ to the existing forms of worship and with encouraging the Copts by their more lenient treatment. Their patriarch Ephraim was allowed to repair a ruined church adjoining the outer walls of Fostât. We are even informed that

the princes allowed religious discussions to proceed between the bishop Severus of Ashmunein and the chief Kadi. El Aziz (975–996), the son of Mo'izz, who subdued Damascus, conquered the East Romans in Northern Syria, and wrested Mossul from the Abbasside Empire, married a Christian woman, appointed Ibn Killis his vizier, and after his death replaced him by the Christian Isa Ben Nestorius. This splendour-loving emperor, who could even foretell the future, appears in tradition encircled with a halo of glory as also does the Hohenstaufen king, Frederick II, who succeeded El-Aziz as ruler of Sicily. To the Berber troops and tribes, with which Djauhar and Mo'izz had conquered Egypt, El-Aziz aided Turkish life-guards; negro contingents formed a third arm of the royal service under El-Hakim; quarrels and street riots between these foreign troops were the natural and increasing consequence.

El-Hakim (996–1021), the son of the Christian wife of El-Aziz, ascended the throne at eleven years of age; he was a strange and gloomy contrast to his father. For the next four years the emir Bargawân ruled as the king's guardian; he was then assassinated at the instigation of his ward. El-Hakim is said to have been so fond of darkness that he invariably held the council meetings at night; eventually no market or commercial traffic was allowed to begin before sunset. No sooner had the inhabitants of Cairo complied with this regulation than a further series of pettifogging prohibitions was issued. Women were absolutely forbidden to appear in public; they were not even allowed to look into the street from the heavily barred and latticed windows. The old Mohammedan law of abstinence from wine was extended by El-Hakim to include even honey; he forbade all games and sports. At length the general indignation found expression in the rebellion of Abu-Rakwa (1005 to 1007). Nevertheless the ingenious cruelties, treacheries, and falsehoods of El-Hakim continued unabated. Both Christians and Jews were burdened by regulations specially oppressive to their nationalities. Some accounts represent this terrible caliph as an intelligent promoter of learning, and there was an undercurrent favourable to him in the literature of the time. About the year 1017 a change took place in El-Hakim's opinions, and the "unbelievers" were once more treated with tolerance. The capricious caliph, readily susceptible to all influences of mysticism, was incited by the emissaries of the Persian Ishmaelites to proclaim that he should be worshipped as the divine successor of Ali or at least as a god; Dârasi, the subsequent founder of the Syrian sect of the Druses, even went so far as to preach this new doctrine in public. Murders and assassinations were committed in the streets and mosques; the Turkish mercenaries joined forces with the caliph's opponents, and in the year 1020 El-Hakim was forced to disown his prophets. On the 13th of February, 1021, he disappeared while taking a solitary ride in the Mokattam Mountains. His body was not recovered; hence the repeated appearance of false Hakims and the doctrine of the Druses concerning his translation. He was no doubt put to death by his equally cruel but more capable sister.

The latter, under the title of Sitt-el-Mulk ("mistress of the kingdom;" ob. about 1025), was regent for several years during the minority of her nephew, Ez-Zâhir (1021 to 1036), and Egypt once more enjoyed tranquillity. Ez-Zâhir also died, leaving a son seven years old, El-Mustânzir, who ruled from 1036 to 1094. This caliph remained a lay figure in the hands of his military commanders. He was often himself in want, and during his long reign the land was torn by political factions. Not until the year 1074, when Bedr el-Djemâli, the commander-in-chief, seized the

reins of power, was the Fatemite Empire partially restored to its former prosperity. Bedr's son, Elmelik el-Afdal (Alafdhal, p. 359), succeeded his father as actual ruler of Egypt. From the year 1099, when the Crusaders conquered Jerusalem, which only a year before had been reoccupied by El-Afdal, the history of Egypt becomes intimately connected with that of the Crusades (cf. Vol. VI). The lineal succession of the caliphs was no longer maintained even in theory. Mustâali (1094 to 1101), the youngest son of El-Mustânzir, was followed by Amir (1101 to 1130). He instigated the murder of El-Afdal, the administrator of the empire, and after nine years of misrule met the same fate and left no heir to the throne. A minor branch of the Fatemites was now elevated to the Caliphate in the person of Hafiz (1130 to 1149); Zâfir (1149–1154), Faïz (1154–1160), and Aladhid (Adid; 1160–1171) were the last representatives of this degenerate family.

Several large buildings, in addition to those already mentioned on p. 703, were erected in Cairo during the Fatemite period. Among these were three gates to the north of the city, defended by massive towers in the style of Byzantine fortresses. The library collected by the caliphs, with its numerous copies of the Koran, was never valued as it deserved. It suffered severely from pillage before the end of the Fatemite rule, and still more in later times, owing to its Shiite contents. Inscriptions of emirs, dating from the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century, which apparently consider the Fatemites as being of the "pure race," have been preserved at Assouan. Letters and commercial accounts are also numerous. After the tenth century they were written on paper or parchment instead of papyrus. A receipt of the year 992 begins: "Omar, the son of Mahdi, declares: I have from thee, O Mena, son of George of Tutun, actually received money for the black stallion, and this sum, according to the standard of El-Aziz, amounts to sixteen Azizic denarii." Pious formulæ are also of frequent occurrence in contracts between Christians and Mohammedans, or between members of either religion. We have also an example dating from the year 1014 of the complicated methods of sale employed by the Bedouins. The vendor was willing to dispose of only "the half" of a brood mare, the purchaser agreeing to wait till the birth of a foal, when he had the privilege of choosing one of the two animals.

C. The Ayubites (Ejjubites)

After the death of El-Afdal (cf. above) it appeared inevitable that Egypt would fall a conquest to the kingdom of Jerusalem. Tribute had already been paid to Amalric, and the Egyptians even looked upon this "King Morri" as their protector against the army of Nur ed-din, which advanced upon Cairo under the Kurd Shirku (p. 358) in the year 1163. The unwelcome liberator from Damascus was indeed at first obliged to retreat before the Franks, but returned in 1167. On this occasion his nephew Saladin distinguished himself in the defence of Alexandria. Nevertheless Amalric once more succeeded in "freeing" the land from the Syrians. He then plundered the inhabitants so unmercifully that they had no hesitation in accepting Shirku in 1169. He, however, died in the same year, and Saladin succeeded to the post of vizier. In 1171 he caused the name of the caliph Aladhid to be omitted from the prayers of the narrow-minded Sunnites, which had been reintroduced, and three days later the last of the Fatemites died a natural death. Saladin's desires for independence soon became so manifest that Nur ed-din made

preparations for an expedition against him, but died before he could set out. The sultan Saladin (1171–1193) was renowned during his life and deeply mourned at his death, and was afterwards glorified as a hero both in the East and in the literature of Western Europe.

The Ayubite dynasty is of no very great importance to the history of Egypt. Saladin only remained for eight years, including constant interruptions, in residence at Cairo; his continued presence in Syria then became necessary (cf. Vol. VI). In later times it became customary to refer to Saladin as the founder of many buildings and institutions; discoveries have even been made of inscriptions to that effect. It is certain that he obliterated all traces of the Shiites as far as possible, and that the names of some of his Fatemite predecessors were frequently replaced by his own upon the monuments. Egypt fell to the lot of his son, El-Aziz Othman (1193–1198), on the general division of the empire. His grandson, Mansur, a minor, was deprived of the sultanate by Aladil I, Saladin's brother (Adil; 1200–1218). His son Kâmil (1218–1238) is known to history through his agreement with Frederick II, which restored Jerusalem to the Christians. He was succeeded by two sons, Adadil II and Sâlich Ayub (1240–1249). The latter was the first sultan to form an army for service in the constant wars which had continued since the death of Saladin between the various Ayubite States of Nearer Asia. The force was composed of body-guards of Turkish slaves ("Mamluk") employed in all other parts of the empire, including Egypt. This army was stationed and trained at a permanent camp on the island of Rhoda in the Nile (Arabic "Bachr" = stream), hence the designation, "Bachritic Mamelukes." This community of warriors rendered excellent service in foreign wars. When the Crusading army under Louis IX of France conquered Damietta shortly before the death of Sâlich, the Mamelukes succeeded in preserving Egypt for his son Turanshah. He, however, was murdered within a few months, and his place was taken by his energetic stepmother, Shedjer ed-durr (1250–1257). Although nominally regent for her young son Musa, she married a Mameluke emir, Eibek, who put Musa to death and assumed the title of sultan himself. Shedjer ed-durr, enraged at this outrage upon her dignity, afterward murdered Eibek in turn, but almost immediately afterward shared the same fate. Eibek's younger son, Ali, was dethroned by his guardian, Kotuz (Kotus), in 1259, and with him the house of Saladin became extinct.

D. The Mameluke Sultans

(*a*) *The Bxchrites.* — Kotuz was not a Bachritic Mameluke in the strict sense of the term any more than his predecessor Eibek, but had held office as a palace dignitary. This short reign is memorable for the decisive victory gained by the Egyptians at Ain Djalud (Dshalut) in Palestine (September 3, 1260; cf. p. 370) over the Mongol army despatched by the great Khan Hulagu. This victory secured the province of Syria to Egypt, and at the same time protected the Nile valley from the inroads of the Mongol barbarians. No exploit of the Pharaohs ever surpassed in importance this deed of the Mamelukes. The battle of Ain Djalud saved Egypt from the fate of Irak. Kotuz, however, was murdered on his journey homeward by the emir Beibars, a leader of the Bachrites whom he had overlooked in the distribution of offices in Syria.

Beibars (1260 to 1277) was immediately recognised as sultan by his comrades, and the capital made no difficulty in performing in his honour the ceremonies of welcome which had been prepared for the reception of Kotuz. This event marks the beginning of the Egyptian Syrian dominion of the Bachritic Mamelukes. Irregularity in the succession, a military nobility of foreign liberated slaves openly increasing in numbers and appropriating all power to itself, cruelties on the part of certain emirs, — such were its chief characteristics. Nevertheless witness is frequently borne to the lenient treatment of enemies even within Egypt itself. This community of the Mamelukes, though a highly "mixed company" as far as the origin of individuals was concerned, succeeded in founding a permanent State. The organisation of modern European armies, based as it is upon the conception of military service as a profession, is largely indebted to the model provided by the Mameluke State. On the other hand, the endless gradation of officials at the sultan's court is probably to be referred to an imitation of the Byzantine government or of the feudal retainers of the Crusading princes in Syria.

From a religious point of view, the destruction of the Abbasside Caliphate at Bagdad (1258) proved highly advantageous to the new sultan, Beibars. He permitted certain fugitives of the overthrown dynasty to take refuge with him in the year 1261, and invested their chief, Abul Kasim, with the official title of caliph and the honorary title of "El-Mustanzir billah" ("the one called by God to be a helper"). In return, this descendant of Abul Abba, who had so unexpectedly risen to dignity in Cairo, gave the sultan the proper official consecration, but soon afterwards was treacherously handed over to the Mongols by Beibars, one of his cousins being made "caliph." Thus during the entire Mameluke period the Abbasside Caliphate was always represented in Egypt by a pseudo monarch, usually a feeble and disreputable character (p. 374). Once only, in 1412, and then only for six months, were the titles of sultan and caliph united in one ruler. After the Osman conquest the last caliph, Mutawakkil III, was carried off to Constantinople (p. 380). He was, however, permitted to return to Egypt in 1522, and died there in 1538.

Beibars succeeded in capturing Antioch from the Christian States on the Syrian coast. He also treacherously surprised the Assassins whom Saladin himself had feared, kept the Mongols in check, and subdued Nubia; he established his supremacy in Mecca, and, in short, was the only Mameluke sultan who was anything more than the nominal head of that order. Hence, after the death of this extraordinary man, the fall of his house was the more rapid. His young sons, Said and Selamish, were dethroned one after the other in the year 1279, and the emir Kalaûn (properly Kilawûn; 1279–90) succeeded to the Sultanate. Although greatly inferior to Beibars, both as statesman and general, he succeeded in reducing the number of Christian towns on the Syrian coast to five, and in repulsing the Mongols after a severe struggle at Hims in 1281. The introduction of a body of Circassian Mamelukes obtained by purchase and stationed by Kalaûn in a tower in the citadel, whence they were known as the "tower men" (Burdjites), proved for a time a great support to the dynasty of the Kalaûnides.

During the reign of Chalîl, the son of Kalaûn (1290–1293), Acre was stormed, the consequence being that the other western European States lost their foothold on the Syrian coast, and shortly afterwards were evacuated. This unpopular sultan was murdered in Damascus, and his brother Mohammed Nasir (p. 375), who was

only nine years of age, was dethroned in 1294. After the short reigns of the two emirs, Kêtboga (until 1296), and Ladjîn (until 1299), Nasir was restored to the Sultanate and ruled from 1299 to 1309. In 1303 he repulsed an army of the Mongols, driving them beyond the Euphrates, but soon afterwards was compelled to submit to the cruel tyranny of the chief emirs in Cairo. By a stratagem he succeeded in escaping to the fortress of Karak in Moab, where he abdicated for the second time, and sent a letter to the emir, Rokn ed-Din (Beibars II, 1309–1310) who had been chosen king in the meantime, acknowledging his position to be that of Mameluke and subject. A year later Mohammed Nasir succeeded in ascending the throne for the third time, took vengeance upon his former oppressors, and continued to rule for the length of a generation. He now gave full rein to the covetousness of the emirs, who took advantage of every opportunity for "slaughtering the fattened ones." Mohammed Nasir was succeeded by eight sons, nearly all of whom were raised to the throne during their minority by political factions. These were: Abu Bekr, 1341; Ashraf Kütshük, 1341–1342; Ahmed, 1342; Ismaïl, 1342–1345; Shaabân I, 1345–1346; Muzaffar Hadji, 1346–1347; Hasan, 1347–1351, and 1354–1361; Salich, 1351–1354. Hasan's second period of government was followed by the reign of Mansûr (1361–1363), the son of Hadji. Finally, a minor branch of the family came to the throne in the persons of Shaabân II (1364–1377) and his sons, Ali (until 1381), and Salich Hadji (1381–1382).

The buildings erected in the time of the Bachrites displayed considerable grace of style, and occupied a by no means unworthy position in the development of oriental architecture during this period of political disturbance. The suburb of the Burial Mosques at Cairo (the so-called Khedives' tombs) was then begun, together with the handsome mosque containing the tomb of Kalaûn; close at hand are the tombs of his grandson Hasan, and of the emirs Sandjar and Sallar; the whole forms a Mohammedan counterpart to the ancient Egyptian Necropolis on the west of Thebes. The interior of Cairo was also adorned with many mosques, schoolhouses, and other public buildings, including the Muristân, a large hospital built by Kalaûn.

(*b*) *The Burdjites.* — Twenty-seven changes in the succession within a period of one hundred and thirty-four years is a fact that shows the nature of the rule of the Burdjite Mameluke sultans. The actual rulers among them were for the most part excellent soldiers; they were, however, absolutely incapable of introducing reforms; we also know very little about the activities of the emirs, the majority of whom avoided both the capital, with its constant scenes of tumultuous disturbance, and Syria, which seemed predestined to a state of disquietude, preferring to live as small landed lords in Middle and Upper Egypt. The causes which then prevented the entire depopulation of the country have not as yet been investigated. Outbreaks of plague and failures of the harvest are constantly mentioned; Cairo and Alexandria, however, as centres of inter-European commerce, were not altogether dependent upon the economic success of the agricultural districts. For these something must have been done from time to time during their periods of distress; insurrections of the starving fellahin, until quelled by the massacres inflicted by the Mameluke troops, were characteristic only of extreme cases, and their repetition must have been obviated by better administrative measures. Thus it is not seldom that we hear of great deeds of charity performed by the otherwise hard-hearted sultans.

The Burdjite succession begins with the sultan Barkûk (Berkuk, 1382–1389 and 1390–1399), who deposed Salich Hadji during the minority of the latter. In the spring of 1389 the army of Barkûk was defeated by the rebel Syrian governors Mintash and Jelboga; they seized Cairo and restored the throne to the youthful representative of the Kalûanide dynasty. Barkûk, however, succeeded in re-entering Cairo in June, 1390. The sultan's attention was chiefly concentrated upon the defence of Egypt against the terrible Timur (cf. p. 376). Barkûk's son and successor, Faradj (1399–1412), who was compelled to abdicate in 1405 for a few weeks in favour of his brother Abd-el-Aziz, was even more seriously threatened by the power of the Mongols. Fortunately for Egypt, Timur himself did not advance beyond Damascus (1401), and by means of a nominal submission, Faradj contrived to hold the enemy at a distance until the conqueror's death. Since the time of Barkûk the Mameluke forces had no longer been recruited by the purchase of Circassian slaves; owing to the interruption of communications with the Black Sea, reinforcements were drawn from the Mongols, Greeks, and Osmans. The second half of the reign of Faradj was occupied with wars against his emirs in Syria; one of these, by name Shêch, finally took the sultan prisoner and put him to death. The caliph, El-Mustaîn, was permitted to assume the title of sultan for six months by the pietist conqueror (cf. p. 707), but in November, 1412, Shêch himself assumed this position under the title of El-Muayad. He it was who built the great mosque of El-Muayad at the Suwêleh gate of Cairo. Barkûk and Faradj had erected similar edifices in the field of Burial Mosques. The warlike and covetous Shêch died in January, 1421; his son, Ahmed, who had only just been born, was known as sultan for eight months; the emir Tatar, a man of some capacity, succeeded him, but only lived for three months, and he in turn was followed by his son Mohammed, who occupied the throne for five months under the guardianship of his tutor, Burs-Bey.

Burs-Bey usurped the Sultanate as a matter of course (1422 to 1438; cf. p. 377). He was a mere soldier, with a childlike belief in the miraculous power of commands; he interfered, regardless of all treaties, in the commercial policy of Egypt; thus, for example, he claimed a monopoly of the sale of pepper, and later of sugar, so that finally even the patient Venetians in the Orient were forced to protest. In the year 1422, the merchants of Venice were predominant among the Europeans engaged in Alexandria in trade. In that town they owned two "Fondachi" (fortified commercial depôts), to which two more were added before the year 1490. Similar structures were owned by the traders of Genoa, Florence, and Ancona; Naples and Gata possessed a magazine in common; finally Narbonne, Marseilles, and the Catalonians, who had no magazines, built their own houses in the city. During the "Muda" (the time appointed for the exchange of goods), when the merchant vessels of Western Europe discharged and loaded their cargoes at Alexandria, the harbour was often crowded with galleys; the return freights of the Venetians alone rose to an average yearly value of from one to one and a half million ducats. In addition to his wars in Syria, Burs-Bey's general, Tagri Berdi, conquered Cyprus in 1426; King James I, of the house of Lusignan, was taken prisoner and brought to Cairo and finally set at liberty on agreeing to become the sultan's vassal. The death of Burs-Bey in June, 1458, was followed in September of the same year by that of his son El-Azîz Yusuf at the age of fourteen: it is a significant fact that all these rulers, who often lived to an advanced age, left no

grown-up successors. The next sultan was the emir and minister Djakmak (1438 to 1453), who made an unsuccessful attack upon Rhodes; his son Othmân was deposed after a reign of forty-one days in favour of the emir Inal (1453 to 1461). Shihab ed-din Ahmed disappeared after a reign of the average exiguity; the Greek Mameluke Choshkadem (1461 to 1467) and the sultans Jel-Bey and Timurboga were figures of no importance.

They were succeeded by Kâit-Bey (1468–1496), the greatest of the Burdjite sultans, and the one who enjoyed the longest reign. Judged by the standards of modern Europe, he was nothing more than a rude barbarian, who never lost the brawling propensities which he had acquired as an ordinary Mameluke, and who also reigned with great severity. But the numerous and magnificent buildings which he erected (the tomb mosque of this sultan is a splendid example of Arabian delicacy and grace in ornamentation) cannot fail to inspire our admiration, and our respect is aroused by the strength he displayed in resisting the turbulent emirs. Notwithstanding the advance of the Osman Turks, the Turkish sultan Bayesid II, after the defeat of his army at Adana by the Egyptian emir Ezbek (1488) and other reverses in 1491, was obliged to surrender the southeast portion of Asia Minor.

Toward the end of the reign of Kâit-Bey the old weaknesses of the Mameluke State became very prominent. His son, En-Nasir Mohammed, was murdered in 1498, and the three succeeding sultans, Kansûh, Djanbalat, and Tuman I, were overthrown one after the other with the utmost rapidity. When El-Ghûri (Kanzuweh Alguri, 1501–1516), at the age of sixty, ascended the throne, the kingdom was exposed to new embarrassments. The Portuguese had opened a trade route through the Indian Ocean, and had thereby rendered the spice trade practically independent of Egypt. As early as 1502 Venice persuaded the sultan to put pressure on the Indian princes, in order that Venice and Egypt should not lose their chief source of prosperity. The old soldier realised the importance of the step when the Portuguese blocked the Red Sea by the capture of the Island of Sokotra. From the reports of the Venetian embassies we can easily see how rapid and how serious were the effects of El-Ghûri's lack of foresight. The products of India constantly decreased in quantity, and prices rose to an exorbitant height. Scarcely any traffic was carried along the old routes, the harbour of Alexandria was deserted, and caravans returned from Mecca with little or no merchandise. Nevertheless, the sultan took no steps to reduce the old tariff rates, and the rapacity and extortion of the Syrian emirs destroyed what was left of the Egyptian trade. In 1509 the Mameluke admiral, Mir Husein, was defeated by Almeida at Diu (cf. p. 379). A new fleet, fitted out by El-Ghûri apparently before his fall, declared for Selim I at Djidda in the summer of 1516.

On August 24, 1516, El-Ghûri met the Turkish sultan on the field of Dabik near Haleb. The enemy's light field artillery and the traitorous flight of the emir, Chair-Bey, ended in the total defeat of the Mamelukes; the aged sultan fell on the field of battle. Selim I entered Damascus, and in Cairo the governor, Tuman-Bey, who had been in authority during the absence of the ruler, was appointed sultan of Egypt (October, 1516). The treasury was exhausted. It was not even possible to reinforce Gaza, which capitulated toward the end of the year. Selim's demand that Tuman II should govern as his subject was answered by the execution of the ambassador who transmitted the request.

3. EGYPT FROM 1517

A. The Turkish Conquest and Administration

In the middle of December, 1516, the sultan of the Ottoman Turks set out from Damascus and met with only a slight resistance to his advance at Ramleh. No opposition was offered to the march of the Turks through the desert, which lasted ten days. The last battle of this war was fought on January 22, 1517. The Mamelukes made their stand at the Mokattam Mountains in sight of Cairo, and fought with the courage of despair, and their new sultan showed himself the worthy successor of so many brave warrior kings. None the less, the day went against them. In Cairo and about the town the massacre continued for nearly a week. The Turks were obliged to storm the town street by street. Tuman II, who had taken up a fresh position with the remnants of his army at Gizeh on the further side of the Nile, was forced to retire upon the Delta. Selim is said once again to have offered favourable conditions, but in vain. The guerrilla warfare, in the course of which Tuman constantly showed the greatest personal bravery, soon degenerated into a persecution of the Mameluke army, and melted away. Tuman II was captured by Selim and executed at Cairo on April 13, 1517.

Selim remained in Egypt until September. He issued orders to the richest merchants of Cairo to migrate forthwith to Stambul. The results of this step induced Venice to send an embassy, in which B. Contarini and A. Mocenigo obtained the confirmation from Selim of the privileges they had hitherto enjoyed, though they ultimately gained but little advantage from them. When Suleiman I ascended the throne in 1520, he sent the transported merchants back to their homes, but ruined the trade of Alexandria by regulations calculated to make Constantinople the centre of the spice traffic (cf. Vol. VII, p. 9). The Fondachi of the western merchants (p. 709) fell into ruins. About the middle of the sixteenth century the Venetian Consulate was transferred from Alexandria to Cairo.

Before his return to Syria, Selim remained in Cairo to await the recognition of those rights of administration and protectorate over Mecca and Medina which devolved upon him with the possession of those two sacred towns. His Egyptian governor, Chair-Bey, the traitor of Dabik, began three years later to manifest designs of utilising the change in succession to assert his own independence. However, he eventually made a timely submission. In other respects but little is known of the administration of the country under the great Suleiman. An Italian account states that in the year 1529 the sultan reopened the old canal of Darius from the Red Sea to the Nile (p. 687), but was unable to complete the task, although twenty thousand labourers were employed upon the work of excavation. In the year 1534 Egypt and Arabia were placed under the government of sixteen Sandshaks who were again responsible to the Turkish beglerbeg at Cairo. The Portuguese were careful to avoid any undertakings from India which might have irritated the sultan; consequently the Turkish naval forces in the Red Sea were reduced, attention being concentrated upon the Mediterranean.

The sultans upon the Bosphorus valued Egypt only as a source of revenue. The beglerbeg, or pasha of Cairo, as this official was styled from 1573, was chosen not for his administrative capacities, but for the amount of treasure which he

undertook to pour into the purse of the sultan. In the reign of Selim II begins that passion, ever dominant in the Ottoman sultans, for amassing private treasure without limitation of amount or object for their use. The revenue despatched from Cairo which regularly appears at the head of every account was considered by the monarch merely as "an earnest" of payment to come. According to the accounts of the Ottoman exchequer, nine hundred thousand ducats were paid in from Egypt and Arabia in the year 1553. This sum formed one half of the governor's total income, he being allowed to retain the other half "to meet expenses incurred in the defence of the country." Syria paid only a third and Irak hardly a ninth of this sum. On the other hand, in the following year the contributions from Cairo fell to five hundred thousand ducats. From 1555 to 1591 the average payment was eight hundred thousand, rising to a million in 1592. These merciless methods of extortion were naturally conditional upon a rapid change of pashas. When Murad IV, upon his accession to the throne at the end of 1622, appointed the janissary Aga as pasha of Egypt, this governor immediately paid in as "conscience money" to the exchequer eight hundred thousand piastres, the fruits of earlier extortion, in the expectation of obtaining more valuable returns when he took up office. However, on this occasion the people of Cairo showed sufficient spirit to shut their gates in the face of the governor and his promises. They pleaded to Murad that this was the seventh pasha that they had had within eighteen months, and that a change of governor every three years was the utmost they could endure. Cairo, which even at that time was the most important town in the Arabic Orient (see the plate, "Cairo about 1670"), appears on this occasion to have urged its arguments with success. In the year 1695, when Egypt was hard pressed by plague and famine, the governor, Ismaïl Pasha, even showed a high degree of benevolence. Two years later he was forced to resign his position by a revolt among the militia; however, his second successor, Kara Mohammed, reduced Egypt once more to order. However, in 1711 a fanatical preacher appeared who vigorously opposed the Moslem worship of saints, and even gained some portion of the troops over to his side. This religious political movement was not suppressed until 1714, when the Porte sent out the energetic Abdi Pasha, together with a judge appointed from the priestly order.

The life of a pasha in the strongly fortified citadal of Cairo was relieved by only two events of importance: the news that the fleet of the sultan had appeared before Damietta or Alexandria to carry home the year's yield of taxation, or the arrival of a herald robed in black to announce to the pasha the submission of a party or of the whole country and then as quickly to take his leave. The Mameluke nobility whose possessions in Upper Egypt had been left undisturbed even by Selim returned to prominence during the eighteenth century. In the year 1768 an upstart member of this class, Ali Bey, declared himself independent ruler of Egypt. At that moment the sultan happened to be involved in a war with Russia (cf. Vol. V). Ali subdued the Mameluke Bey who opposed him, surprised Mecca, and invaded Syria in 1770. His step-son, Mohammed Bey, who besieged Damascus in the following year, was won over to the Turkish side by bribes; he led his army back to Cairo, drove out Ali, and was confirmed in his position as pasha of Egypt by the Porte. For a time it seemed as if Ali would be able to recover his kingdom by operating from Syria, where he and other rebel movements were receiving support from Russian ships at war. However, he was

A DESCRIPTION OF CAIRO IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

(A translation from the section on Egypt in Dapper's "Africa.")

Old Cairo is now divided into four cities, Bulak, Charaffa, Old Cairo, and New, or Great, Cairo, although the two first mentioned are considered by some to be suburbs of Great Old Cairo, for the reason perhaps that they are so sparsely inhabited (as is also the case with Great Old Cairo itself), resembling villages rather than cities. The above four cities taken together with the suburbs, that is to say, entire Old Cairo, has a circumference of thirty miles as attested by Beauvau.

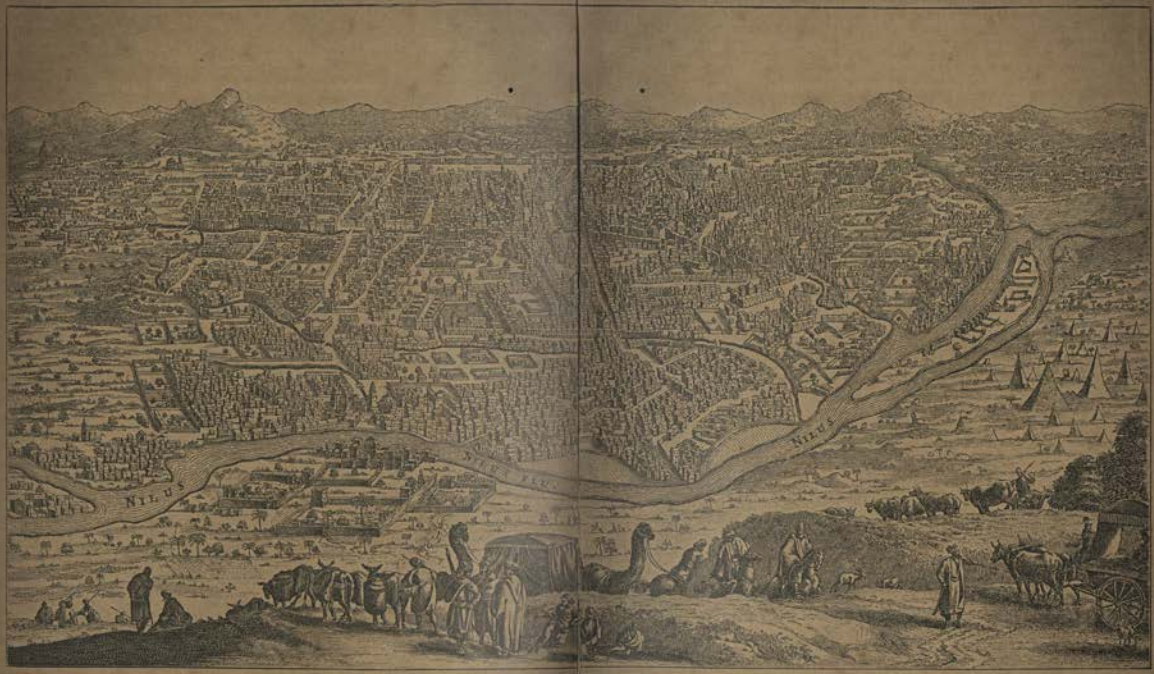
Bulak, or, as it is called by some, Bubalon, is a harbour of the city of Old Cairo and is situated about two miles from Great Old Cairo on the eastern bank of the Nile. It formerly had about four thousand houses. Many craftsmen live there, and others who trade in corn, oil, and sugar. They once had fine places of worship and castles, of which the handsomest were situated on the bank of the Nile. But the place has been much ruined by the many wars.

Between Bulak and Great Old Cairo lies the great open place Lesbrechi [el-Ezbekieh], as it is called by the inhabitants. This lies entirely under water when the Nile overflows its banks. A short distance farther on the Nile divides into various branches, of which one flows to Alexandria, another to Damiate [Damiette], and the rest in various other directions. From Bulak to Great Old Cairo the land is everywhere level and the way very agreeable, consequently it is much used at all times. It is especially beautiful at a place called Usbekia [el-Ezbekieh.] in the suburbs near the gate. This Usbekia is a circular piece of land built round about with houses.

Charaffa, called also Karaffar, or Massar, is situated two miles distant from Old Cairo, and formerly had two thousand houses, measuring a good seven miles in circumference; but now for a long time this place, where in earlier times the sultan held his court, has lain desolate and deserted. One used to see there many tombs with high and magnificent arches and ornamented within with beautiful paintings and pictures. There is also a custom-house here where duty is collected on the merchandise which comes from Sahid. Also, as Beauvau writes, the seven granaries of Joseph may still be seen here.

Old Cairo is very well situated on the eastern bank of the Nile, but it has no walls, notwithstanding that Krusius writes that a wall twenty-four miles long is to be found there. To-day it is, as Belloon testifies, no more than a small village inhabited by Greeks and Armenians. It is also full of rubbish-heaps, the ruins of old buildings, as stated by Peter della Valle, who thought it was ancient Babylon, and has few houses which lie far from one another and are inhabited by Christians. Besides it has various churches, as stated by the above-mentioned historian; among others the Church of Saint Barbara, wherein is to be found her body together with other relics, and St. John's Church, that stands on a hill from which one obtains a view of Old Cairo and the surrounding fields. There is yet another church, perhaps the most important of all belonging to the Copts, that stands on the ruins of a little house in which the Virgin Mary is said to have dwelt for a long time. The remnants of this sacred little house are still to be seen under the great altar of the church, in a very dark cellar, where several fragments of the beams are still preserved on small columns which sustain the arch of the altar. These beams once supported the loft of the little house and are not only blackened by smoke and age but are also rotten. Besides these suburbs, which lie before or about Old Cairo, there are three others: Bebzuaila, or Bebzuila, Gemethailon, and Bebelloch.

The suburb Bebzuaila, also called Misuletif, or Misruletich [Masr-el-atikeh = Old Cairo.] lies at the entrance of the gate bearing the same name. It includes about two thousand houses and extends from the gate to the east about a mile and a half, and to the north a mile, as far as the suburb Bebelloch. Here there are many churches and guild-houses. One church was built by the sultan Hasan, as well as a strongly walled castle which now serves as a quarters for the Turkish bashaws and stands near Mount Mochatan. There are also hereabouts other large and beautiful castles, of which the floors are inlaid with marble of various colours, and the ceilings finely painted



CAIRO, ABOUT THE YEAR 1670

In the meanwhile the French in Cairo made preparations for a continued occupation of the country. On first landing, Napoleon had announced that he, the destroyer of the knights of Malta, was a friend of Islam who only desired to make war upon the "godless race of the Beys." He adopted the customs of the Moslems with all possible publicity, taking part in the festival of Muled en-Nebi in Arab costume. A proclamation, which has been recovered in the form of a Fetwa of the Cairo divan dated February 11, 1799, was drawn up in order that Napoleon might be declared by the Ulema not only a complete believer in the Prophet, but also sultan of Egypt. Although a portion of the army, including General Jacques François, Baron de Menou, were perfectly serious in their conversion, the confidence of the orientals was not thus to be taken by storm. Seyid Bedr el-Mokadem, a fanatical descendant of Mohammed, roused the population of Cairo to revolt on the 21st of October, 1798; after three days of street fighting, during which it became necessary to blow in the gates of the Azhar mosque with cannon, Napoleon succeeded in regaining his mastery of the town. There was, indeed, nothing else to be done; the "colonist" party in the army, which in addition to Menou also included Desaix, Louis Nicolas Davout, and André, were in the majority until the end of the French occupation of Egypt.

Bonaparte's bold Syrian enterprise (from the end of January until June, 1799), in spite of several such brilliant successes as the capture of Jaffa and the victory over Ibrahim at Tabor, ended in a complete failure at Acre, where the French forces were opposed by Djezzar Pasha and Sydney Smith. In the meanwhile Desaix had dispersed the Beys at Suhuma and had even occupied Kosseir on the Red Sea; in Lower Egypt General François Lanusse crushed an attempt at revolt led by a Mahdi. A few weeks after Bonaparte's return in the middle of July, 1799, twenty thousand Turks under Mustafa Pasha landed in Abukir under the protection of the English fleet, but were driven back to their ships with heavy loss by a French force of eight thousand troops on the 25th of July. This event marks the conclusion of Bonaparte's career in Egypt. Tidings from Europe transmitted to him through the English admiral induced him to return thither on August 23, with two frigates which had been saved from the English and a following of five hundred men.

Kléber, upon whom the chief command now devolved, was by no means in love with the undertaking which he was expected to continue; moreover, the Turkish grand vizier, Yusuf Pasha, was advancing from Syria at the head of an army of eighty thousand men. An exaggerated report of Kléber to the Directory upon the bad condition of the French army fell into the hands of the English and led to the opening of negotiations for the evacuation of the country. On the 28th of January, Desaix signed the convention of El-Arish, a town that had just been occupied by the grand vizier and immediately left the country. Kléber made every effort to fulfil the heavy conditions of the agreement. Upper Egypt and Cairo had been already evacuated when the English admirals declared that the French troops must surrender as prisoners of war. Kléber's reply to these arrogant demands was issued in his orders for the day: "Soldiers, such demands are to be answered simply by victory; prepare for battle!" On the 20th of March, 1800, with scarcely ten thousand men, he defeated the army of the grand vizier, which was eight times as large as his own, at Matarijeh near Cairo, in the famous "battle of Heliopolis;" two days later the encampment of Yusuf Pasha with his large supply of stores fell

into the hands of the French. Cairo was retaken after a struggle lasting several days, which began upon the 27th; Ibrahim was exiled to Syria, but Murad, as the ally of France, was rewarded with the governorship of Upper Egypt. Though it lasted but a short time, Kléber's administration was attended with high success; the army was also strengthened by the addition of a Coptic and a Greek legion. On the 14th of June, 1800 (the day of the battle of Marengo and the death of Desaix in Europe), Kléber was assassinated during an audience in Cairo by a fanatic from Haleb.

As senior commanding officer, Menou now assumed the responsibility of administration; under the title of "Abdullah Menou" and the husband of an Egyptian woman, he continued the work of government reform and sought to develop the natural sources of the country in view of a permanent occupation; an Arab newspaper, "Tambieh," was established for the dissemination of French propaganda in the Orient and circulated among the leaders of caravans bound for Arabia and for Central Africa. However, the incompetency of the French naval officers enabled the allied English and Turks to gain the upper hand. The Turks advanced from Syria, as did six thousand Sepoys from Kosseir. The British commander, Sir Ralph Abercromby, landed at Abukir with seventeen thousand men and won a victory near Alexandria on the 21st of March, 1801. His death (March 28) by no means relieved the difficulties of the situation for Menou. General Augustin Daniel, Count Belliard, who had remained in Cairo, where Murad-Bey had recently died of the plague, was compelled to capitulate on the 23d of June, as was Menou at Alexandria on the 22d of September. The French army, which still consisted of no less than twenty-four thousand men, was transported to France on English vessels. In March, 1803, the English also evacuated the country, after obtaining an amnesty for the Mamelukes by convention with the Porte, the Beys promising henceforward to abstain from all interference in the government of Egypt.

(*b*) *The Permanent Gain to Science.* — The terms of capitulation had included the condition that all the antiquities and other scientific treasures collected by the French savants who had accompanied the expedition (Dominique Vivant Denon, Gaspard Monge, Claude Louis Berthollet, and others) should be surrendered. Answer was made that the possessors would prefer to destroy everything, whereupon the conquerors left them in undisputed possession. Denon, who had accompanied Desaix to Upper Egypt, himself returned with a camel's load of drawings and other materials for his "Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Egypt" (Paris, 1802). In August, 1709, the Rosetta Stone was unearthed by the sappers of engineer Bouchard while making the entrenchments of Fort Saint Julien. The upper face of the stone is inscribed in hieroglyphics; the centre contains a demotic and the lower part a Greek text; in the latter it is stated that the decree was to be inscribed in the sacred, popular, and Greek languages upon a tablet of hard stone and set up in all the larger temples; it followed that the meaning of the two remaining parts was identical. After the publication of copies of the texts, together with the general results of the expedition, Thomas Young, an Englishman, in 1819, and in 1822, Jean François Champollion, a Frenchman (Lettre à Mr. Dacier), succeeded independently in correctly deciphering the two names, "Ptolemaios" and "Berenike." Thus it came about that the Rosetta block of basalt, together with an inscription on an obelisk in Philæ, which furnished the word

"Cleopatra," supplied the key to the decipherment of the various forms of the written language of Ancient Egypt. When in 1867 a second trilingual inscription, the "decree of Canopus" (pp. 595 and 672), was discovered in the ruins of Tanis, Egyptology had already made such progress that in spite of the great length of the new document, the information that it yielded was of but little importance. Although Champollion died in 1832, he had succeeded in establishing the foundations of scientific Egyptology by completing the preliminary philological investigations and deciphering numerous inscriptions and papyri. "What has since been effected, however important it may be, can only be regarded as the completion of the edifice begun by Champollion. A single man succeeded within one decade in solving the great problem, and restoring an entire race to the history of the world" (A. D. Erman). The hieroglyphic alphabet consists of about five hundred pictures of natural objects, twenty-four of which represent pure consonant sounds; the writing runs as a rule from right to left, though occasionally the opposite direction is adopted for technical or decorative reasons. In their complete form hieroglyphics were employed almost exclusively in inscriptions, while for the ordinary purposes of writing an abbreviated form, the so-called "hieratic," was used. The "demotic," which represented the ordinary writing of the Greek and Roman periods, and consequently appears in the decrees of the Ptolemies, was a further simplification of the hieratic characters, though difficult to read owing to the absence of any fixed standard of writing. It was apparently for this reason that the Christian missionaries of the third century, who desired to place the Bible in the hands of such Egyptians as did not understand Greek, reproduced the vernacular of the time in Greek letters; some few sounds peculiar to the Egyptian tongue were represented by signs taken from the "demotic." "This is the new language of the Egyptian Christians, known as Coptic in modern times. As it developed from the speech of the common people, the vocabulary was naturally inadequate to express the ancient traditions of the Old Testament, and the language was consequently obliged to accommodate itself to the expression of more elevated thoughts." Limited by Arabic to Upper Egypt in the fifteenth century, Coptic disappeared as a living language in the course of the seventeenth century.

In the field of Egyptology the labours of Champollion were continued by Richard Lepsius; as head of the great Prussian expedition which explored the whole of the Nile valley far into Nubia from 1842 to 1845, he published his comprehensive work, "The Monuments of Egypt and Ethiopia," which is long likely to remain the point of departure for Egyptian research. The Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia, published at Pisa, 1832 to 1844, by Ippolito Rosellini, aimed at a similar object. Among others, Chr. C. Josias Bunsen (ob. 1860), Heinrich Brugsch (ob. 1894), and Adolf Erman and Georg Ebers (ob. 1898) have performed signal service in awakening general interest in the results of Egyptian research.

C. Mehemet Ali and his Successors

Even before the French and English troops had left the shores of Egypt, the land was once more plunged into war by the faithlessness of the Porte. The grand vizier and the Turkish admiral, in accordance with the orders of their superiors, attempted a general massacre of the Mameluke Beys, including Ibrahim. The interference of the English commanders, together with other circumstances,

hindered the execution of the plan; it was answered, however, by a general rising of those threatened under Osman Bardissi; the amnesty arranged by the English before their departure failed to effect a complete pacification. Chosrev Pasha, the Turkish governor, was driven out of Cairo in May, 1803, taken prisoner by the Mamelukes, and put to death; his successor, Ali Pasha, was executed by Bardissi in January, 1804.

These disturbances were ultimately turned to advantage by a Macedonian who followed the example set by one of his compatriots, Ptolemæus Lagi, more than two thousand years previously. Mehemet Ali was born in 1769 at Kawala, the ancient Galepsus; from early years he had been acquainted with the officials of a French trading factory in that town, and had thus become familiar with European ideas; about the end of the century he was sent to Egypt as a subaltern in a small Macedonian force. Chosrev favoured him from the outset and appointed him colonel of an Albanian regiment; shortly afterwards he became commander of all the Albanian forces, whereupon he joined Bardissi and helped him in the expulsion of Chosrev. After the fall of Ali Pasha, Mehemet Ali quarrelled with Bardissi, and drove him out of Cairo in March, 1804, together with the other Beys; he then summoned the Turkish commander, Kurshid, from Alexandria, and secured his acknowledgment as pasha of Egypt. However, while Mehemet Ali was besieging the Mamelukes in Minieh in the summer of 1805, Kurshid Pasha attempted to strengthen his own position by replacing the Albanian troops with Kurdish cavalry; Mehemet Ali immediately marched upon Cairo, besieged Kurshid in the citadel, and in 1806 was confirmed in his position as governor of Egypt by the sultan. He had previously summoned his sons, Ibrahim and Tusun, from Kawala to Cairo, and had entrusted them with responsible positions. The oppression of the Mamelukes continued in spite of English representations; Mehemet Ali invariably sought to rely upon French help. On March 1, 1811, the Beys were enticed into the citadel of Cairo and murdered in a body by the Albanians; one only of them, the story goes, succeeded in saving his life at the risk of a dangerous leap on his good horse.

Henceforward Mehemet Ali was the indisputable lord of Egypt. His strong hand put an end to the robber bands which infested the country, to the petty tyrants and their oppression of the people, and to the general exclusiveness of Egyptian civilization; he raised the economic and also the military power of his country to the highest possible pitch. The rule of this governor appeared indeed but little inferior in its splendour and power to that of the great Pharaohs. Under the leadership of his warlike son Ibrahim, the power of the Wahhabite State in Arabia was shattered (p. 392), and the Greek revolt in the Morea was suppressed at a later period (Vol. V), Mehemet Ali being rewarded with the governorship of Crete; the Sudân was also incorporated with Egypt as far as Kordofan (p. 558).

About the end of 1831 Mehemet Ali began his great struggle with the Porte for the supremacy. Ibrahim advanced into Syria with sixty thousand men, and the governorship of this country was surrendered to his father by the peace of Kutahia (May 14, 1833). When war broke out again in the year 1839, Ibrahim won a victory at Nisib on June 24, the Turkish fleet went over to Mehemet Ali, and only the interference of the western powers saved the Turkish Empire from destruction. Threatened by Europe and abandoned by France, Mehemet Ali was forced to submit on November 27, 1840. He surrendered Syria and recognised

the sultan as supreme over Egypt in a number of minor points. He secured the continuance of the governorship to himself and to his heirs.

Far worse than these political disasters was the internal debilitation of Egypt. As lord of the country, this Macedonian upstart had introduced plans of administration which might have had the uses of a benevolent despotism, had they not been ruined by oriental exaggeration. He was invariably surrounded by a number of French adventurers, to whom he was always ready to listen, and whom he assisted to enrich themselves. Every department of trade he sought to appropriate as his own monopoly. Under him the militarism of modern Europe was anticipated in Egypt, and eventually this despotic ruler saw his system of government collapse under his own eyes. The destroyer of the Mamelukes left behind him a country inhabited by serfs, which had a useless veneer of European civilization in respect of legislation, educational organisation, the details of government, and means of communication. Mehemet Ali had considered the Nile valley as his private property. Immediately after the overthrow of the Mameluke Beys in 1814, he had appropriated all their mortmain properties, together with the incomes which the various institutions derived from landed property (Wakûf), and eventually all land that was held on lease, approaching somewhat to the character of a copyhold. the trade of Egypt he had taken almost entirely into his own hands, and where the population was not already beggared, every source of income was diverted into his treasury by an incredibly oppressive system of taxation. In July, 1848, Ibrahim was appointed to succeed his father, who had become insane. However, this son died on November 10, in that year, and his place was taken by Tusuns, a son by an Arabic Bedouin woman. Mehemet Ali himself died on August 12, 1849.

Abbas Pasha displayed an objection, not wholly unjustifiable, to European officials, and removed them from the Egyptian service; in consequence, however, the Porte was able to secure a closer recognition of its rights. In 1854 Abbas suddenly died, and was succeeded by his uncle, Said Pasha, who had been educated in Europe. He did his best to relieve the oppressive burdens of the peasants, allowing them to till and to harvest their land as they would, and forbidding slavery (p. 558 *ad fin.*). The government of Said lasted for eight and a half years (until January 18, 1863), and laid the foundation for the modern development of Egypt. In spite of the opposition of the Porte, he obtained permission for Ferdinand de Lesseps to construct the Suez Canal, connected Cairo with Alexandria by railway, and reorganised the financial administration.

As early as 1861 Ismaïl Pasha, the son of Ibrahim, who had been born on December 31, 1830, and educated in Paris, had acted as regent for his uncle during his temporary absence from the country. A man of extraordinary powers and energy and eminent personal qualities, Ismaïl takes a high place in the history of Egypt. His aim was to carry out the works of his grandfather, Mehemet Ali, and raise his country to an independent State by adopting European civilization. He encouraged national feeling by creating an Egyptian Chamber of Notables or Delegates. After years of costly toil he succeeded in defining the permanent constitutional relations of Egypt to the Porte. By successive firmans in 1866, 1867, 1873, he obtained from the sultan the recognition of hereditary succession in his family; and was given the title of khedive, the right of regulating all internal affairs and making commercial treaties, and of raising an unlimited army; while the supremacy of the Porte was maintained by a tribute of one hundred and

fifty thousand pounds, the right to revise political compacts with other States, and to demand contingents of troops in case of war. From 1872 Ismaïl's troops steadily pushed southward, and conquered Dar-Fur and the country at the sources of the Nile; so that in 1874, in spite of heavy defeats at the hands of the Abyssinians, he had extended the Egyptian kingdom to the equator (p. 559). Great public works were undertaken. The Suez Canal, to which Egypt had given fifteen million pounds, was opened in 1869. The introduction of cotton-growing was successfully carried out. The great harbour of Alexandria was made, new canals opened, bridges and buildings sprang up. An international system of justice was established in the mixed courts administered by European jurists. But the great schemes of Ismaïl, his high faculties, his great achievements, and his lofty ambitions ended in his ruin. He involved himself and his subjects in huge debts to foreign capitalists. In 1876 the Exchequer was empty and the country exhausted. The khedive relieved his embarrassments by selling his Suez Canal shares, which were bought by England for four million two hundred thousand pounds. But four months later the State was bankrupt. England and France formed a Commission of Inquiry to examine into Ismaïl's affairs. To pay his debts, all lands held by his family were ceded to the State by the famous donation of September, 1878. In the ministry formed under Nubar Pasha he was forced to accept a French and an English minister, and the departments of Public Works and the Public Debt were entirely handed over to this foreign control. The khedive, reduced to a cipher in his own government, took advantage of a military revolt to call on Nubar to resign (February, 1879), and claimed some share in public affairs and the right of presiding in Cabinet meetings. His demands were rejected and the Dual Control strengthened. The English and French ministers were now given an absolute right of veto over any proposed measure; and Lord Beaconsfield's government thus for the first time placed England, in concert with France, in direct control of the internal affairs of Egypt. Ismaïl made a further effort to throw off foreign dictation. In April he formed a purely native ministry responsible to the Chamber of Notables, and proposed a plan — the "National Project" — for financial relief opposed to that of the Commission of Inquiry. A protest issued by Germany was supported by all the Great Powers. It was evident that Egypt was now to be governed at the will and in the interests of the bondholders. Tewfik was deposed on June 26, 1879, by order of the sultan, and the hereditary prince declared khedive. The deposed monarch went to Europe, and died in Constantinople on March 3, 1895.

D. The English Occupation

Under the new khedive, Mohammed Tewfik (1879–1892), the first three years were spent in reorganising the finances. An International Commission of Liquidation was appointed for the payment of the bondholders. The two English and French ministers were made Controllers to prepare the scheme, and their governments thus assumed new responsibilities. Meanwhile, an agitation beginning with grievances suffered by the army, with Arabi Pasha, an infantry colonel, as leader, widened into a national movement against foreign control, with the sympathy of the Porte. To appease the discontent, the khedive summoned, in January, 1882, the Chamber of Notables first created by Ismaïl. The cry was

raised of "Egypt for the Egyptians," and a new ministry was formed with Arabi (presently made pasha by the sultan) as minister of war. The appearance of an Anglo-French fleet at Alexandria only increased the excitement of the national party. Arabi, a man of great administrative ability, became practically dictator. The Egyptian army was drawn to Alexandria, and earthworks and forts were thrown up to cover the entrance of the harbour. A riot broke out in Alexandria on June 11; a number of foreigners were massacred. In putting down disorder Arabi was supported by the Porte. He believed the first step to Egyptian regeneration was self-government and the getting rid of the joint control, the financial servitude of his country, and the costly system of foreign administration. Hoping to find a way to his end in the jealousy of the Powers, the Egyptian government leaned to German and Austrian advice. The Anglo-French fleet was still in the harbour, and Admiral Seymour demanded the surrender of the forts from Arabi. The French refused to share in military operations, and withdrew their ships to Port Said. Seymour, with eight iron-clads and five gunboats, opened the bombardment of Alexandria on July 11, making war on the war minister of Egypt without even the pretence of asking authority from the sovereign of the country. The forts were silenced by the British guns, and on July 12 Arabi secretly withdrew his troops. The city was given up to the pillage of convict labourers and the rabble and to fire, the English having made no provision whatever for the following of Arabi or for the protection of Alexandria. Arabi gathered an army in Lower Egypt. The English Cabinet declared the Suez Canal to be in danger, and landed troops in Alexandria (July 14) and Ismailia (August). Forty thousand British and Indian troops were poured into the country. The campaign was brief; it was closed by the crushing defeat and the capture of Arabi at Tel el-Kebir (September 13, 1882). A British force was stationed in Egypt. The abolition of the Dual Control was proposed by England, and an English Financial Adviser to the khedive was appointed in its stead. The army, police, public works, and native tribunals were placed under English officers; and the country in fact was occupied by England, who promised to evacuate it as soon as peace and order were restored. This promise of Mr. Gladstone was certainly not meant to be kept. The French, however, and Gambetta fully believed that the occupation was to be only temporary.

Meanwhile, a great religious movement had been growing in the Sudân under the Mahdi, or Prophet, Mohammed Ahmed. An army of ten thousand men sent against him under Hicks Pasha in 1883 was annihilated to a man on November 1, and a few months later a force of three thousand five hundred under Baker Pasha met the same fate. General Gordon had been hurriedly sent out from England, was appointed Governor-General of the Sudân by the Khedive, and stationed at Khartum. February, 1884, Gordon recognised the Mahdi as the ruler of Kordofan; but in consequence of an execution of two "traitors" in Khartum the city was besieged by the Mahdi (April, 1884). Lord Northbrook was sent as High Commissioner to Egypt, and Lord Wolseley to organise the relief of Gordon. Khartum, however, was taken by the Mahdi in January, 1885, and Gordon slain. The army was withdrawn to Upper Egypt, and Wady Halfa recognised as its southern boundary.

The losses at the seat of war, the persistence of the Porte, and political necessities in general induced England in 1885 to open negotiations with the Porte.

A Turkish commissioner was sent to Egypt, but his proposals were refused by the English, who continued to administer the country in their own way. Constant questions were raised abroad as to the promised evacuation. On Gladstone's resumption of power in 1886 he did certainly offer to come to terms with France on the subject, but Waddington found the terms so vague and indefinite that it was impossible to make any arrangement. In 1886, therefore, as in 1882, England had, technically speaking, a case to make out for her action, but on both occasions her proposals were illusory and little more than verbal. In 1887 France, Russia, and Turkey finally refused to treat on the English conditions for evacuation, by which she demanded the right to re-enter the country at any moment she judged necessary. The English occupation openly assumed the character which it had really had from the first, — of a permanent Protectorate. The unconditional neutrality of the Canal was provided for by the Convention of 1887.

Tewfik Pasha was succeeded in 1892 by his son, Abbas II Hilmi, who had been educated at Vienna, and was eighteen years old at his father's death. He made a last attempt in 1893 to regain some independence as a sovereign, and to resist the absolute control of the English, and national feeling asserted itself strongly in the Egyptian Legislative Council. Evelyn Baring (who had been Commissioner for the Egyptian Debt, 1877–1879, in 1879 Comptroller General, and since 1883 Plenipotentiary and General Consul, raised to the peerage in 1898), however, insisted that so long as England was in occupation she had a decisive voice in Egyptian politics, and fresh troops were sent to enforce his view. England continued to develop the country after its own methods and in its own way. Evelyn Baring reorganised the administration. The abolition of serf labour, which was determined at the end of 1899, followed a justly distributed system of taxation, and the increase of education among the fellahin. The English language was encouraged in schools. English works have been undertaken on a vast scale for regulating the rise of the Nile, and are to be pushed up to the very sources of the river.

Meanwhile, a great Mahdist power had been growing up in the Sudân under the successor of the first Mahdi. In 1896 the English decided to advance to the re-conquest of the South, and after two pitched battles entered Dongola in September. On September 2, 1898, Sir H. Kitchener captured Omdurman after a great battle. The dervishes showed extraordinary courage, and thirty thousand men were swept down by the English quick-firing guns before the remnant fled. The first Mahdi's tomb was blown up, and his skull carried to England, and the conqueror made governor of the Sudân, as Lord Kitchener. In 1899 a new expedition was sent against the Mahdists, and the Khalifa was killed.

These successes extended English influence far southward, and vast schemes were proposed for making an English railway from Cairo to the Cape, but the possibility of raising this monument to British prestige is still questionable.

The house of Mehemet Ali had been defeated in the accomplishment of its high calling, — the creation of an independent Egypt attached to European civilization. It remains for the future to show whether any forces of nationality will survive, or be welded together by the powerful pressure of a foreign administration controlling the destinies of the people, and whether Arabi's battle-cry will ever be heard again, "Egypt for the Egyptians."

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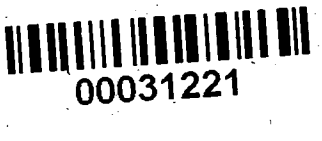
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